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1878.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. VI.

PAGE

Babylonian Dated Tablets, and the Canon of Ptolemy. By W. St. Chad Boscawen 1–78

Discussion on the same 79–133

On a Cypriote Inscription, now in the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople. By Dr. Paul Schrœder. *Plate* 134–143

Sur la Lecture et de la signification et de l'Idéogramme , et à cette occasion sur quelques Noms de Maladies en Accadien et Assyrien. Par François Lenormant 144–197

Notes and Observations upon the Sabæan Inscriptions at Bombay. By Dr. D. H. Muller 198–202

Notes on certain Cypriote Inscriptions. By Isaac H. Hall. *Woodcut* 203–208

Notes upon the Assyrian Report Tablets, with Translation. By Theo. G. Pinches 209–243

Viceroy Joseph's Official Despatches. Is Bible Poetry Acrostic? By S. M. Drach 244–248

On some further Desired Aids to the Study of Assyrian. By Rev. W. Houghton, M.A., F.L.S. 249–256

Biblical Sites. By Rev. Canon Ridgway, M.A., F.S.A. 257–259

Revised Chronology of the Latest Babylonian Kings. By Dr. Julius Oppert 260–274

On some early Babylonian or Akkadian Inscriptions. By W. St. Chad Boscawen 275–283

Un Contrat de Mariage. Par E. Revillout. *Plate* 284–286

On a Fragmentary Inscription of Psametik I, in the Museum at Palermo. By Miss Gertrude Austin. *Plate* 287–288

The Defence of a Magistrate falsely accused. Translated by H. F. Talbot, F.R.S. 289–304

Notes on the Himyaritic Inscriptions contained in the Museum of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. By Lieut.-Col. W. F. Prideaux, F.R.G.S. .. 305–315

On the Relations between Pasht, the Moon, and the Cat, in Egypt. By Hyde Clarke 316–322

PAGE

The supposed Tomb of St. Luke at Ephesus. By William Simpson, F.R.G.S. *Woodcuts* 323–326

On the Antiquities of Ephesus having relation to Christianity. By J. T. Wood, F.S.A., &c. 327–333

Les noms de l'Airain et du Cuivre dans les deux langues des inscriptions cunéiformes de la Chaldée et de l'Assyrie. Par François Lenormant 334–417

Egyptian Funeral Tablet in the Soane Museum. By Eugene L. Roy. *Plate* 418–419

Assyrian Incantations to Fire and Water. By Ernest A. Budge, M.R.A.S. 420–435

Note on a Bilingual Inscription, Latin and Aramaic, recently found at South Shields. By Professor William Wright, LL.D. *Two Plates* 436–440

Le Testament du Moine Paham. Par M. Eugène Revillout 441–448

Un Procès plaidé devant les Laocrites sous la règne de Ptolémée Soter. Par M. Eugène Revillout 449–453

On the Hieroglyphic or Picture Origin of the characters of the Assyrian Syllabary. By Rev. William Houghton, M.A., F.L.S. *Plate and Woodcuts* 454–483

Notes upon Babylonian Contract Tablets and the Canon of Ptolemy. By Theo. G. Pinches. *Two Plates* 484–493

On the True Sense of an important Egyptian Word (*Ka*). By P. le Page Renouf 494–508

The Victories of Seti I recorded in the Great Temple at Karnak. By E. L. Lushington, D.C.L., LL.D., &c. 509–534

Notes on Assyrian Religion and Mythology. By William St. Chad Boscawen 535–542

A Biographical Notice of the late William Henry Fox Talbot, F.R.S. By R. Cull, F.S.A. 543–559

Memoir of Joseph Bonomi, F.R.A.S., F.R.S.L., &c., &c. By William Simpson 560–573

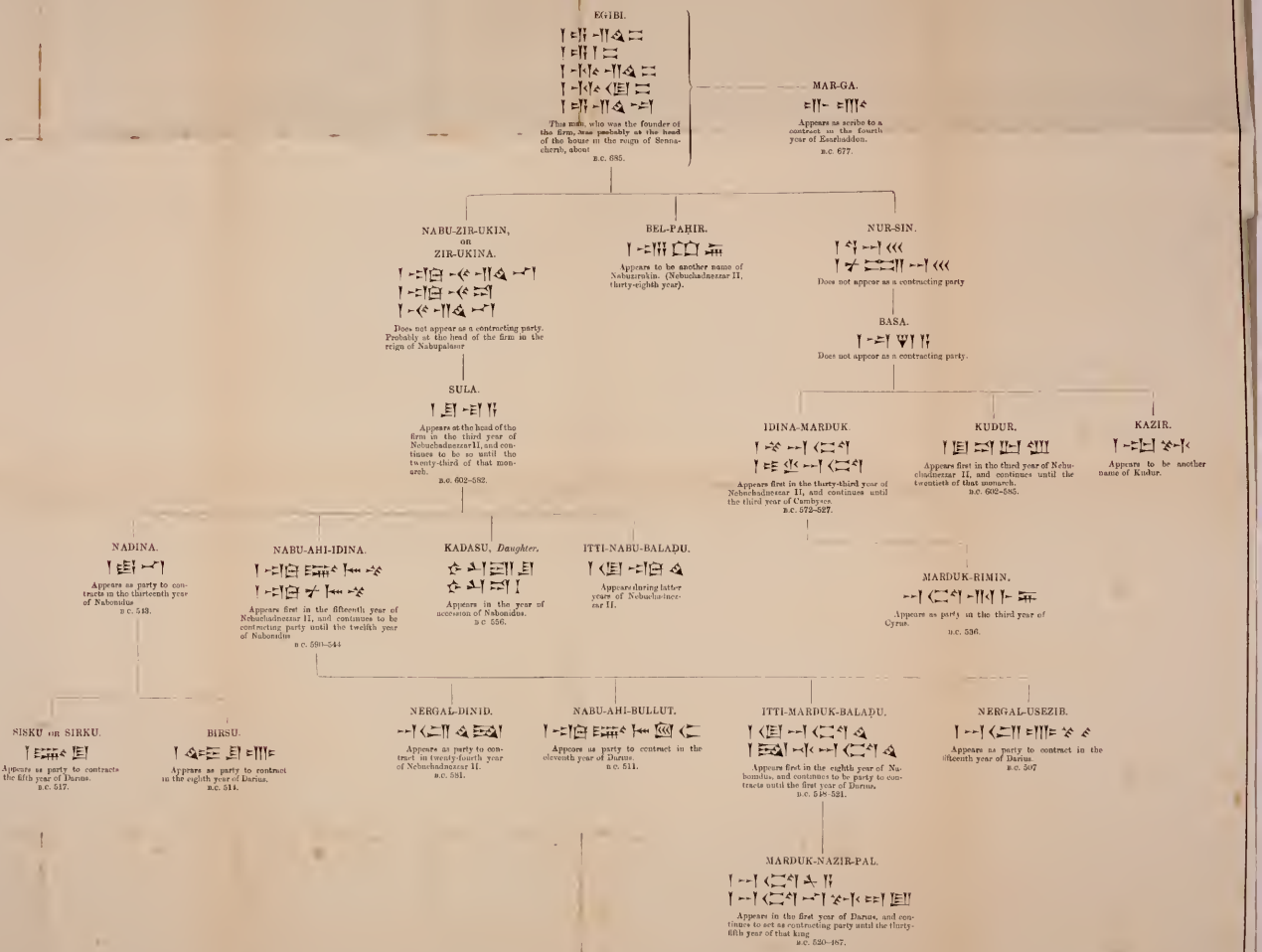
Condensed Report of the Proceedings during the Fifth Session, November, 1876, to July, 1877, and the Sixth Session, November, 1877, to July, 1878 574–607

Index 608–622

List of Members to January, 1879 ..... i–xviii

Secretary's Report presented at Anniversary Meeting, January 7th, 1879 ..... i–vi

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE FAMILY OF EGIBI.



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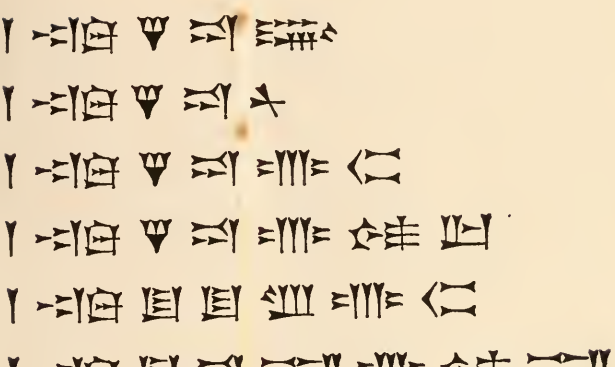
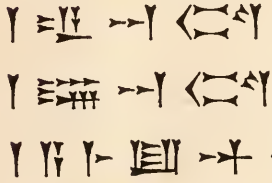
ROYAL NAMES.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR II AND III.



EVIL-MERODACH.



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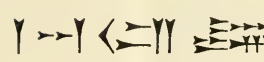

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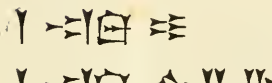

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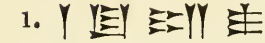
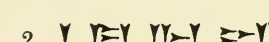
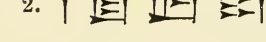
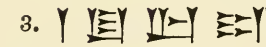
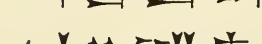
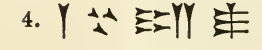
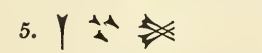
1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
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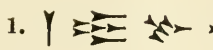
CAMBYSES.

1. 
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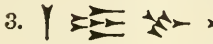
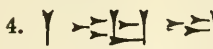
3. 
4. 
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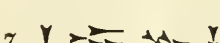
7. 

BARDES.

DARIUS.

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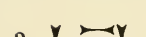
5. 
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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. VI. JANUARY, 1878. PART 1.

BABYLONIAN DATED TABLETS, AND THE CANON OF PTOLEMY.

BY W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.

Read June 5th, 1877.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following paper contains the results of about nine months' careful study and examination of the Dated Tablets forming part of the Assyrian Collection of the British Museum. The main portion of the paper is devoted to the results to be obtained from the important new collection acquired by Mr. George Smith during his last visit to the East. In order to substantiate some of the statements of the Canon of Ptolemy, which I have taken as my guide, I have been obliged to examine the whole collection of dated documents now in the British Museum, a series of about four or five thousand tablets. I have endeavoured to settle some of the difficult points in the chronology of this important period of the world's history; with what success I will leave it to my readers to form an opinion. and I must ask their kind indulgence for one who now launches his first argosy on

the troubled seas of chronological controversy. I have given what the contemporaneous documents say; and, I hope, have succeeded in supplying to other students a new and plentiful supply of material.

In conclusion, I must tender my most sincere thanks, and, I may add, those of all students, to Mr. Bosanquet, who has generously undertaken the expense of the publication of this my monograph. I must also tender my own thanks to Mr. J. Mabey, of Messrs. Harrison and Sons, for the careful manner in which he has set up the tables composing this work.

NOTE.—In the following work, the Nebuchadnezzar of Scripture is called Nebuchadnezzar II, on account of there having been a previous monarch of that name ruling in Babylonia in the sixteenth century before the Christian era.

W. ST. C. BOSCAWEN.

British Museum, 5th June, 1877.

I.—Babylonian Dated Tablets, and the Canon of Ptolemy.

The discoveries in the field of cuneiform research during the last half century, have done much to establish a firm system of chronology for the reigns of the Assyrian monarchs. The most important document in this branch of the study is the eponym canon, the discovery of which is due to Sir H. Rawlinson. This document, together with the numerous dated historical, and contract tablets, form one of the most important series of chronological documents ever yet discovered. These materials enable us to regulate the chronology of a period extending from the death of Solomon 934 B.C. to the death of Esarhaddon and to the accession of Assurbanipal in B.C. 668.

There still remains a period which requires much elucidation from contemporaneous sources: this is the period extending from the end of the reign of Esarhaddon (B.C. 668) to the end of the reign of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 485).

Our chief authority, at present, for this important epoch in Babylonian and later Assyrian chronology, is the canon of the Babylonian monarchs drawn up by the astronomer Claudius Ptolemæus in about the middle of the second century after the Christian era. This canon, founded, as it is, on astronomical observations, has been received by most chronologists as an accurate and authentic canon.

Commencing in the first year of the Babylonian monarch Nabonassar (Nabu-nazir), B.C. 747, it extends down to the reign of Darius. This canon has some points which slightly militate against its absolute accuracy,—namely, the suppression of all reigns of less than one year's duration, making the odd months complete the reigns of other monarchs. It being compiled according to the vague or wandering Egyptian year, also renders it slightly different from the Assyrian and Babylonian months. In spite of these variations, it seems by far the most accurate non-contemporaneous authority we have by which to guide

the student in the arrangement of the chronology of this important period.

Various theories have been advanced by different chronologists for the arrangement of the events occurring during this period; but all of them have been more or less inaccurate, owing to a paucity of contemporaneous material by which to check the statements of sacred and profane writers bearing on the history of this period. But, owing to a fortunate discovery of tablets last year, we have not any longer need to complain of such a scarcity. It seems almost astonishing, when we think that so plentiful was the find of dated tablets of this period, that from the first year of Nebuchadnezzar II to the end of the reign of Darius Hystaspis, there are only four years which are not represented by documents now in the collection of the British Museum; and of these two are accounted for by revolutions which disturbed the commercial transactions of the land. With this almost unequalled supply of chronological data, we may now hope to gain some definite solution of the long unsettled problem.

Before proceeding to consider the chronological value of this new addition to the collection of the British Museum, it will be as well to examine the modern history and nature of the tablets forming this collection.

In the early part of the year 1876, the Trustees of the British Museum received from Sir Henry Rawlinson news of a most important and large discovery of tablets in the neighbourhood of Hillah, a town of importance about four miles south-east of the ruins of Babylon on the Euphrates. Unfortunately (though the tablets discovered have safely reached England) the name, or position of the mound in which they were buried has never been ascertained.

During the heavy rains which are prevalent in Mesopotamia during the wet season of the year, the upper surfaces of the tells and mounds which mark the sites of ancient cities and edifices, are frequently washed away to the depth of some feet, and the under strata left exposed. It is the custom of the Arabs and Jews from the towns of Hillah and Baghdad to employ parties to examine these

mounds after the wet season, for the purpose of collecting any objects of antiquity which may have been exposed by the washing of the waters. A party thus employed in the neighbourhood of Hillah discovered on one of the mounds a number of earthen jars, resembling common water jars, covered over at the top with a tile, and cemented with bitumen. On opening one of these jars, it was found to contain a number of tablets of the class known to Assyriologists as "contract tablets." The discovery of a few of these jars led to a more systematic examination of the site, and the result was the discovery of some three or four thousand tablets, varying in size from $\frac{3}{4}'' \times \frac{1}{2}''$ to $9'' \times 12''$. These tablets were taken by their discoverers to Baghdad, and sold to a dealer there, who communicated the news of their discovery to Sir H. Rawlinson.

At the time of the news of this fortunate find reaching England, Mr. George Smith was just preparing to start on his third visit to the East, and he was at once commissioned by the Trustees of the British Museum to go to Baghdad, and examine these tablets, and purchase such as might be, in his opinion, required for the National Collection. Mr. Smith, during his stay at Baghdad, devoted almost the whole of his time to a most systematic and careful examination of these objects, and succeeded in acquiring for the Museum a collection of about 2,500 of these important documents. From the accounts given by Mr. Mathison, his companion, of Mr. Smith's labours on these tablets, it is greatly to be feared that the mental strain which the close examination of these small and badly written documents produced, was one of the causes which brought about so sad a blow to Assyrian researches in this country, as the death of the learned examiner in August last. Having arranged for the safe shipping of his cases of purchases to England, Mr. Smith left Baghdad on his return journey to England by way of Mosul, but we all know how sudden and sad was the termination of this expedition. The antiquities reached England in November last, and on the 17th of that month the first of the three cases containing the collection was opened. Since that date, and up to the present time, I have been almost

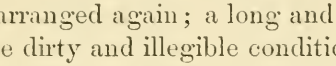
entirely engaged in the arrangement, and examination of this new acquisition, and I have now the honour of laying before this meeting the first results of this examination.

Mr. Mathison, in one of his letters to the "Daily Telegraph," states that Mr. George Smith had gone carefully over these tablets, and arranged them in order of the kings and in regnal years. This may have been the case, but they had certainly been very much disarranged since that, and before their reaching my hands in the British Museum. When I unpacked the cases, the tablets in them were in every possible order, and have all had to be gone through and sorted and arranged again; a long and trying piece of work, owing to the dirty and illegible condition of many of the tablets.

The tablets are, as I have stated, of the class known as "contract" or "commercial" tablets, and relate to the various monetary transactions of a Babylonian banking and financial agency, trading under the name of Egibi and Sons.

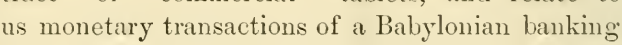
These tablets relate to every possible commercial transaction; from the loan of a few shekels of silver, to the sale or mortgage of whole estates whose value is thousands of *manas* of silver.

The following example, which is a tablet dated in the reign of the Pseudo-Nebuchadnezzar I (B.C. 522–521), relates to the repayment of some money lent on loan:—

1. 

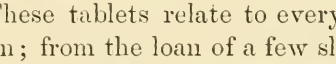
2 ma - na kaspi pu - ḳu - ud - du - u

Two manas of silver a loan

2. 

sa D.P. Itti D.P. Marduk - balaṭu abu-ś - sa

of Itti - Merodach-balaṭu son of



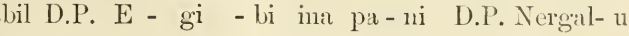
D.P. Nabu - aḥi iddin

Nabu-aḥi-iddin

3.

abil D.P. E - gi - bi ina pa - ni D.P. Nergal- ukin

son of *Egibi ;* *to* [1] *Nergal-ukin*

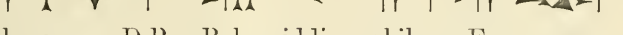
4. 

ablu-s- sa D.P. Bel - iddina abil E - ne - ru

son of *Bel-iddina* *son of* *Eneru*

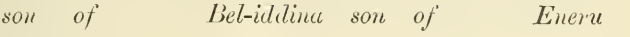
pa - ḳid

the overseer

5. 

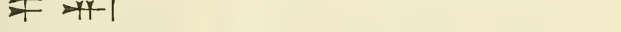
ina ki - id sa Araḥ Tasritu u - tar- ri - va

in the course of the month Tisri he has repaid and

6. 

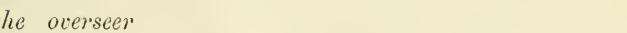
a - na Itti - Marduk - balaṭu i - nam - din

to *Itti-Merodach-balaṭu* *he has given (it).*

7. 

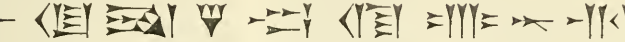
D.P. Mu- ki -nu D.P. Marduk- aḥa - uẓur ablu-s-sa

Witnesses *Merodach-aḥa-uzur* *son of*

8. 

Ib - na - abla abil D.P. E - gi - bi D.P. Ku- na - a

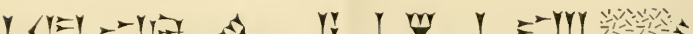
Ibna-pal *son of* *Egibi* *Kuna*

9. 

ablu-ś- sa D.P. Zab- e - ablu abil Ir - a - ni

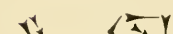
son of *Zabe-pal* *son of* *Irani*

[1] Literally, "on the face of," *i.e.*, "personal security."



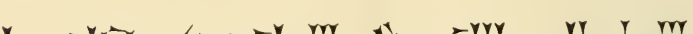
Itti - Nabu - balaṭu ablu - ś - sa D.P. Um - .....

Itti-Nebo-balaṭu son of Um-.....



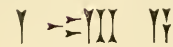
D.P. mitpanu

the archer



D.P. Nabu - zir - ba - sa D.P. sipru ablu-s - sa

Nebo-zir-ba-sa the scribe son of



Bel - abla - iddin

Bel-pal-iddin

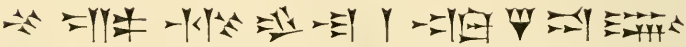
10.

abil D.P. E - gi - bi Ṭabit Babiliv

son of Egibi. Registered at Babylon

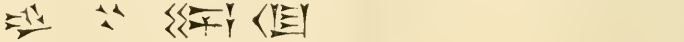
Araḥ Tasritu yum 17

month Tisri 17th day

11. 

sanat ris sarrutuv D.P. Nabu - kudur - uṣur

year of commencing royalty (of) Nebuchadnezzar

12. 

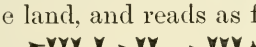
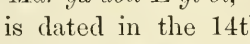
sar mat Babiliv

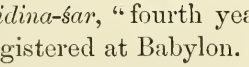
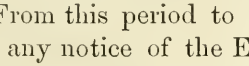
king of Babylon.

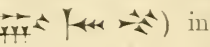
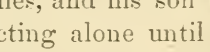
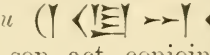
The analysis of this tablet is as follows:—A loan of two *manas* of silver had been granted by Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, the then head of the Egibi firm, to Nergal-ukin, the overseer; was repaid by him to Itti-Marduk-balaṭu in the month Tisri. 17th day, in the year of the accession of Pseudo-Nebuchadnezzar I, king of Babylon.

Now the chronological value of this tablet consists in the two points of, first, the date, month Tisri, 17th day, in the year of the accession of Pseudo-Nebuchadnezzar I, king of Babylon; and, secondly, in the name of the then head of the Egibi firm, and his relationship to the previous head of the house, whose name occurs in earlier documents. A very short examination of the documents forming this new collection, at once showed me the importance of following the sequence of the heads of the Egibi firm; and, after a careful examination, I ascertained the main lines of the succession to be this:—

From a tablet in the collection of antiquities presented to the nation by the Proprietors of the "Daily Telegraph," it appears that Egibi, the founder of the firm, probably lived in the latter part of the reign of Sennacherib. This is shown by the date and docket of a tablet which is a sale of some land, and reads as follows:—

 , D.P. "*Sipri*, D.P. *Mar-ga abil E-gi-bi*," "The scribe Marga son of Egibi," and is dated in the 14th day of the month Tisri, in the  *Sanat IV, Assur-aha-idina-śar*, "fourth year of Esarhaddon the king," and it is registered at Babylon. Now the 4th year of Esarhaddon is shown by the eponym canon to be B.C. 677.

From this period to the 14th year of Nabupalassar we lack any notice of the Egibi family. In a tablet in the new collection, dated the 3rd year of Nebuchadnezzar I (B.C. 604), a fresh and unbroken connection in the chain commences. We have a person named Sula ( *Su-la-a*) son of Nabu-ẓir-ukina (), son of Egibi, as witness to documents, and as acting head of the Egibi firm. This person continues to act as the

head of the firm until the 15th year of this reign (B.C. 590), when he introduces his son, named *Nabu-ahi-idina*, () into the firm in conjunction with himself. In the 23rd year of Nebuchadnezzar II (B.C. 582) Sula dies, and his son Nabu-ahi-idina is sole head of the firm. Acting alone until the 8th year of Nabonidus (B.C. 548), Nabu-ahi-idina in his turn introduces his son, *Itti-Marduk-balaṭu* () into the firm, and father and son act conjointly until the 12th year of Nabonidus (B.C. 544), when the father dies, and the son Itti-Marduk-balaṭu continues sole heir of the firm. In the first year of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 521) Itti-Marduk-balaṭu appears as party to a contract in conjunction with his son *Marduk-naṣir-ablu* (), who in the following year succeeds his father as head of the firm, and continues to act as such until the end of the reign of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 485).

In addition to this main line of succession there are two or three lines which are shown on the genealogical table which accompanies this paper.

From the examination of the pedigree of the Egibi family, we next pass to the regnal years of the kings, as given us in the tablets, and with following results :—

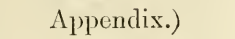
We have tablets dated in 43 years of Nebuchadnezzar.
" " " 2 years of Evil-Merodach.
" " " 4 years of Neriglissar.
" " " 17 years of Nabonidus.
" " " 9 years of Cyrus.
" " " 7 years of Cambyses.
" " " 35 years of Darius Hystaspis.

In addition to these regular dates of monarchs in the Canon of Ptolemy, we have also—

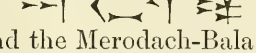
(*a*). Tablets extending over 7 months of the 1st year of Bardes or Smerdis.

(*b*). Tablets extending over the year of accession, and up to the 6th month of the first year of Nebuchadnezzar III, the Pseudo-Nebuchadnezzar I.

(*c*). A tablet bearing date on the 23rd day of the month Kislev, in the third year of Marduk-sar-uzur. (See Appendix.)

(*d*). A tablet dated in the year of accession of an unknown monarch, whose name is written  , *La-a-ba-si-kudur*.

With this mass of material, and in conjunction with such classical and other writers, whose works treat of the events of this period, there ought to be but little difficulty in establishing once and for ever the chronology of this important period of ancient history.

The Ptolemaic Canon is, as I have stated, drawn up upon, and regulated by, astronomical data. These data consist in the registration of certain eclipses, both lunar and solar, which were visible at Babylon; of these there are seven given within the period during which the contact between the inscriptions and the canon lasts. The first fixed period which we gain in the Canon of Ptolemy, is the first year of Mardok-Empadus, who is to be identified with the Marduk-bal-idina () of the inscriptions, and the Merodach-Baladan of the Second Book of Kings. This first year Ptolemy makes to have been B.C. 721, and this would make the year of his accession B.C. 722. This year corresponds with the accession of Sargon, in Assyria. Ptolemy gives twelve years to the reign of Mardok-Empadus; this would make his last year, and the year of his successor Arkinus, B.C. 709. Now there are some tablets in the British Museum, dated in the reigns of Sargon, which record the two dates of his regnal years, as king of Assyria, and king of Babylon.[1] One of these documents bears date in the 13th year of Sargon as king of Assyria, B.C. 709, and his 1st year as king of Babylon. Sargon defeated Marduk-bal-idina, and came to the throne in B.C. 709; the accession of both these monarchs was, therefore, in B.C. 722, and their first years in B.C. 721. Among the eclipses recorded by Ptolemy is one which took place on the 29th day of

[1] See Smith's Eponym Canon, pp. 86, 88.

Thoth, the first month of the vague Egyptian year, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours before midnight, at Babylon, and lasted four hours; this Ptolemy states was in the 1st year of Mardok-Empadus (B.C. 721), and in the 27th year of the Nabonassar era. Now if this date B.C. 721 is the 27th year of the Nabonassar era, the first year of Nabonassar would be therefore B.C. 747.

The Ptolemaic Canon calculates all the events which it records by these epoch years of Nabonassar, and thus affords an important means of regulating its statements. If we examine the Assyrian annals about the years B.C. 749-727, we shall be able to fix this date of the 1st year of Nabonassar; though, as yet, owing to the imperfect state of the annals of Tiglath-Pileser II, we have no mention of this monarch.

The canon gives us the following entries:—

EXTRACT FROM EPONYM CANON.

DATE	EPONYM.	OFFICE.	EVENTS OCCURRING.
B.C. 763	Esdu sarabe	Governor of Gozan	Revolt in Assur, in the month Sivan (III) the sun was eclipsed.
762	Tabu-bel	Governor of Amida	Revolt in Assur.
761	Nabu-zir-uzur	Governor of Nineveh	Revolt in Arbaha.
760	Lakipu	Governor of Kalzi	Revolt in Arbaha.
759	Pan-assur-ramur	Governor of Arbela	Revolt in Guzanu, and pestilence.
758	Bel-taggil	Governor of Isana	Expedition to Gusana, in the land.
757	Ninip-iddin	Governor of Kurban	In the land.
756	Bel-sadua	Governor of Dihnun	In the land.
755	Kisu	Governor of Siphinis	Expedition to Hadrah.
754	Ninip-sezib-ani	Governor of Rimusi	Expedition to Arpad. The return from the city Assur.
53	Assur-nirari	King of Assyria	In the land.
752	Samsi-il	The Tartan	In the land.
751	Marduk-sabui-anni	Chief of Palace	In the land.
750	Bel-daan	The *Rabitur*	In the land.

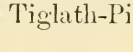
DATE	EPONYM.	OFFICE.	EVENTS OCCURRING.
B.C. 749	Samas-mukin-duruk	The *Tukulu*	Expedition to Zimri.
748	Vul-bel-ukin	The Prefect	Expedition to Zimri.
747	Sin-salim-anni	Governor of Resib	In the land.
746	Nergal-nazir	Governor of Nisibni	Revolt in Calah.
745	Nabu-bel-uzur	Governor of Arbaha	In the month Iyar ([illegible]) 13th day, Tiglath-Pileser on the throne sat. In the month Tisri to the vicinity of the river he went.
744	Bel-daan	Governor of Calah	Expedition to Zimri.
743	Tiglath-Pileser	King of Assyria	In the city of Arpad the defeat of Ararat then he accomplished.

From an examination of the eponym canon, and from the scarcity of the military expeditions, there being only two, those in the years B.C. 749–748 against the Zimri, to the north-east of Assyria, it is clear that Assyria was at this stage of her history in one of those periods of depression and weakness which were of frequent occurrence in her annals. In the year B.C. 747 there was no military expedition, and the following year the tablets record a revolt in Calah.

Here I must call attention to one point in which I differ from the opinion of the late George Smith. The phrase [illegible] *ina-mati*, "in the land," Mr. Smith renders "peace in the land." This I think is somewhat too free a translation. The fact of the army being in the land does not, in my mind, necessarily denote a state of peace at home; and from the number of times that this is the case during this period would seem to indicate that its retention at home and the consequent lack of foreign campaigns was rather a matter of necessity than of choice. Now in B.C. 748 and B.C. 749 there are expeditions against the land of Zimri, a land situated to the north-east of Assyria, and in B.C. 747 the army is again at home. This would seem to imply that

its retention at home was a necessity; and this has additional support in the fact of the following year (B.C. 746) being marked by a revolt in the then capital city of Calah or Nimroud.

Now, B.C. 748 was the year of the accession of Nabonassar, and the following year (B.C. 747) the year stated by Ptolemy to be his first year. Coupling these events with the statements of the canon, it seems very clear that the state of Assyrian and Babylonian history at this period was somewhat as follows:—The reign of Assur-nirari (B.C. 755-745), which commenced in B.C. 755, was a period of weak rule in Assyria, and the army was retained at home for four years in order to subdue the attempts at revolt; and when at last two expeditions were made against the Zimri, a revolt broke out in Babylonia, and Nabonassar was placed on the throne. In B.C. 747 the army again remained at home, probably to subdue signs of revolt in Assyria; but in B.C. 746 the spirit of rebellion broke out in Calah the capital, and the king Assur-nirari was overthrown, and in the second month of the following year Tiglath-Pileser II, a usurper, came to the throne.

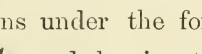
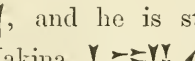
In the eponym of Nergal-uballid (B.C. 731), Tiglath-Pileser invaded Babylonia and defeated Nabu-usabsi, who is evidently the Nabius of Ptolemy. The Assyrian king executed this rebel monarch, and at the same time laid siege to a king named () *Ukin-zira* (evidently the Ukinzirius of Ptolemy), in his city of Sapiya. Thus if B.C. 731 was the last year of Nabius (Nabu-usabsi), and the accession year of Chinzirus (Ukin-zira), the accession of Nabius and last year of Nabonassar would be B.C. 733, and the first year of Nabonassar therefore B.C. 747.

Ukin-zira, or Chinzirus, was defeated by Tiglath-Pileser II, and Ptolemy unites the reigns in a summation of five years; this is very probably accounted for by one of the periods of rule as king of Babylon being less than one year in duration. The end of the dual reign is B.C. 726, which, according to the canon, is the last year of Tiglath-Pileser II, and the accession year of Shalmanesar IV.

The next date which we have confirmed by the inscriptions is the accession of Marduk-Baladan (Marduk-Empadus), which I have shown was B.C. 722, and his first year B.C. 721, the five years assigned by Ptolemy to Itulæus corresponding to the length of the reign of Shalmanesar III.

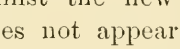
DATE.	HISTORICAL EVENTS.
B.C.	
749	Expedition of Assyrian army to Zimri.
748	Expedition to Zimri and revolt of Nabunazir (Nabonassar) in Babylonia, and accession to throne.
747	First year of Nabunazir. Assyrian army at home to stay, spread of revolt.
746	Revolt in Assyrian capital Calah, and the defeat of the reigning king Assur-nirari.
745	Accession of Tiglath-Pileser in 2nd month of the year.
734	Death of Nabunazir and accession of Nabu-usabsi (Nabius).
731	First year of Kin-ziru (Chinzirus).
726	First year of Shalmanezar in Assyria.
722	Accession of Marduk-Balidina (Marduk-Empadus).
709	First year of Sargon (Arkinus), king of Babylon.

Merodach-Baladan II, B.C. 722–702.

This monarch's reign is the most important of all those which form the middle Babylonian empire. His name appears in the inscriptions under the form of  , and he is stated in the inscriptions to be the son of Yakina,  , and he is evidently to be identified with the *Μαρδοκ-Εμπαδου* (Mardok-Empados) of the Canon of Ptolemy, and with the Hebrew מְרֹדַךְ־בַּלְאֲדָן of Isaiah xxxix, 1.

The accession of this monarch to the Babylonian throne is fixed by the Canon of Ptolemy to have taken place in B.C. 722, the same year as that in which Sargon ascended the Assyrian throne. In an inscription of the Assyrian monarch Tiglath-Pileser II (W.A.I. II, 67, line 26, ob.), it appears

that the family of Merodach-Baladan ruled in Southern Babylonia, on the shores of the Persian Gulf. In the inscription referred to, the Assyrian king stated that he received tribute of Merodach-Baladan, son of Yakin, king of the "land of the sea," that is, of the shores of the Persian Gulf. This district of the marsh lands of the delta, formed, for a period of many centuries, the place of refuge for fugitive rebels against the Assyrians, and it was here was situated the province of Bit Yakin, the home of the tribe of Yakin; and in B.C. 751, Tiglath-Pileser exacted tribute from the then ruling prince, Merodach-Baladan.

On the overthrow of Shalmanesar III by Sargon, or during the years of weak rule, B.C. 725–722, when the Assyrian armies were chiefly engaged in the siege of the important Syrian town of Samaria, and consequently Babylonia was neglected, Merodach-Baladan seized the Babylonian throne simultaneously with the overthrow of Shalmaneser in B.C. 722 by Sargon. His first year is fixed by the lunar eclipse recorded by Ptolemy to have taken place in the 29th day of the month Thoth, in the 27th year of the era of Nabonassar. Sargon, having captured Samaria, made an expedition against the new occupant of the Babylonian throne, but does not appear to have met with any great success; some of the rebel provinces were laid waste, and the Elamite allies of the Babylonians, under Ḫumba-nigas, were defeated; and with these small victories ended the first Babylonian expedition of Sargon in B.C. 721. In his twelfth campaign, which took place in B.C. 710, the Assyrian monarch states that he defeated Merodach-Baladan, and forced him to flee to Cyprus; and after a long and victorious war in Babylonia, he states that in the 13th year of his reign as king of Assyria, he captured the city of Su-an-na,  , an ancient name of Babylon, and proclaimed himself king of Babylon, as well as of the Assyrian kingdom. This dualism of rule is shown by a tablet, K 5280, which bears date as follows:—"Registered at Kalah (Nimroud), Eponym of Bele, 13th year of Sargon, king of Assyria, 1st year king of Babylon." Thus the reign of Merodach-Baladan ended in his twelfth year, B.C. 710, and thus the

monuments confirm the statements of the Canon of Ptolemy. This is confirmed by the following dates, found on some small terra-cotta olives, now in the Louvre, which relate to the sale of some women at Babylon. The dates thus furnished are:—

Ninth year, B.C. 713. (Sale of) the woman Mannu-tammat, the purchase of Bakil Alsi . . . . . Month Sebat, 9th year of Marduk-Balidina, king of Babylon.

Tenth year, B.C. 712. Bel-ḫail, purchase of Marnariḫ. Month Sebat, 10th year of Marduk-Balidina, king of Babylon.

Eleventh year, B.C. 711. (Sale of) the woman Ḫalalat, purchase of Manna-riḫ. Month Sebat, 11th year of Marduk-Balidina, king of Babylon.

One of these small documents, in a private collection at Orleans, bears date in the 12th year, B.C. 710.[1] Though Ptolemy is no doubt correct in making the reign of Merodach-Baladan end in B.C. 710, it does not appear that he was killed until some years after. Sargon assumed the government in Babylon in B.C. 709, and reigned five years, until B.C. 705, when he died, and his son Sennacherib succeeded him as king of Assyria. On the death of Sargon the fugitive Babylonian monarch Merodach-Baladan returned, and attempted to seize the throne of Babylon. In this he was for a short period successful, but Sennacherib, in B.C. 704, drove him out of Babylon, and forced him to fly to his old home among the marshes in the delta, to the seat of his old kingdom of the sea coast. Here among his own people he was so well protected that he was not found by the Assyrian monarch. Sennacherib then placed on the Babylonian throne a person named Bel-ibni, who was the Belibus of the Canon of Ptolemy. This person reigned two years, B.C. 703-702, having ascended the throne in the latter part of B.C. 703. Now it is possible that, though defeated and dethroned, Merodach-Baladan never relinquished his claim to the Babylonian throne, but counted his regnal years all the same from his accession in B.C. 722.

[1] These dates are taken from the Appendix to the translation of the Inscriptions of Khorsabad, published by Dr. Jules Oppert, and a tablet dated in the 10th year, B.C. 710, of Marduk-Baladan, is in the possession of the learned Doctor.

In 2 Kings xviii, the expedition of Sennacherib against Hezekiah is stated to have taken place in the 14th year of Hezekiah; this, according to our table, would be B.C. 712. This is contemporary with the 10th year of Sargon. Now, strong arguments are deduced by Mr. Sayce and M. Bunsen in favour of this being the expedition under the command of Sennacherib as acting general for his father Sargon. It has been proposed by several chronologists, that the 14th year is an error for the 24th. If such is the case, we have the year B.C. 702 in lieu of B.C. 712, and we have the 3rd year of Sennacherib in place of the 10th of Sargon.

If we now examine the history of Western Asia at this period, we see very clearly the progress of events, and the close articulation of the various component parts.

On the death of Sargon and accession of Sennacherib, Merodach-Baladan[1] raised a revolt in Babylonia, the expedition to suppress which formed the first campaign of Sennacherib in B.C. 704-3. Simultaneous on his defeated attempt on the throne of Babylon, it is evident that Merodach-Baladan sent an embassy to gain the aid of both Egypt and Judah, whose revolt was to divide the Assyrian army, and thus weaken the power of Sennacherib. Merodach-Baladan was at this time claiming the title of king of Babylon, which perfectly agrees with the statement in 2 Kings xx, 12.

This had the desired effect, in that the Assyrian king marched against Hezekiah in his third campaign, and, having subdued him in his fourth campaign, he defeats his southern rebels in the revolts of Suzdub and Merodach-Baladan.

The succession of events in this period are shown by the following table:—

[1] There is some confusion between the various Merodach-Baladans mentioned in the inscriptions, and we can only hope to solve the mystery when excavations shall be made in the Nebbi Yunus mound, which contains important inscriptions of both this reign of Sennacherib and other Assyrian kings. In the Hebrew writers (Isaiah xxxix, 1) Merodach-Baladan is called the son of Baladan (בלאדן). This he probably was, as the title Son of Yakin, applied to him in the inscriptions, apparently denotes only the tribe to which he belonged.

Events B.C. 726–700.

DATE.	BABYLONIA.	ASSYRIA.	EVENTS.
B.C.			
726	.. ..	.. ..	Accession of Hezekiah.
725	.. ..	.. ..	1st year.
724	.. ..	.. ..	2nd „
723	.. ..	.. ..	3rd „
722	Accession of Merodach-Baladan	Accession of Sargon	4th „
721	1st year ..	1st year ..	5th „
720	2nd „ ..	2nd „ ..	6th „
719	3rd „ ..	3rd „ ..	7th „
718	4th „ ..	4th „ ..	8th „
717	5th „ ..	5th „ ..	9th „
716	6th „ ..	6th „ ..	10th „
715	7th „ ..	7th „ ..	11th „
714	8th „ ..	8th „ ..	12th „
713	9th „ ..	9th „ ..	13th „
712	10th „ ..	10th „ ..	14th „
711	11th „ ..	11th „ ..	15th „
710	12th Conquest of Babylon by Sargon.	12th „ ..	16th „
709	13th „ 1st year	13th „ ..	17th „
708	14th „ 2nd „	14th „ ..	18th „
707	15th „ 3rd „	15th „ ..	19th „
706	16th „ 4th „	16th „ ..	20th „
705	17th „ 5th „	17th Sennacherib ascends throne	21st „
704	18th „ ..	1st year ..	22nd „
703	19th Return of Merodach-Baladan, defeat Accession of Belibni	2nd „ ..	23rd „
702	20th 1st year	3rd „ ..	24th „
701	21st Revolt of Merodach-Baladan, and expedition of Sennacherib against him	4th „ ..	25th „

On the defeat of the second revolt of Merodach-Baladan by Sennacherib, in B.C. 701-700, the Assyrian monarch placed on the Babylonian throne his son Assur-nadin-sum, who is evidently the Aprokadinus of Ptolemy, who ruled six years, that is, B.C. 699–693. The three next dates given by Ptolemy are not confirmed by any known events in the Assyrian inscriptions; they are—

(1). Iregibelus ..	..	First Year B.C.	693
(2). Mesesmordakus ..	„	„	692
(3). Interregnum ..	„	„	688

These matters will probably receive a full elucidation when the palace now covered by the mounds of Nebbi Yunus is excavated, as in it are the annals of the later years of the reign of Sennacherib.

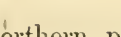
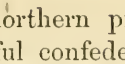
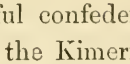
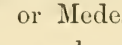
The next date of Ptolemy, B.C. 680, as the first year of Asaridinus, *Ασαριδινου*, who is evidently the Assyrian monarch Assur-aḥi-idin, or Esarhaddon, is in full accord with the monuments, which make the accession of Esarhaddon to have taken place in B.C. 681. The length of this reign also agrees with monumental testimony, as we find Esarhaddon succeeded by his son in B.C. 668.

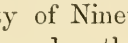
With the accession of Esarhaddon begins the period of the second Babylonian empire, and also the period on which our newly discovered tablets afford so much new and valuable information. An entry in the Assyrian eponym canon fixes the accession of Esarhaddon in the eponym of Nabu-aḥi-eris, B.C. 681, and his first year, therefore, would be B.C. 680, which agrees with the Canon of Ptolemy. The reign of this monarch belongs rather to Assyria than to Babylon, but still there seem to have been separate courts at Nineveh and at Babylon, and he claims the title of king of Babylon. In the collection of Assyrian and Babylonian Antiquities presented to the British Museum by the Proprietors of the "Daily Telegraph," is a tablet relating to the sale of a field, and bearing date in the fourth year of Esarhaddon (B.C. 677), king of Babylon. In his eighth year, B.C. 673, Esarhaddon defeated the Egyptian forces of Tirhakah, who had raised a revolt in Syria, and he sent Manasseh, the king of Judah, to Babylon as a prisoner. In this year, previous to the

departure of the army to Egypt, the king, fearing a recurrence of the events which marked the close of the reign of his father Sennacherib, placed on the Assyrian throne the eldest of his sons, Assurbanipal, and retained the Babylonian kingdom for himself.

Esarhaddon died in his 13th year, B.C. 668, when his son Assurbanipal became king in Assyria, and a younger son, Saul-mugina, who is evidently the Saosduchinus of Ptolemy, ascended the Babylonian throne. The death of Esarhaddon taking place in B.C. 668, the first year of Saosduchinus would be B.C. 667, which agrees with the Canon of Ptolemy. This monarch reigned until the year B.C. 648, when he was conquered by the Assyrian king his brother, and was succeeded by a person named Isinladanus, or Kinlidinus, who reigned until B.C. 626. This date of the conquest of Babylon by Assurbanipal, and the accession of Isinladinus, which is probably a corruption of Siniddinapal, is not definitely confirmed by the inscriptions, but is generally admitted by the majority of chronologists to be accurate. The reign of Isinladinus coincides in its duration with the reign of Assurbanipal, ending, as Ptolemy states, in B.C. 626, and the only Babylonian tablets found in this period bear date in the reign of Assurbanipal.

Owing to the disturbed state of the Assyrian empire at this period, and the scarcity of dated tablets referring to the period intervening between B.C. 647-626, it is very difficult to check the statements of the canon. On the death of Assurbanipal, in B.C. 626, there appears to have followed a period of confusion; a revolt broke out in Babylonia and in various parts of the empire, probably resulting from the amount of indolence and effeminacy produced by the riches and wealth of the Assyrian monarch, and the consequent neglect of firm rule. Some tablets which were obtained from Koyunjik during the excavations of Mr. Layard, and which appear to have lain neglected in the British Museum, appear to relate to this period. In these we find Assurbanipal mentioned in conjunction with a second Esarhaddon, who is spoken of as a son of Bitriduti—the harem-palace of Nineveh. From these it appears that a revolt had broken

out in the northern provinces of the Assyrian empire, and a powerful confederation of races, consisting of the Gimireans, or the Kimerioi,  , the Madai,  or Medes, and the Mannai,  or Mineans, the people of Lake Van, had gathered together and were marching down against Assyria proper and against the capital city of Nineveh. This confederation is stated to have been under the command of a person named  *Ka-as-tu-ri-ti*,[1] a name which bears some resemblance to Cyaxares. Other fragments which I have since discovered record revolts in Egypt and in Babylonia also, indicating that they relate to the end of the Assyrian power. The examination of the other important tablets in the Museum has not left me sufficient time to examine very fully these important tablets, but I hope before long to be able to lay before the Society the results of a more detailed and careful examination.

These documents are dated in the eponym of Nabu-sar-uzur,  . Now, there is an officer of this name who was governor of Margasi, who acted as eponym in the year before the accession of Esarhaddon, that is, B.C. 682; and the name does not again occur until after B.C. 647, the twenty-first year of Assurbanipal, when the eponyms become scarce and difficult to arrange; but among these later eponyms is the one in whose year the new tablets are dated, and thus we may say these events happened later than B.C. 647. The Assyrian general Nabu-abal-uzur, or Nabupalassar, was sent by the king to quell the Babylonian revolt. In this he was successful; but finding himself at the head of the victorious army, and probably being of Babylonian royal descent, he seized on the throne, and declared himself king in B.C. 626.

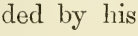
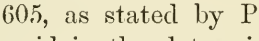
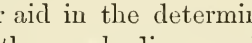
Whilst the new empire of Babylon continued to increase under the government of Nabupalassar, the Assyrian kingdom was gradually falling lower and lower, wasted by the civil wars of Belzikiriskun and Assursaru-ilikain. The

[1] This name may also read *Ka-as-sa-ri-ii*, a nearer resemblance to the name of Cyaxares.

latter of these aspirants seems to have been fairly successful, and to have reigned some years at Nineveh. The date of the fall of Nineveh is as yet uncertain, and until we obtain some Babylonian historical inscriptions, we shall never be definitely able to fix this important period. The Egyptian contingent of the force which marched to the destruction of Nineveh was headed by Necho, who encountered the Israelites at Megiddo, and there slew Josiah, who opposed his passage through the land; and as the first year of Josiah was B.C. 640, his thirty-first and last would be B.C. 610, and about this date was the fall of Nineveh.

The fifth year of Nabupalassar is marked by a lunar eclipse, recorded by Ptolemy to have taken place in the 27th day of the month Athyr, the third month of the vague Egyptian year, and to have been registered at Babylon. This eclipse Ptolemy states occurred in the 127th year of the Nabonassar era, that is, the 127th year from B.C. 747, the first year of the reign of Nabonassar. It therefore occurred in B.C. 621, which agrees with the accession of Nabupalassar in B.C. 626, and his first year being B.C. 625, as stated by Ptolemy.

The year B.C. 621, being the fifth year of Nabupalassar, his twenty-first and last year would be B.C. 604. In this year he was succeeded by his son Nebuchadnezzar, whose first year was B.C. 605, as stated by Ptolemy. It is now that we bring to our aid in the determining of the chronology of this period the newly-discovered commercial dated tablets relating to the transactions of the Egibi firm.

In the third year of Nebuchadnezzar II (B.C. 603), we find the head of the firm to be Sula  , son of  *Nabu-zir-ukina*, or  *Zir-ukina*, and with this man commences our series of commercial documents.

The Canon of Ptolemy makes the interval between the first year of Nebuchadnezzar and the first year of Darius Hystaspis a period of eighty-three years, and if we trace the succession of the members of the Egibi family and their periods of independent headship, we shall find that this interval is correct.

Sula appears in the third year of Nebuchadnezzar, and continues to act as head of the firm for a period of twenty years. His son Nabu-aḫi-idina, who joined his father in the business in the fifteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar II, that is, in the twelfth of his father's headship, succeeds his father in his twentieth year, and himself continues at the head of affairs for a period of thirty-eight years, that is, from the 23rd year of Nebuchadnezzar II to the 12th year of Nabonidus. Itti-Marduk-Balaṭu joins his father in the thirty-fourth year of his headship of the firm, and succeeds him in his thirty-eighth. He in his turn remains head of the firm until the 1st year of Darius Hystaspis, which is the twenty-third year of his headship of the firm.

Now, summing up these periods, we get the result that from the 3rd year of Nebuchadnezzar II to the 1st year of Darius Hystaspis was a period of eighty-one years :—

Sula at the head of firm	20	years
Nabu-aḫi-idina ditto	38	„
Itti-Marduk-Balaṭu	23	„
	81	

This would give an interval of eighty-three years from the 1st year of Nebuchadnezzar II to the 1st of Darius Hystaspis.

The date of the first year of Nebuchadnezzar is fixed, as we have shown, to be B.C. 604, which would give us the date of B.C. 521 for the first year of Darius Hystaspis. This date is confirmed by means of the eclipse registered by Ptolemy as having taken place at Babylon in the 246th year of the era of Nabonassar, on the 28th day of the Egyptian month Epiphi (xi). This would give us the date B.C. 502 for the twentieth year of Darius, which agrees with his first year being B.C. 521, a date which both the tablets and the canon agree in making his first year.

Ptolemy has given us an additional means of checking this twentieth year of Darius—he states that this occurred at a period of 218 epoch years 309 days 23 hrs. 12m. after the first eclipse registered for the second year of Merodach-Baladan. The elements of this latter are : In the 28th epoch year of Nabonassar, 18th day of the month Thoth, the first month of the wandering year, at midnight at

Babylon, the middle of a lunar eclipse. This reckoning from the era of Nabonassar may be written as—

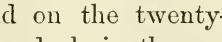
Epoch years.	days.	hours.	minutes.
27	18	11	3

The eclipse in the 20th of Darius is given as occurring in the 246th epoch year of Nabonassar, in the 28th day of the month Ephiphi, the eleventh month of the year, at $10\frac{1}{4}$ hours Alexandrian time. This may be recorded as—

Epoch years.	days.	hours.	minutes.
245	328	10	15

Take from this the difference given by Ptolemy as existing between the two eclipses, viz., 218 epoch years 309 days 23hrs. 12m. That is—

Epoch years.	days.	hours.	minutes.
245	328	10	15
218	309	23	12
27	18	11	3

Which agrees with the date of the eclipse stated by Ptolemy. If instead of these we substitute the actual dates, reckoning from before the Christian era, we gain the same result, as we see. The second year of Merodach-Baladan was B.C. 720, and the 20th year of Darius B.C. 502, which gives us in round numbers the same difference of 218 years. Examining the tablets in the collection, we trace some representing every year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar down to his forty-third, B.C. 562, when, after one bearing date in the first month of the year, Nisan, they cease, and in the seventh month, Tisri, a new monarch, Avil-Marduk,[1] who is evidently the Evil-Merodach mentioned in the Second Book of Kings, chap. xxv, *v.* 27. In this we read that in the twelfth month, that is the month Adar, and on the twenty-seventh day of the month, that Evil-Merodach in the year that he began to reign, did lift up the head of Jehoiachin king of Judah out of prison. This year that he began to reign evidently corresponds with the accession year, which is called by the Babylonians  *sanat-ris-sarrutu*, "the year of the commencement of royalty."

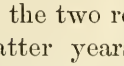
[1] See the variant readings of this monarch's name in the table of kings.

This accession year of Evil-Merodach was B.C. 562, and we are told in this chapter of the Second Book of Kings that this release of Jehoiachin took place in the thirty-seventh year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, which would give the year B.C. 598 for the first year of that captivity, which corresponds to the sixth year of Nebuchadnezzar; and seven years previous to this, in B.C. 605, we have the date of the battle of Carchemish. The reign of Evil-Merodach lasted until the fifth month (Ab) of the second year, that is, B.C. 560, when he was overthrown by Nergal-sar-uzur, or Neriglissar, the son of Bel-sum-ispun, whose first dated tablet is in the eighth month (Marchesvan) of this year.

Neriglissar seems to have been a rich and important person in Babylonia, for, from the 41st year of Nebuchadnezzar II, that is, B.C. 564, until his own accession, he appears as witness and contracting party in the commercial transactions of the Egibi firm. In the 41st year of Nebuchadnezzar, in conjunction with Nabu-aḥi-idina, the son of Sula, who was then at the head of the Egibi firm, he purchased a quantity of property, and is here called, as on his own inscription in W.A.I. I, 67, the son of Bel-sum-iskun. He appears to have held some important position in the city of Babylon, and apparently in close connection with the court. In the 43rd year of Nebuchadnezzar he appears again, and in both the first and second years of the king Evil-Merodach, his predecessor, and even in the month Tammuz, the fourth month of the year, B.C. 560, within four months of his accession, he is engaged in some commercial transactions with the Egibi firm.

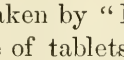
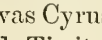
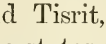
The reign of Neriglissar lasted four years, ending in the second month Airu, or Iyar, 14th day of the fourth year, that is, B.C. 556, and the reign of his successor, Nabonidus, commenced in the fourth month, Duzu or Tammuz, the first tablet in his reign being dated in the 12th day of that month, leaving only an interval of one month and twelve days between the reigns. We have tablets dated in seventeen years of the reign of this monarch, which would make his 17th and last year B.C. 539. The last date in this year is the 5th day of the tenth month, Elul, and the first date in the reign of the succeeding monarch, Cyrus, is the 16th day of

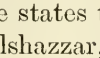
the ninth month, Tisrituv, which gives an interval of about 101 days between the two reigns.

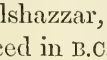
During the latter years of his reign, Nabonidus associated with him on his throne his eldest son  *Bel-sar-uzur*, who was slain at the taking of Babylon, in B.C. 539, by Cyrus.

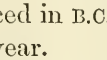
In the Book of Daniel we are told that Babylon was overthrown and taken by "Darius the Mede"; when we find from our sequence of tablets, that the king in whose reign Babylon was taken was Cyrus, who captured the city between the months Elul and Tisrit, of the year B.C. 539. In the 8th chapter of Daniel, he states that one of his visions took place in the 3rd year of Belshazzar, so that the reign of this monarch must have commenced in B.C. 542, the year of accession, and B.C. 541 as his first year.

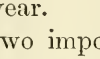
We have now two important questions to settle; they are, who was Belshazzar who was slain on the night of the capture of Babylon? and also, who was Darius the Mede who captured Babylon?

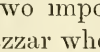
In his cylinder inscription, now in the British Museum, Neriglissar asks the god to protect his eldest son *Bel-sar-uzzur*, or Belshazzar. Among the tablets which constitute the new Egibi collection is one which bears date in the 3rd year of a king named Marduk-sar-uzur,  *Merodach-sar-uzur*. This document is the sale of a field of corn by a person named  *Ahi-ittapsi*, son of a man called  *Nabu-malik*, to Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin, as a partner in the Egibi firm. The witnesses to this document are :—

a. 

b. 

c. 

d. 

e. 

f.

TRANSLATION.

(*a*) Nabu-iskun son of
(*b*) Mu-du son of Dam-ḳa.
(*c*) Idina-Nabu son of Nabu-mu-sitic-atsu
(*d*) Son of Nu-ḥa-su the scribe.
(*e*) Ina-Bit-saggal-zikir son of
(*f*) Dayan Marduk son of Musizib.

From the tables of the members of the Egibi family, we see that the chief person, Idina-Marduk, appears first in the thirty-third year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, B.C. 572, and continues until the third year of Cambyses, B.C. 527. This gives us the limits within which we may seek to place the reign of this king.

In the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar II, B.C. 596, a person named Musezib is witness to some contracts, and this tablet is dated in the lifetime of the grandson of this person. Now, if we reckon by the ordinary average of the tablets for periods of headship, that is thirty years, we may reckon at least a couple of generations, which would bring us to B.C. 536 as the year of Ina-bit-saggal-zikir, the grandson of Musezib; and some of the other witnesses are found in the contracts of the last years of Nabonidus. So that we may with safety place this monarch's reign in the later years of Nabonidus. If this is the case, are we to identify Marduk-sar-uzur with Bel-sar-uzzur, or Belshazzar? To this I am inclined. The first argument against this is in the names; but this does not seem very forcible, when we consider how many of the kings of Assyria had double names, in which the divine names are changed; as Sin-ahi-iriba and Assur-bani-pal and Sin-bani-pal. And in the Egibi family we have Bel-pahir and Nabu-pahir and Nabu-zir-ukin as names of the father of Sula. And when we consider the close relationship between the Babylonian Bel and the god Marduk, this similarity between the names becomes more striking. The close connection between the story of Bel and the Dragon in the Creation Tablets, and the story of Bel and the Dragon in the Apocrypha, is at once apparent; and the great temple of Merodach at Babylon was certainly the one which was identified as the great temple of Belus.

If, as I am inclined to think, and as it seems most probable, we have to identify Marduk-sar-uzur with the Belshazzar of Daniel, we must note the fact, that this third year cannot have been his last year, because the first date in the reign of Cyrus is in the month Kislev, 16th day, whilst this date of Marduk-sar-uẓur is the 23rd day of the month Kislev, so that the reign of Marduk-sar-uẓur or Belshazzar must have lasted at least four years, and his accession therefore have taken place in B.C. 543.

The majority of this reign was in conjunction with his father Nabonidus. The fact of Nabonidus being the previous king is proved by a statement in one of the tablets of Cyrus, which states that certain moneys were paid in the reign of "Nabu-nahid the former king." Marduk-sar-uẓur was slain by Cyrus on his capturing Babylon in B.C. 539.

The tablets furnish us with nine regnal years of Cyrus, which would make from B.C. 539 to B.C. 530 the extent of his rule.

Now, if Cyrus conquered Belshazzar, and took Babylon in B.C. 539, is he to be identified with Darius the Mede?

M. Bunsen, in his excellent work on the Chronology of the Bible, has pointed out that much of the confusion of royal persons during the Persian rule is due to a mistaken adaptation of titular names in error for those of royal beings.

The title Darius, or the Darayavush, or Dariyavraus of the inscriptions, is connected with the Aryan root *dhar*, or *thar*, "to hold," which appears in the Old Persian *tar*, and in the Zendic *dere*, so that Darius would have the signification of the "firm holder," and thus would be the synonym of king or ruler.

Similarly, Artaxerxes is Artakhahatra, which is composed of Aryar, or Arii, the Artaioi of Herodotus, and Khshatra, warrior or king; and Ahasuerus, Achashurosh, the strong king. (Bunsen, Chron. Bib., p. 62.) Admitting this use of the titles, which is most certainly the case in the sixth and seventh chapters of Ezra, as we shall show in treating of the reign of Darius Hystaspis, we may see in the Chaldee דריוש־מדיא Darius the Mede, only Dariyavush Madai, the king or ruler of the Medes, a fit title for Cyrus.

the conqueror of Babylon, supported both by his birth and his rule. (Dan. v, 31.)

If we take this conclusion of the use of these apparently royal names in the Books of Daniel and Ezra, we shall be able to reconcile many apparently contradictory statements.

The reign of Cyrus ends in the 4th month (Tammuz) of the 9th year; and in the sixth month (Elul) of this same year, B.C. 530, we find Cambyses the son of Cyrus on the throne.

The tablets furnish us with dates in eight regnal years of Cambyses, that is, down to B.C. 522; the last tablet is in the 8th year, bearing date "Month Nisan (the first month), 23rd day." Cambyses was followed on the throne of the empire by Darius Hystaspis, but when we examine the early tablets in the reign of Darius, we find not a single trace of a date in his reign until the 12th month of the first year of his reign, so that the greater part of the first year and of the year of accession are unrepresented. As Darius counted his accession from the death of Cambyses, we have an interval of twenty-two months from Nisan B.C. 532 to Adar B.C. 521 to fill up. The history of this period we find written by Darius in the Behistun Inscription.

Here we learn that Cambyses had a brother named Bar-zi-ya or Bardes, the son of Cyrus by the same mother as Cambyses. This brother, Bardes, who is the Smerdis of Herodotus, Cambyses slew during his Egyptian war, and this fratricide was, as Darius tells us, unknown to the people, being one of those silent deeds of murder so common among kings in the East.

The death of Bardes, though hidden from the people, was known to one Gomates the Magus, that is, the priest of the Magian religion, a native of Media. This man, taking advantage of the absence of Cambyses, revolted in the home provinces and seized the throne. This revolt, Darius tells us in the Behistun Inscription, began on the 14th day of the month Tammuz, that would be in the 7th year of Cambyses, B.C. 523. Now among the tablets forming this important collection are two bearing date in the months Elul and Tisri, of the first year of Barziya, "king of Babylon and of Nations." The accession year of Bardes, that is the year of the com-

mencement of the revolt, was, as we have shown, B.C. 523, so that these tablets are dated in the year B.C. 522, the 8th year of Cambyses, and the accession year of Darius Hystaspis. The last date in the 1st year of Gomates, the false Smerdis, is the 1st day of the month Tisri, or seventh month.

Among the tablets in the new collection, I found a number bearing dates in the year of the accession and the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon. Now these tablets I at first supposed to be those of the Nebuchadnezzar II, the son of Nabupalassar, but when I came to examine the witnesses I found this was an impossibility. The head of the firm in this time is Itti-Marduk-Baladu, and his son Marduk-nazir-pal is acting in conjunction with him. Now Itti-Marduk-Baladu appears first in conjunction with his father Nabu-ahi-idina in the 8th year of Nabonidus, and therefore these tablets must refer to some later Nebuchadnezzar. Darius tells us that in the early part of his reign a person named Nidin-tav-Bel, the son of Apiri, revolted against Darius, and stated that he was Nebuchadnezzar the son of Nabonidus. He seized Babylon, and proclaimed himself king. The first tablet in the reign of this monarch is dated in the 17th day of the month Kislev, or just sixteen days after the last tablet dated in the reign of Gomates, or the false Bardes.

The reign of the false Bardes ended, and that of the false Nebuchadnezzar began, in the 7th month Tasritu or Tisri, of the year B.C. 522. We have tablets dated all through this accession-year of Nebuchadnezzar, and continuing on until the 15th day of the month Elul, the 6th month of the 1st year of his reign. Darius states in the Behistun Inscription, that he slew Nidin-tav-Bel, the false Nebuchadnezzar, on the 26th day of the month Kislev, the 9th month of the year. With this ended the reign of the usurper; and the first tablet we have dated in the reign of Darius is on the 14th[1] day of the 12th month Adar, but the actual reign of Darius as independent king began with the death of Nebuchadnezzar, in the 26th of the 9th month Kislev.

[1] I have since found one dated on the 8th day.—W. St C. B.

Thus we are enabled to fill up the interval between the years B.C. 523–521, which is unrepresented by Darius' tablets, but Darius counts his accession from the death of Cambyses, B.C. 522. During this period of anarchy in Babylon there would be a lack of commercial enterprise, and it is most fortunate for the Museum to have obtained possession of these important tablets, which thus explain this important period of ancient history. During the latter part of the first year of Darius, B.C. 521, the head of the Egibi firm, Itti-Marduk-Balaṭu, dies, and his son Marduk-nazir-pal, who joined him in the accession-year of Darius, continues at the head of affairs during the remainder of the reign of Darius.

The tablets now proceed in unbroken succession to represent the regnal years of Darius until the last month of the 6th year B.C. 516, where there is a break extending until the 5th month of the 8th year, B.C. 514. This period evidently marks the revolt of Araḫu or Arachus the Armenian, who revolted at Babylon and stated he was Nabuchadnezzar son of Nabonidus. This revolt lasted until the 5th month of the year B.C. 514, from the end of the year B.C. 516, a period of seventeen months.

From this period until the 35th year of Darius, the regnal years are with fair regularity represented; during the latter years of Darius the Babylonian commerce decreased, and there was consequently a scarcity of documents.

Such are some of the main points of interest to be gathered from this new and important addition to the cuneiform treasures of the British Museum. In bringing them before the members of the Society this evening, I must ask them to consider this but an instalment of what may be derived from these tablets. In bringing forward such theories on the chronology as I have ventured to put forth, I can only say that I am dealing with a subject in which I have but little interest. Those who have made this branch of research more of a study than I have myself, must be so good as to deal leniently with this my first attempt; and I only ask them to take the materials I have herein supplied, and with them found such theories as they may think suitable.

But, looking at this important find of tablets from another aspect than that of chronological data, we shall see how very important an insight they give us into the life and customs of the people of the great Babylon. Here we are as it were admitted into the private parlour of one of the Rothschilds of Babylon, and allowed free access to innumerable state and private securities, to letters, deeds, and leases. Here in our examination of the various testamentary documents, we find appended the names of witnesses—men of all nations—Jews, Greeks, Scythians. Phœnicians, Egyptians, and others. It therefore is very important to examine most thoroughly the contents of these records of the past.

In conclusion, I must not omit to mention the great debt the members of this Society, and, indeed, all students of chronology, owe to Mr. Bosanquet, our worthy treasurer, who has so kindly and liberally borne all the expense of the publication of the paper I have this evening laid before you.

In the discussion which will follow this paper, we shall no doubt hear many important points with regard to the chronology of the period embraced by these tablets, and I can only say, that if any member of this meeting desires any assistance in his researches in the contents of the Egibi Tablets, I shall be most happy to assist him to the best of my ability.

Table of Assyrio-Babylonian Chronology.

DATE.	BABYLONIA.	ASSYRIA.	EVENTS.
B.C.			
763	.. ..	Assur-dain, king	Eclipse of sun, June 15.
762	.. ..	.. ..	Revolt in Assur.
761	.. ..	.. ..	Revolt in Arbaha.
760	.. ..	.. ..	Revolt in Arbaha.
759	.. ..	.. ..	Revolt in Guzanu.
758	.. ..	.. ..	
757	.. ..	.. ..	
756	.. ..	.. ..	
755	.. ..	.. ..	
754	.. ..	.. ..	Expedition to Arpad.
753	.. ..	Assur-nirari, king	No expedition.
752	.. ..	.. ..	No expedition.
751	.. ..	.. ..	No expedition.
750	.. ..	.. ..	No expedition.
749	.. ..	.. ..	Expedition against Zimri.
748	Accession of Nabunazir	.. ..	Expedition to Zimri.
747	1st year .. Commencement of the era of Nabonassar	.. ..	Army retained at home to quell risings in Assyria consequent on Babylonian revolt.
746	2nd year ..	.. ..	Revolt in Calah, the Assyrian capital and overthrow of Assur-nirari.
745	3rd „ ..	Tiglath-Pileser II ascends the throne, month Iyar (II), 13th day	
744	4th „ ..	1st year ..	
743	5th „ ..	2nd „ ..	
742	6th „ ..	3rd „ ..	
741	7th „ ..	4th „ ..	
740	8th „ ..	5th „ ..	
739	9th „ ..	6th „ ..	

DATE.	BABYLONIA.	ASSYRIA.	EVENTS.
B.C.			
738	10th Nabonassar	7th Tiglath-Pileser II	
737	11th „ ..	8th „ ..	
736	12th „ ..	9th „ ..	
735	13th „ ..	10th „ ..	
734	14th „ ..	11th „ ..	Death of Nabonassar, and accession of Nabius (Nabu-usabsi) as king of Babylon.
	Accession of Nabu-usabsi, the Nabius of Ptolemy		
733	1st year ..	12th „ ..	
732	2nd „ ..	13th „ ..	Tiglath-Pileser II invades Babylonia, and defeats and puts to death Nabu-usabsi (Nabius), Ukin-zira, the Chinzirus of Ptolemy, in Sahiyan.
	Accession of Ukin-zira		
731	1st year of Ukin-zira and Porus or Pul	14th „ ..	
730	2nd year ..	15th „ ..	
729	3rd „ ..	16th „ ..	
728	4th „ ..	17th „ ..	
727	5th „ ..	18th Shalmanezar	Death of Tiglath-Pileser II, and accession of Shalmanezar II.
	Accession of Iluloeus		
726	1st year ..	1st year ..	Accession of Hezekiah king of Judah.
725	2nd „ ..	2nd „ ..	1st year.
724	3rd „ ..	3rd „ ..	2nd „
723	4th „ ..	4th „ ..	3rd „
722	5th „ ..	5th „ ..	4th „
	Accession of Merodach-Baladan (Mardok-Empadus)	Accession of Sargon on death of Shalmanezar	Capture of Samaria by Sargon (2 Kings xviii, 9).
721	1st year ..	1st year ..	5th Hezekiah.
			Eclipse of moon registered at Babylon, Thoth 29th, in the 27th year Nabonassar era.
720	2nd „ ..	2nd „ .	6th Hezekiah.
719	3rd „ ..	3rd „ ..	7th „
718	4th „ ..	4th „ ..	8th „

DATE.	BABYLONIA.	ASSYRIA.	EVENTS.
B.C. 717	5th Merodach-Baladan	5th Sargon ..	9th Hezekiah.
716	6th „ ..	6th „ ..	10th „
715	7th „ ..	7th „ ..	11th „
714	8th „ ..	8th „ ..	12th „
713	9th „ ..	9th „ ..	13th „
712	10th „ ..	10th „ ..	14th } Expedition of Sargon against Ashdod.
711	11th „ ..	11th „ ..	15th }
710	12th „ ..	12th „ ..	16th Hezekiah.
	Sargon, Arkinus of Ptolemy, conquers Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon. Merodach-Baladan still claims royalty.		
709	13th 1st Sargon	13th year ..	17th „
708	14th 2nd „	14th „ ..	18th „
707	15th 3rd „	15th „ ..	19th „
706	16th 4th „	16th „ ..	20th „
705	17th 5th „	17th „ ..	21st „
		Accession of Sennacherib	Interregnum of Ptolemy, B.C. 704–3.
704	18th Return of Merodach-Baladan, alliance with Elam	1st year ..	First Expedition of Sennacherib against Merodach-Baladan. 22nd year of Hezekiah.
703	19th year Merodach-Baladan defeated, and Bel-ibni (Belibus) appointed by Sennacherib	2nd „ ..	23rd „ Embassy of Merodach-Baladan to Hezekiah (2 Kings xx, 12).
702	20th year of Merodach-Baladan 1st year of Belibus (Belibni)	3rd „ ..	24th year of Hezekiah. Expedition against Hezekiah, Taylor cylinder, cols. II and III.
701	21st year of Merodach-Baladan 2nd year of Belibus (Belibni)	4th „ ..	25th year of Hezekiah. Revolt of Merodach-Baladan and Suzub in Babylonia, and expedition of Hezekiah against them and defeat of both.
700	22nd year of Merodach-Baladan	5th „ ..	26th year of Hezekiah.
	Accession of Apronadius (Assur-nadin-sum)		

DATE.	BABYLONIA.	ASSYRIA.	EVENTS.
B.C.			
699	1st year Apronadius (Assur-nadir-sum)	6th year of Sennacherib	27th year of Hezekiah.
698	2nd year ..	7th year ..	28th year.
697	3rd ,, ..	8th ,, ..	29th year of Hezekiah, and accession of Manasseh.
696	4th ,, ..	9th ,, ..	1st year.
695	5th ,, ..	10th ,, ..	2nd ,,
694	6th ,, ..	11th ,, ..	3rd ,,
693	Iregibelus (Ptolemy) ..	12th ,, ..	4th ,,
692	Mesesimordakus	13th ,, ..	5th ,,
691	2nd year ..	14th ,, ..	6th ,,
690	3rd ,, ..	15th ,, ..	7th ,,
689	4th ,, ..	16th ,, ..	8th ,,
688	Interregnum ..	17th ,, ..	9th ,,
687	.. ..	18th ,, ..	10th ,,
686	.. ..	19th ,, ..	11th ,,
685	.. ..	20th ,, ..	12th ,,
684	.. ..	21st ,, ..	13th ,,
683	.. ..	22nd ,, ..	14th ,,
682	.. ..	23rd ,, ..	15th ,,
681	Asaridinus (Esarhaddon) accession	24th ,, ..	16th ,,
680	1st year ..	1st year of Esarhaddon	17th ,,
679	2nd ,, ..	.. ..	18th ,,
678	3rd ,, ..	.. ..	19th ,,
677	4th ,, ..	.. ..	20th ,,
676	5th ,, ..	.. ..	21st ,,
675	6th ,, ..	.. ..	22nd ,,
674	7th ,, ..	.. ..	23rd ,,
673	8th ,, ..	.. ..	24th ,,
672	9th ,, ..	.. ..	25th ,,
671	10th ,, ..	.. ..	26th ,,
670	11th ,, ..	.. ..	27th ,,
669	12th ,, ..	.. ..	28th ,,

DATE.	BABYLONIA.	ASSYRIA.	EVENTS.
B.C.			
668	13th year of Asaridinus, and death of Esarhaddon	Accession of Assurbanipal	29th year of Manassch.
667	1st year of Saosduchinus or Saulmugina	1st year ..	30th year.
666	2nd year ..	2nd „ ..	31st „
665	3rd „ ..	3rd „ ..	32nd „
664	4th „ ..	4th „ ..	33rd „
663	5th „ ..	5th „ ..	34th „
662	6th „ ..	6th „ ..	35th „
661	7th „ ..	7th „ ..	36th „
660	8th „ ..	8th „ ..	37th „
659	9th „ ..	9th „ ..	38th „
658	10th „ ..	10th „ ..	39th „
657	11th „ ..	11th „ ..	40th „
656	12th „ ..	12th „ ..	41st „
655	13th „ ..	13th „ ..	42nd „
654	14th „ ..	14th „ ..	43rd „
653	15th „ ..	15th „ ..	44th „
652	16th „ ..	16th „ ..	45th „
651	17th „ ..	17th „ ..	46th „
650	18th „ ..	18th „ ..	47th „
649	19th „ ..	19th „ ..	48th „
648	20th „ ..	20th „ ..	49th „
	Accession of the Isinladanns, or Sin-idinapal		
647	1st year ..	21st „ ..	50th „
646	2nd „ ..	22nd „ ..	51st „
645	3rd „ ..	23rd „ ..	52nd „
644	4th „ ..	24th „ ..	53rd „
643	5th „ ..	25th „ ..	54th „
642	6th „ ..	26th „ ..	55th „ 1st Amon.
641	7th „ ..	27th „ ..	2nd Amon.
640	8th „ ..	28th „ ..	1st year of Josiah.

DATE.	BABYLONIA.	ASSYRIA.	EVENTS.
B.C. 639	9th year of Sin-idinapal	29th year of Assurbanipal	2nd year of Josiah.
638	10th year ..	30th „ ..	3rd „
637	11th „ ..	31st „ ..	4th „
636	12th „ ..	32nd „ ..	5th „
635	13th „ ..	33rd „ ..	6th „
634	14th „ ..	34th „ ..	7th „
633	15th „ ..	35th „ ..	8th „
632	16th „ ..	36th „ ..	9th „
631	17th „ ..	37th „ ..	10th „
630	18th „ ..	38th „ ..	11th „
629	19th „ ..	39th „ ..	12th „
628	20th „ ..	40th „ ..	13th „
627	21st „ ..	41st „ ..	14th „
626	22nd „ ..	42nd „ ..	15th „
	Accession of Nabu-paluzur		Death of Assurbanipal, and revolt and accession of Nabopalassar.

Late Babylonian and Persian Empires.

DATE.	KING.	EGIBI FAMILY.	HISTORICAL EVENTS.
B.C.			
626	Accession of Nabupalassar	.. ..	Death of Assurbanipal, the king of Assyria.
625	1st year ..		
624	2nd ,, ..		
623	3rd ,, ..		
622	4th ,, ..		
621	5th ,, ..	.. ..	Eclipse of the moon at Babylon, in month Athyr(III), 27th day, in the 127th year Nabonassar era.
620	6th ,, ..		
619	7th ,, ..		
618	8th ,, ..		
617	9th ,, ..		
616	10th ,, ..		
615	11th ,, ..		
614	12th ,, ..		
613	13th ,, ..		
612	14th ,, ..	.. ..	There is a tablet in the British Museum dated in the 14th year of this monarch, on the 13th day of Elul.
611	15th ,, ..		
610	16th ,, ..		
609	17th ,, ..		
608	18th ,, ..		
607	19th ,, ..		
606	20th ,, ..		
605	21st ,, ..	.. ..	Death of Nabopalassar.
	Accession of Nebuchadnezzar II		
604	1st year ..		
603	2nd ,, ..	Kudu son of Basa	

DATE.	KING.	EGIBI FAMILY.	HISTORICAL EVENTS.
B.C.			
602	3rd year of Nebuchadnezzar II	Sula son of Nabu-zir-ukin, son of Egibi	
601	4th year ..	Sula son of Zir-ukin, and Kudur son of Basa	
600	5th „ ..	„ „	
599	6th „ ..	„ „	
598	7th „ ..	„ „	Intercalated with 2nd Elul.
597	8th „ ..	„ „	1st year of captivity Jehoiachim.
596	9th „ ..	„ „	Intercalated with 2nd Elul.
595	10th „ ..	„ „	
594	11th „ ..	„ „	
593	12th „ ..	„ „	
592	13th „ ..	Sula son of Zur-ukin, and Dagil-ili son of Zambubu	
591	14th „ ..	.. ..	
590	15th „ ..	Nabu-ahi-idin enters into partnership with his father	
589	16th „ ..		
588	17th „ ..	Sula and son	
587	18th „ ..	„	
586	19th „ ..	„ ..	Destruction of the Temple (2 Kings xxv, 8).
585	20th „ ..	„	
584	21st „ ..	„ ..	Intercalated with 2nd Elul.
583	22nd „ ..	„	
582	23rd „ ..	Death of Sula, and the son Nabu-ahi-idin becomes sole head of the firm	
581	24th „ ..	Nergal-damid son of Nabu-ahi-idina	
580	25th „ ..	Nabu-ahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi	
579	26th „ ..	„ „	
578	27th „ ..	„ „	

DATE.	KING.	EGIBI FAMILY.	HISTORICAL EVENTS.
B.C. 577	28th year of Nebuchadnezzar II	Nabu-ahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi and Nannu-igabu son of Nabu-nahid	
576	29th year ..	Nabu-ahi-idina son of Sula, alone	
575	30th ,, ..	,, ..	
574	31st ,, ..	,, ..	
573	32nd ,, ..	,, ,,	
572	33rd ,, ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin, first appears	
571	34th ,, ..	,, ,,	
570	35th ,, ..	,, ,,	Intercalated with Ve-Adar.
569	36th ,, ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin	
568	37th ,, ..	,, ,,	
567	38th ,, ..	,, ,,	
566	39th ,, ..	Nabu-ahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi	
565	40th ,, ..	,, ,,	
564	41st ,, ..	Nabu-ahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi, and Nergal-sar-uzur son of Bel-sum-iskun	
563	42nd ,, ..	,, ,,	Intercalated with Ve-Adar.
562	43rd ,, ..	Nergal-sar-uzur son of Bel-sum-iskun, with	Last contract dated Nisan 11th (I).
	Accession of Evil-Merodach	Iddina and Nabu-ahi-idina	First contract dated Tisri 21st (VII).
561	1st year ..	Itti-Nabu-Baladu son of Nabu-ahi-idina	
560	2nd ,, ..	,, ,,	Nergal-sar-uzur (Neriglissar) is witness to a contract in month Duzu of this year, and succeeds to crown in Marchesvan of this year.
	Accession of Neriglissar		
559	1st year ..	Bel-dinid son of Nabu-gamil, son of Egibi	
558	2nd ,, ..	Idina-Marduk and Nabu-ahi-idina	
557	3rd ,, ..	,, ,,	

DATE.	KING.	EGIBI FAMILY.	HISTORICAL EVENTS.
B.C.			
556	4th year of Neriglissar	Idina-Marduk and Nabu-ahi-idina	Last contract dated Iyar 14th (II).
	Accession of Nabonidus		
555	1st year ..	Kadasu, a daughter of Sula son of Egibi, is witness	First contract dated Duzu 12th (IV).
554	2nd ,, ..	Idina-Marduk, and Nabu-ahi-idina	
553	3rd ,, ..	,, ,,	
552	4th ,, ..	,, ,,	
551	5th ,, ..	,, ,,	
550	6th ,, ..	,, ,,	
549	7th ,, ..	,, ,,	
548	8th ,, ..	,, ,,	
547	9th ,, ..	,, ,,	
546	10th ,, ..	Itti-Marduk-Balatu son of Nabu-ahi-idina joins his father	
545	11th ,, ..	,, ,,	
544	12th ,, ..	Death of Nabu-ahi-idina, and his son sole head	
543	13th ,, ..	Nadina son of Nabu-ahi-idina, appears as witness	Accession of Marduk-saruzur or Belshazzar.
542	14th ,, ..	Idina-Marduk and Itti-Marduk-Balatu	1st year.
541	15th ,, ..	,, ,,	2nd year.
540	16th ,, ..	,, ,,	3rd year, tablet dated 10th month.
539	17th ,, ..	,, ,,	4th year, and capture of Babylon and death of Belsaruzur.
	Accession of Cyrus		
538	1st year ..	,, ,,	
537	2nd ,, ..	,, ,,	
536	3rd ,, ..	Marduk-Rimmu son of Idina-Marduk, is a witness to contract	
535	4th ,, ..	Idina-Marduk and Itti-Marduk-Balatu	
534	5th ,, ..	,, ,,	
533	6th ,, ..	,, ,,	
532	7th ,, ..	,, ,,	

DATE.	KING.	EGIBI FAMILY.	HISTORICAL EVENTS.
B.C. 531	8th year of Cyrus ..	Idina-Marduk and Itti-Marduk-Balatu	
530	9th „ ..	„ „	
	Accession of Cambyses		
529	1st year ..	„ „	
528	2nd „ ..	„ „	
527	3rd „ ..	Death of Idina-Marduk son of Bassa, son of Nursin	
526	4th „ ..	Itti-Marduk-Balatu	
525	5th „ ..	„ „	
524	6th „ ..	„ „	
523	7th „ ..	„ „	Revolt of Bardes began.
522	8th „ ..	„ „	The last tablet in reign of Cambyses dated in the 23rd of Nisan in this year. 1st year of Bardes' revolt ended in month Tisri. Revolt of Nidintu-bel. Pseudo-Nebuchadnezzar I began in Kislev of this year.
	Accession of Darius		
521	1st year ..	Marduk-nazir-pal joins his father, who dies in this year, and his son succeeds him	1st year of Pseudo-Nebuchadnezzar, or Nidintubel. End of revolt in Elul of this year, and Darius sole king.
520	2nd „ ..	Marduk-nazir-pal	
519	3rd „ ..	„ „	
518	4th „ ..	„ „	
517	5th „ ..	Sisku son of Nadina, appears as witness	
516	6th „ ..	Marduk-nazir-pal and Sisku	The revolt of Arakhu, or Aracus, the Pseudo-Nebuchadnezzar II, began in Adar, B.C. 516, and continued until Ab, B.C. 514.[1]

[1] Some tablets, dated in the month Adar, 14th day, in this year, give Darius the title of King of Sippara (Sepharvaim), Babylon being in revolt, as well as that of King of Nations.

DATE.	KING.	EGIBI FAMILY.	HISTORICAL EVENTS.
B.C. 515	7th year of Darius	Marduk-nazir-pal and Sisku	No tablets.
514	8th ,, ,, ..	Birsu son of Nadina, appears as witness	Revolt of Arakhu ended.
513	9th ,, ,, ..	Suku son of Nadina, son of Egibi, appears as witness	
512	10th ,, ,, ..		
511	11th ,, ,, ..		
510	12th ,, ,, ..		
509	13th ,, ,, ..	Nabu-ahi-bullut son of Itti-Marduk-Balatu, appears as witness	
508	14th ,, ,, ..		
507	15th ,, ,, ..	Nidrutu-bel son of Marduk-iqur, son of Igibi, is a witness, and Nergal-usezib son of Itti-Marduk-Balatu	
506	16th ,, ,, ..	Marduk-nazirpal and Sisku Nabu-ahi-bullut and Sirku	
505	17th ,, ,, ..	,, ,,	
504	18th ,, ,, ..	,, ,,	
503	19th ,, ,, ..	,, ,,	
502	20th ,, ,, ..	,, ,,	Eclipse of moon on 28th Epiphi (XI), in the 246th year of Nabonassar era.
501	21st ,, ,, ..	,, ,,	
500	22nd ,, ,, ..	,, ,,	
499	23rd ,, ,, ..	,, ,,	
498	24th ,, ,, ..	,, ,,	
497	25th ,, ,, ..	,, ,,	
496	26th ,, ,, ..	,, ,,	
495	27th ,, ,, ..	,, ,,	
494	28th ,, ,, ..	,, ,,	
493	29th ,, ,, ..	,, ,,	
492	30th ,, ,, ..	,, ,,	

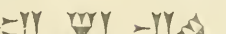
DATE.	KING.	EGIBI FAMILY.	HISTORICAL EVENTS.
B.C.			
491	31st year of Darius ..	Marduk-nazir-pal and Sisku Nabu-ahi-bullut and Sirku	Eclipse of moon at Babylon, 3rd month Tybi, in the 257th year of Nabonassar era (Ptolemy).
490	32nd „ „ ..	Marduk-nazir-pal and Nabu-ahi-bullut and Sirku	
489	33rd „ „ ..	„ „	
488	34th „ „ ..	„ „	
487	35th „ „ ..	„ „	
486	36th „ „ ..	„ „	End of the reign of Darius Hystaspis.

ANALYSIS OF DATED TABLETS.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR II.

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	First 1			
	„ 2			
	„ 3			
	Second ..	Marchesvan 16	Babylon ..	Lana son of Killigug.
	„	Kislev 10 ..	.. ..	Merodach-edir.
	Third {	Kislev 22 ..	Pahirtu[1] ..	Sula son of Bel-pahir
		Adar 15 ..	*None* ..	Kudur son of Basa.
	Fourth ..	Adar 2 ..	Pahirtu[1] ..	
	Fifth ..	Adar 2 ..	Kin	
	Sixth ..	Elul 15 ..	Sa-ukin-Merodach[2]	
	„	Adar 4 ..	Babylon ..	Baladu son
	Seventh ..	Ab 21 ..	Babylon ..	
	„	2nd Elul 23 ..	Ibtuv[3] ..	Sula son of Zir-ukin.
	Eighth ..	Iyar 27 ..	.. ..	Kudur son of Basa.
	„	Tebet 1 ..	.. ..	Kudur son of Basa, son of Egibi, and Nabu-gamil son of Rihetu, son of Sin-nazir.
	„	Tebet 27 ..	.. ..	Musezib, Nabu-gamil, and Nabuahi-gamiluv, sons of Rihetu, son of Sin-nazir.
	„	Sebat 16 ..	.. ..	Musezib-Marduk son of Marduk, son of Zirya.
	„	Sebat 16 ..	.. ..	Sula son of Zir-ukin, son of Egibi.
	Ninth ..	2nd Elul 12 ..	Babylon ..	Sula son of Belpahir, son of Egibi.

[1] , *Pahirtuv.*

[2]  , *Al-sa-ukin Marduk*, "the city Merodach." Most of the Babylonian cities were sacred to particular deities; lists of these are given in W.A.I. II and III.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR II—*continued.*

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Tenth ..	Tisri 16 ..	Babylon ..	Kudur son of Basa, son of Egibi.
	Eleventh ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
	Twelfth ..	Iyar 26 ..	✲ [1]	Kudur son of Basa, son of Egibi.
	,,	Kislev 10 ..	Babylon ..	*Lost.*
	Thirteenth ..	Marschesvan 9	Babylon ..	Dagil-ili son of Zambubu, Nergal-idinna son of Subutu.
	Fourteenth ..	Sebat 23 ..	✲ [2]	Sargon sonof Mutagil-nabu, Mukin sonof Gimillu, Nadan son of Napihmilku.
	Fifteenth ..	Duzu 9 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idin son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	Sixteenth ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
	Seventeenth ..	Tebet 17 ..	Babylon ..	Sula son of Nabuzirukin, son of Egibi.
	Eighteenth ..	Abu..... ..	Babylon ..	Sula son of Nabuzirukin, son of Egibi.
	Nineteenth ..	Marchesvan 12	———	Sula son of Nabuzirukin, son of Egibi.
	,,	Tisri 16 ..	.. ..	Sula son of Nabuzirukin, son of Egibi.
	Twentieth ..	Iyar 2 ..	.. ..	———
	,,	Sebat 11 ..	Babylon ..	Kudur son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	Twenty-first ..	2nd Elul 15 ..	Babylon ..	———
	Twenty-second	Sivan 23 ..	*Lost* ..	———
	,,	Tebet 10 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-iddin son of Sula, son of Egibi.

[1] ,
D.P. *Hu-uz-zu-tuv Sa* D.P. *Saturda*, "the city of the arrow of Saturda."

[2] , "the city of Saturda."

NEBUCHADNEZZAR II—*continued.*

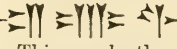
B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Twenty-third ..	Elul 20 ..	*None* ..	Sula son of Nabuzirukin, son of Egibi.
	,,	Elul 20 ..	*None* ..	Sula son of Nabuzirukin, son of Egibi.
	Twenty-fourth	Ab 3 ..	Babylon ..	Nergaldamid son of Nabu-ahi-idin.
	Twenty-fifth ..	Ab 25 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-iddin son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	Twenty-sixth ..	Elul 11 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-iddin son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	Twenty-seventh	Tebet 5 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-iddin son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	Twenty-eighth	Marchesvan 12	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-iddin son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	,,	Tebet 16 ..	Babylon ..	Nannu-igabu son of Nabu-nahid.
	Twenty-ninth ..	Sivan 18 ..	Babylon ..	———
	,,	Ab 16 ..	* [1]	———
	,,	Elul 13 ..	Babylon ..	———
	Thirtieth ..	Iyar 29 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-iddin son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	,,	Tisri 3 ..	Babylon ..	Kudur son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	Thirty-first ..	Tisri 8 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-iddina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	Thirty-second	Sebat 8 ..	*None* ..	Nabuahi-iddina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	Thirty-third ..	Iyar 22 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-iddina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	,,	Marchesvan 16	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nur-sin.
	Thirty-fourth ..	Ab 13 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nur-sin.
	,,	Marchesvan 21	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nur-sin.

[1] , *Bar-sip* or *Borsippa*, the site of which is now marked by the Birs Nimrud mounds.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR II—*continued.*

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Thirty-fifth ..	Duzu 8 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nur-sin.
	Thirty-sixth ..	Ab 21 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nur-sin.
	„	Ve-Adar 2 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nur-sin.
	Thirty-seventh	Ab 4 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idinna son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	Thirty-eighth ..	Duzu 23 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nur-sin.
	„	Tisri 21 ..	Babylon ..	——— son of Sula, son of Bel-pahir, son of Egibi.
	Thirty-ninth ..	Iyar 22 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Tisri 15 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	Fortieth ..	Duzu 21 ..	Babylon ..	———
	„	Elul 21 ..	*[1]	Nabuahi-iddina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Marchesvan 7	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-iddina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Marchesvan 23	Upiya[2] ..	Nabuahi-iddina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	Forty-first ..	Iyar ..	*	Nabuahi-iddina son of Sula, son of Egibi, and Nergalsaruzur son of Belsumiskun.
	„	Elul 15 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-iddina son of Sula, son of Egibi, and Nergalsaruzur son of Belsumiskun.
	„	Sebat 11 ..	Babylon ..	Nabusumiddin son of Sindabi.

[1] .

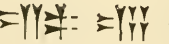
[2]  , *U-pi-ya*, the classic Opis. See W.A.I. III, p. 12, line 14. This may be the Joppa of the Book of Jonah. See Jonah i, 3, "and went down to Joppa." Heb. יפו [יָפוֹ].

NEBUCHADNEZZAR II—*continued.*

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Forty-second ..	Sivan 25 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Elul 23 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Adar 6 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idin son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Ve-Adar 12 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idin son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	Forty-third ..	Nisan 11 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idin son of Sula, son of Egibi, and Nergalsaruzur son of Belsumiskun.

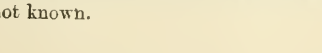
EVIL-MERODACH (AVIL-MARDUK).

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Accession ..	Tisri 21 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Tebet 1 ..	* [1]	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Tebet 27 ..	*Lost* ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	First ..	Elul 13 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Marschesvan 13	Babylon ..	Itti-Nabubaladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Tisri 21 ..	*Lost* ..	Marduk-ziribni son of Lapan-Bel.
	„	Adar 15 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	Second ..	Nisan 26 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Iyar 21 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Ab 4 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Sebat 5 ..	Babylon ..	Bel-edir son of Bel-sunu, son of Nursin, and Nergalsaruzur son of Belsumiskun.

[1]  , *Harris-Kallava*, or "the city of the Mountain of the World," a city in the neighbourhood of Babylon.

NERIGLISSAR (NERGAL-SAR-UZUR).

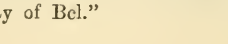
B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Accession ..	Marchesvan 25	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Tebet 29 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Ve-Adar 9 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	First	Iyar 9 ..	*[1] ..	Beldinid son of Nabu-gamil, son of Egibi.
	„	Sivan 21 ..	Babylon ..	———
	„	Ab 3 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	Second ..	Iyar 27 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Sebat 21 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Adar — ..	Sahrini[1] ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	Third ..	Nisan — ..	———	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Elul 5 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Sebat 8 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	Fourth ..	Adar 12 ..	Sahrinu[1] ..	Kibar(?)mumu son of Ziriya, son of Nabai.
	„	Nisan 2 ..	Sahrinu[1] ..	———
	„	* Iyar 14 ..	———	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.

[1]  , *Sah-ri-in-ni*, or , *Sah-ri-nu*, a city of considerable commercial importance, the site of which is unfortunately not known.

NABONIDUS.

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Accession ..	Duzu 12 ..	Babylon ..	Kudasu son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Kislev 5 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Kislev 14 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Sebat.. ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Sebat 9 ..	Babylon ..	Kusadu son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Adar 30 ..	Sahrini[1] ..	Dabi-Mi-Mi son of Nabu-ahi-idina and Nabu-nazir-pal, son of Nabu-ahi-idina.
	First ..	Nisan 6 ..	Sahrini ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Tisri 15 ..	*[2]	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Ve-Adar 25 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Ve-Adar 26 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	Second ..	Iyar 4.. ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Sivan 22 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Sivan 25 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	Third ..	Iyar 10 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Sivan 18 ..	Barsip ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.

[1] See note, p. 53.

[2]  , D.P. *Bit-tabi-Bel*, "the city of the Temple of the Bounty of Bel."

NABONIDUS—*continued.*

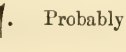
B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Third ..	Tisri 24 ..	Babylon ..	*Lost.*
	,,	Tebet 15 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	,,	Ve-Adar 15 ..	Sahrini[1] ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	,,	Ve-Adar 20 ..	Sahrini[1] ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	,,	Ve-Adar 25 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	Fourth ..	Iyar 23 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	,,	Sivan 9 ..	Sahrinu[1] ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	,,	Elul 30 ..	Babylon (?)	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula son of Egibi.
	,,	Tisri 26 ..	Sahrinu[1] ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	,,	Adar 5 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	Fifth ..	Nisan 21 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	,,	Iyar 3 ..	Barsip ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	,,	Sivan 1 ..	*None* ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	,,	Elul 10 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	,,	Tebet 22 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	,,	Adar 28 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	Sixth ..	Iyar 22 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	,,	Sivan 1 ..	———[2]	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.

[1] See note p. 53.

[2] , D.P. *Su-la-a*, "the city of Sula." An unknown city.

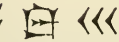
NABONIDUS—*continued.*

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Sixth ..	Duzu 5 ..	*Nun-ki*[1] ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Marchesvan 18	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Adar 10 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Ve-Adar 15 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	Seventh ..	Nisan 20 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Duzu 12 ..	*Nun-ki*[1] ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Ab 7 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Sebat 9 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Sebat 13 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	Eighth ..	Nisan 16 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Iyar 22 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Iyar 27 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-Baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Abu 15 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Sebat 9	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	Ninth ..	Iyar 24 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Duzu 16 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.

. Probably  , or *Sippra*.

NABONIDUS—*continued.*

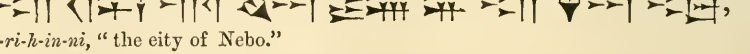
B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Ninth ..	Elul 10 ..	*Nahr-Essu?*[1]	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Adar 30 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	Tenth ..	Nisan 27 ..	Saharinni ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Iyar 4 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Sivan 13 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Elul 26 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	2nd Elul 8 ..	Babylon ..	*None.*
	„	2nd Elul 13 ..	Sippra ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	2nd Elul 17 ..	Babylon ..	*Lost.*
	Eleventh ..	Nisan 27 ..	———	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Iyar 2 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Kislev ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Tebet 22 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Adar 15 ..	Sahrini ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	Twelfth ..	Nisan 13 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Duzu 11 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.

[1]  , *Nahr Essu* (?) an unknown city. "The river of feet" appears to be the meaning of this name, and the name is non-Semitic.

NABONIDUS—*continued.*

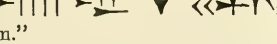
B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Twelfth ..	Elul 21 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Sebat 26 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Adar 25 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Ve-Adar 9 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi.
	„	Ve-Adar 17 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Ve-Adar 27 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	There are about thirty tablets dated in this year of Nabonidus.			
	Thirteenth ..	Iyar 9 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Ab 16 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Tisri 23 ..	*[1]	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Sebat 15 ..	*[2]	Nadina son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	Fourteenth ..	Nisan 22 ..	Dunriv ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Iyar 1 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Sivan 4 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.

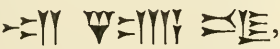
[1] , or *Sah-ri-h-in-ni*, "the city of Nebo."

[2]  , *Alu-Bab Nahr Samasi*, "the city of the Mouth of the River of Shamas."

NABONIDUS—*continued.*

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Fourteenth ..	Kislev 22 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Marchesvan 5	*[1]	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	Fifteenth ..	Nisan 8 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Iyar 2 ..	*[1]	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Duzu 9 ..	*[1]	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Elul 13 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Sebat 10 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	Sixteenth ..	Duzu 22 ..	*[2]	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Abu 22 ..	*[2]	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Kislev 3 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Adar 22 ..	*[3]	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	Seventeenth ..	Nisan 14 ..	——	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.

[1]  , *Bit-sar-Babil*, "Palace of the king of Babylon."

[2]  , *Al-sa-Adirtuv*, "the city Adirtuv."

[3] , *Al-Ip-ri-alu-sa*, D.P *Nabu*, "the city of Ipri, the city of Nebo."

NABONIDUS—*continued.*

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Seventeenth ..	Iyar 4 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Duzu 7 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Elul 5 ..	*[1]	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.

[1] *Bit-sar-Babil*, "Palace of the king of Babylon." See note 1, p. 59.

CYRUS.

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Accession ..	Kislev 16 ..	Barsip ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Tebet 6 ..	———	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Adar 23 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	First	Nisan 7 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Adar 2 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	Second.. ..	Iyar 26 ..	*[1]	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Ab 13 ..	Babylon ..	Idini-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	2nd Elul 16 ..	*[2]	Nadina son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Adar 8 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	Third	Elul 16 ..	Nahr-Essu[3]	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Marchesvan 23	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Sebat 26 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Ve-Adar 4 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.

[1] , *Alu-uzazu-Mitunu*, an unknown city.

[2] , *Mat Azulu-uk-ka-nu*, an unknown city.

[3] See note 1, p. 57.

CYRUS—*continued.*

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Third	Ve-Adar 14 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-riminu son of Idina-Marduk, son of Nursin.
	Fourth.. ..	Sivan 6 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Abu 23 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	Fifth	Sivan 1 ..	Babylon ..	Nadina son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Sebat 26 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	Sixth	Nisan 20 ..	Sahrinu ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Elul 1	*None* ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	„	Tebet 5 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Ve-Adar 8 ..	Uru-ki[1] .. (Warka)	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	Seventh ..	Nisan 21 ..	Babylon ..	Nahi-kinzir son of Marduk-nazir, son of Egibi.
	„	Elul 10 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Tisri 13	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Tebet 7 ..	Babylon ..	Beldamik son of Belahi-idin, son of Egibi.
	„	Adar 23 ..	Babylon ..	*None.*
	Eighth.. ..	Iyar 22 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.

[1] , *Uru-ki*, or *Erechi*, one of the most ancient cities, whose site is marked by the ruins of Warka.

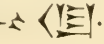
CYRUS—*continued.*

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Eighth.. ..	Tisri 16 ..	Saharrini	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Marchesvan 20..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Kislev 11 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Sebat 10 ..	*[1]	Nadina son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	Ninth	Nisan 3 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Iyar 22 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Sivan 2 ..	Barsip ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Duzu 7 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.

[1] , *Al Tah-u-ta-ma*, "the city Tahutama," an unknown city.

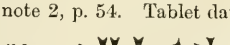
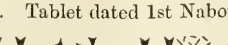
CAMBYSES.

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Accession ..	Elul 16 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu and brothers, sons of Nabu-ahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Elùl 20 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu and brothers, sons of Nabu-ahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Sebat 21 ..	Babylon ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	First	Duzu 14 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Elul 15 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Kislev 15 ..	Sahrinu ..	Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin.
	Second.. ..	Iyar 30 ..	Sahrinu ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	,,	2nd Elul 22 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Adar 24 ..	*[1]	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	Third	Nisan 27 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Sivan 6 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	,,	2nd Elul 22 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.

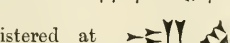
[1]  . The reading of this name is uncertain.

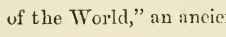
CAMBYSES—*continued.*

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Third	Sebat 22 ..	*[1]	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	Fourth.. ..	Marchesvan 7..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Tebet 10 ..	Dabibel[2] ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Sebat 24 ..	*Uncertain*[3]..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	Fifth	Duzu 21 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Elul 22 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Sebat	———	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	Sixth	Elul 28 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Kislev	*[4]	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Sebat 18 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	„	Adar 16 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.

[1]  , *Pa-ar*, or  , *Pa-si-ri*, an unknown city, near Babylon apparently.

[2] See note 2, p. 54. Tablet dated 1st Nabonidus.

[3] Possibly 

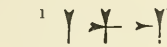
[4] Registered at  *Harris-kalama*, "the Mountain of the World," an ancient suburb of Babylon. See note 1, p. 52.

CAMBYSES—*continued.*

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Seventh ..	Nisan 10 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Iyar 6	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Sivan 1 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Duzu 21 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Tisri — ..	———	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	Eighth ..	Nisan 23 ..	Sahirini ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.

BARDES (BAR-ZI-YA).[1]

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	[2] First	Elul 20 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Tisri 1 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.

[1]  (v.).

[2] No tablets in year of accession.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR III.

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Accession ..	Kislev 20 ..	Babylon ..	*Uncertain.*
	,,	Kislev 21 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Marchesvan 10	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Tisri 17 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Tisri 20 ..	Babylon ..	Itti-Marduk-baladu son of Nabuahi-idina, son of Egibi.
	First	(*Lost*) 1 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Elul 15 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.

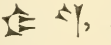
DARIUS.

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	No tablets	have as yet been the accession	found dated of Darius.	in the year of
	First	Adar 14 ..	*None* ..	*Itti-Marduk*-baladu son of *Nabuahi-idina*, son of *Egibi*.
				Marduk-nazirpal son of *Itti-Marduk-baladu*, son of *Egibi*.
	Second ..	Iyar 3	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Iyar 7	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Elul 16 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Tisri 5	* [1]	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Adar 9.. ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	Third	Sivan 12 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Elul 2	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	2nd Elul 1 ..	Nahr Essu..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Sebat 18 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Sebat 27 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.

[1] , *Al Nu-uh sa Zal-tuv*, "the city of the Rest of Warriors." An unknown city, apparently near Babylon.

DARIUS—*continued.*

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Third	Adar 20 ..	.. ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	Fourth.. ..	Abu 5	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	„	Elul 13 ..	*[1]	Marduk - nazirpal and brothers sons of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	„	Tisri 20 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk - nazirpal and brothers sons of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	„	Sebat 22 ..	Saharinu ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	Fifth	Sivan 8 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	„	Tisri 25 ..	Babylon ..	Sisku son of Nadina, son of Egibi.
	„	Marchesvan 27	Babylon ..	Sisku son of Nadina, son of Egibi.
	„	Ve-Adar 4 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	Sixth	Tisri 4.. ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	„	Kislev 12 ..	Barsip ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	„	Kislev 26 ..	*[2]	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.

[1]  , *Su-ub-tu*, a city in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon.

[2] .
The city *Haḫhuru*, or perhaps *Zaḫhuru*, "the small city," the native city of *Kalba*, one of the relatives of the Egibi family, and a frequent witness to the documents; his name means "the dog." Comp. the Heb. כֶּלֶב (Numb. xiii, 7).

DARIUS—*continued.*

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Sixth	Elul 2	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	„	Adar 25 ..	Barsip ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	No tablets are	found bearing	dates in the	seventh year of Darius.
	Eighth ..	Ab 28	Babylon ..	Bursu son of Nadina, son of Egibi.
	„	Elul 11 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal and his brothers, and Nadina son of Egibi.
	„	Tisri 3	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	„	Ve-Adar 8 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	Ninth	Nisan 18 ..	Barsip ..	Birduk (?) son of Nadina, son of Egibi.
	„	Duzu 16 ..	Babylon ..	Sirku son of Nadina, son of Egibi.
	„	Elul 1	*[2]	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	„	Tisri 26 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	„	Adar 7 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	Tenth	Nisan 2 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	„	Ab 30	———	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.

[1] The revolt of Aracus, the Pseudo-Nebuchadnezzar.

[2] , *Al-sa Nabu-naid*, "the city of Nabonidus."

DARIUS—*continued.*

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Tenth	Kislev 19 ..	———	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Tebet	———	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Adar 21 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	Eleventh ..	Nisan 18 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Tisri 26 ..	Saharinu ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	2nd Elul 21 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Adar 21 ..	Saharinu ..	Marduk-nazirpal and Nabuahi-bullut sons of Itti-Marduk-baludu, son of Egibi.
	Twelfth ..	Nisan 16 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Nisan 22 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Duzu 15 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Tisri 16 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Adar 15 ..	Babylon ..	Sisku son of Nadina, son of Egibi.
	Thirteenth ..	Nisan 2 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-bullut son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Tisri 28 ..	———	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Tebet 22 ..	Babylon ..	Nabuahi-bullut son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.

DARIUS—*continued.*

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Thirteenth ..	Ve-Adar 14 ..	Babylon ..	Sisku son of Nadina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Ve-Adar 15 ..	——	Sisku son of Nadina, son of Egibi.
	Fourteenth ..	Iyar 27 ..	Babylon ..	Sisku son of Nadina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Ab 24	——	Merodach-nazirpal, and Nabuahi-bullut and Nergalusezib sons of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Elul 26 ..	Babylon ..	Merodach-nazirpal, and Nabuahi-bullut and Nergalusezib sons of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Tebet 11 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	Fifteenth ..	Sebat 15 ..	.. ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Ab 3	Sahrinu ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Ab 29	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Tisri 4	Sahrinu ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Elul 10 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal, Nabuahi-bullut, and Nergalusezib sons of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Marchesvan 28	* [1]	Nidintubel son of Marduk-duk-igur, son of Egibi.
	Sixteenth ..	Sivan 1 ..	.. ..	Marduk-nazirpal and Nergalusezib sons of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.

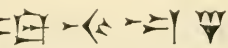
[1] , *Al Bit Hahru.* See note, p 70.

DARIUS—*continued.*

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Sixteenth ..	Elul 2	*[1]	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu.
	,,	Adar 10 ..	*[2]	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu.
	,,	Ve-Adar ..	———	Sirku son of Nadina, son of Egibi.
	Seventeenth ..	Sivan 23 ..	*[3]	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-balladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Ab 9 ..	———	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Tebet 24 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Sebat 15 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Sebat 23 ..	Babylon ..	Sirik son of Nadina, son of Egibi.
	Eighteenth ..	Nisan 1 ..	Babylon ..	Sisku son of Nadina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Nisan 24 ..	Babylon ..	Nergal-usezib son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Elul 4 ..	Babylon ..	Sisku son of Nadina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Elul 20 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal and Nergal-usezib sons of Itti-Marduk-baladu.
	,,	Adar 27 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.

[1] , *Al nahr* TIG-GAB-A-KI, "the city of the River of Kutha." This river is probably marked by the modern Nahr Kuti.

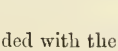
[2] , *Su-sa-an*, Shusan, the Persian capital; the Heb. שושן, Shushan (Dan. viii, 2).

[3]  , *Al-usa* D.P. *Nabu-zir-basa*, "the city of Nabu-zir-basa," an unknown city, the residence of one of the witnesses.

DARIUS—*continued.*

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Nineteenth ..	Iyar	Bit Hahhru[1]	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Ab 5 ..	Babylon ..	Nabu-ahibullut son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Sebat 8 ..	*[2]	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Sebat 21 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Nadina, son of Egibi.[4]
	Twentieth ..	Duzu 18 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Elul 3 ..	Bit Hahhru	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Adar 2 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	Twenty-first ..	Nisan 14 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Tisri 21 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	Twenty-second	Iyar 9 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Sivan 3 ..	Bit Dabi-Bel[3]	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	Twenty-third ..	Nisan 18 ..	Babylon ..	Sirku son of Nadina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Kislev 2 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.

[1] See note 1, p. 73.

[2]  , *Al Sa-ris*, an unknown city.

[3] See note 2, p. 54.

[4] Not to be confounded with the Marduk-nazirpal, son of Itti-Marduk-baladu.

DARIUS—*continued.*

B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Twenty-third ..	Marchesvan 21	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	Twenty-fourth	Nisan	Babylon ..	Sisku son of Nadina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Sivan 23 ..	Babylon ..	Marduka son of Guzami, son of Kusimalku.
	,,	Ab 21	Babylon ..	Sisku son of Nadina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Elul 26 ..	Babylon ..	Sirikti son of Nadina, son of Egibi.
	Twenty-fifth ..	Ab 27	Bit Hah-hru[1]	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Duzu 7 ..	Babylon ..	Marduka son of Guzanu, son of Kusimalku.
	,,	Adar 12 ..	———	Nabuahi-bullut son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	Twenty-sixth	Iyar 18 ..	Babylon ..	*Lost.*
	,,	Ab 2	Babylon ..	Siriki son of Nadina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Elul 21 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Adan 20 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	Twenty-seventh	Nisan 21 ..	Babylon ..	Sisku son of Nadina, son of Egibi.
	,,	Ab 25	Babylon ..	*Lost.*
	,,	Duzu 23 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	Twenty-eighth	Adar 3.. ..	Babylon ..	———
	Twenty-ninth ..	Elul 4	Babylon ..	Markuk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	Thirtieth ..	Elul 3	Babylon ..	———

[1] See note 1, p. 73.

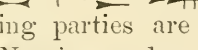
DARIUS—*continued.*

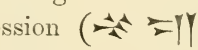
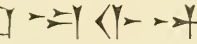
B.M. NO.	YEAR.	MONTH AND DAY.	REGISTERED.	WITNESSES.
	Thirty-first ..	Marchesvan 18	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	,,	Sebat 9 ..	Babylon ..	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.
	Thirty-fourth ..			
	Thirty-fifth ..	Sebat 14 ..	——	Marduk-nazirpal son of Itti-Marduk-baladu, son of Egibi.

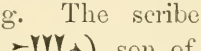
ADDENDA

TO ANALYSIS OF DATED TABLETS.

The following additional dates have been found, but as their places in the foregoing table being uncertain, I have added them as addenda:—

I. Tablet registered at Babylon, and dated month Kislev, 23rd day, in the third year of Marduk-sar-uzur () king of Babylon. The contracting parties are Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin; and among the witnesses, Dayan-Marduk son of Musezib.

II. Tablet bearing the date month Iyar, 14th day, year of the accession () of  *La-khab-ba-si-kudur*, king of Babylon. The members of the Egibi family here mentioned are Idina-Marduk son of Basa.

III. Tablet registered at Babylon, bearing date month Tisri, 14th day, in the fourth year of Essarhaddon the king. The scribe of this tablet is Mar-ga () son of Egibi.

ING OF THE MADAI,

INGS OF THE *ΜΗΔΟΙ*,

N IN B.C. 490.

of Uwakshatarah," or Ahasuerus.

atarah," or Ahasuerus.

(*or Kai-Khosru*). He became king of Persia.

Nabonidus." He became king of Babylonia (?).

es, who stopped the building of the Temple
Darius. (Ezra iv, 24.)

[7] Ezra iv, 7; Septuagint, Daniel v, 31; Josephus.
[8] Brother of Darius (?).
[9] King of Assyria. (Ezra vi, 22.)

HISTORY OF DARIUS SON OF HYSTASPES, KING OF BABYLON, KING OF THE MADAI,

WHO DIED IN B.C. 484.

COMPARED WITH THE HISTORY OF THE SUPREMACY OF THE KINGS OF THE *MHΔΟΙ*.

BY ÆSCHYLUS, WHO WAS 31 YEARS OLD IN B.C. 484, AND FOUGHT AT THE BATTLE OF MARATHON IN B.C. 490.

SCULPTURE AND INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS ON THE ROCK AT BEHISTUN.

B.C.		The Easterns or Achæmenian Kings of Assyria, Babylon, Media, and Persia	
583		Cyaxares = Ahasuerus, the first.	Overthrew Nineveh and expelled the Scythians, after the eclipse of B.C. 585. (Herod. i, 106.)
573		Astyages, the second	Conquered by Cyrus (or Kai-Khosru) the Persian, father of Cambyses, in B.C. 560.
538		**Cyrus**, the third	Cyrus the Mule, son of Cambyses the Persian and Mandane the Mede.
529		Cambyses, the fourth.[2]	Cambyses king of Persia, father of Cyrus the Mule, brother of Tanuxarces, who ruled over 127 provinces, and married Hadassah or 'Atossa.
521	I AM DARIUS, THE GREAT KING, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achæmenian.	-	*"This is what was done by me before I became king."*
520	Gau-mata, a Magian, said	-	*"I am Bardes son of Cyrus" (or Kai-Khosru).* Parsa and Mada went over to him.
518	Cambyses dies after a reign of eleven years, from B.C. 529,[1] or eighteen years from B.C. 535.[2]	-	Cambyses married 'Atossa or Hadassah, widow of Ahasuerus, or Tanuxarces, thus annexing 127 provinces to the empire.
517	Gau-mata slain by Darius	Mardos, the fifth	Mardos married 'Atossa or Hadassah, widow of Ahasuerus.
517	"Ex quo Darius rex regnavit Mago mortuo," B.C. 264 + 253 = B.C. 517[3]	-	*"This is what I did after I became The King."*
516	Atrines became king of Susiana	-	Darius married 'Atossa, of whom Xerxes or Ahasuerus was born.
511	NADINTABELUS said	-	*"I am NEBUCHADNEZZAR son of Nabonidus."* He became king of Babylonia.
510	Nadintabelus slain by Darius (and Cyrus).[6] Parsa, Uwadja, Mada, Athura, etc., at this time revolt against Darius.		
509	Martiya, or Martes, said	Meraphis, the sixth	*"I am Inmanes, I am king of the Susians."*
	Phraortes said	-	*"I am Sattarritta, of the seed of Uwakshatarah," or Ahasuerus.*
	Citratakmes said	-	*"I am of the seed of Uwakshatarah," or Ahasuerus*
	Veisdates said	Artaphernes,[5] the seventh	*"I am Bardes son of Cyrus" (or Kai-Khosru).* He became king of Persia.
503	Aracus said	-	*"I am Nebuchadnezzar son of Nabonidus."* He became king of Babylonia (?).
	Bel-sar-uzur, or Belshazzar, local king of Babylon (?)		
496	Belshazzar son of Nabonidus, revolts at Babylon (?)		
	Darius, on declaring war against Belshazzar, associates Xerxes, or Ahasuerus, with him as king of Persia.[4]	Xerxes or Ahasuerus, the eighth (?)	The same king as Artaxerxes, who stopped the building of the Temple till the second year of Darius. (Ezra iv, 24.)
493	Belshazzar slain by Darius. Xerxes takes the title Artaxerxes.[7]		
	Darius, son or representative of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Madai, took the kingdom at the age of about 62. (Dan. v, 31; ix, 1, 2.)	Darius, the ninth, or DARIUS THE MEDE, king of Assyria.[8]	*"I am the ninth."*
486	Temple of Jerusalem dedicated. "Darius and Artaxerxes being kings of Persia." (Ezra vi, 14.)		

[1] Manetho, Apis Tablets, and Parian Chronicle.
[2] Ctesias.
[3] Æschylus, like Herodotus, seems to fall into the error of making Cambyses, who married Mandane, son of Cyrus the Mule, which is corrected by Xenophon.
[4] Parian Chronicle.
[5] Orosius, Clemens, Megasthenes, Taban.
[6] Ezra iv, 6. See Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch. Vol. I, 260.
[7] Ezra iv, 7; Septuagint, Daniel v, 31; Josephus.
[8] Brother of Darius (?).
[9] King of Assyria. (Ezra vi, 22.)

Discussion on the "Babylonian Dated Tablets and the Canon of Ptolemy."

3rd July, 1877.

Mr. J. W. Bosanquet.—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, Many of those present here to-day probably were here at the last meeting in the beginning of June last, when Mr. Boscawen's very valuable paper on these tablets was read before the Society. But it will be remembered that the reading was prolonged to so late an hour in the evening that it was difficult to find sufficient time to express any opinion upon it, the discussion therefore was deferred to the present meeting. I did however take the opportunity of briefly impressing upon the meeting two leading facts which I felt persuaded were to be deduced from these tablets, first, that there was no such king as "Darius the Mede," as distinguished from Darius Hystaspis. Do not suppose that I am saying anything against Scriptural history, on the contrary, my argument is intended to establish the truth of the Hebrew record. But there is no room to be found, I say, for any such imaginary king as Darius the Mede, reigning over the realm of the Chaldeans in the year B.C. 538, since Mr. Boscawen has laid before us this continuous series of kings of Babylon, from Nebuchadnezzar to Xerxes; and the necessary inference is that "Darius the Median" could be no other than Darius the son of Hystaspes, whose name alone is referred to in these documents. Of Darius the Median we are told that he took the kingdom when he was "about sixty-two years of age," not in his first year as king of Media and Persia, as successor of Cambyses, but in the sixty-second year of his age, "*what time* he was set over the realm of the Chaldeans,"[1] as we learn from the 9th chapter of Daniel, which pointedly makes this distinction between the different periods of his reign. It was not in his first year reckoned from his accession as king, but in the first year, *when* (it is translated "who") or "*at what time*" he was set over the realm of the Chaldeans, that is towards the latter part of his life.

[1] Daniel ix, 1, 2.

Now, this conclusion involves a very considerable alteration in the chronology connected with the Bible. It makes no less a difference than forty-six years in the Biblical position of this king, and the result can only be an entire disruption and annihilation of the marginal dates attached to the Bible. If Darius the Median is Darius Hystaspis, and the first year of his reign is to be put forty-six years lower than in the common reckoning, you cannot count up from that lower date to the time of Solomon without altering every date above. I will endeavour to put this point clearly before the meeting before we part. I also stated at the June meeting that there was no such king to be found in Mr. Boscawen's list as Belshazzar. Therefore we will take the subject up, if you please, from this point. Mr. Boscawen has suggested that Belshazzar is represented by Marduk-sar-uzur. Here is a Babylonian king, whom he has brought to the notice of the world for the first time, called Marduk-sar-uzur. We have never heard of this king before; nevertheless no doubt he reigned, and reigned, as proved by one of these tablets, not less than three years. In searching for a representative of Belshazzar, who has become the common plaything of interpreters—first one king, then another—he now suggests that he must be identified with Marduk-sar-uzur. My reply is, that Marduk, or Merodach, and the god Bel are two different deities. In Mr. Boscawen's translation of an inscription of Agu-kak-rimi, we read of "the glory of Anu and Bel," and "of Hea and Marduk." Bel is therefore here distinguished from Marduk, and in Mr. Sayce's Babylonian Saints' Calendar we read throughout that Bel and Merodach are different Babylonian deities. In the Hebrew Scriptures we read "Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth"; "Merodach is broken in pieces." Marduk and Bel are not therefore the same, and Marduk-sar-uzur does not represent Belshazzar, but he represents himself. All other kings given in Mr. Boscawen's list bear their own titles; why should Marduk-sar-uzur be excepted?[1]

[1] Mr. Bosanquet must remember that both the documents here referred to are of the Accadian or early empire—earlier than 1600 B.C.; in the late empire Merodach was identified with Bel, though sometimes called the lesser Bel.—W. St. C. B.

Now, I have said that Belshazzar is shifted about according to the fancy of every interpreter who handles the Book of Daniel, and who feels himself called upon to uphold the common marginal chronology of the Bible.

Josephus first suggested that Baltazar was the same as Naboandelus,[1] by which name he probably referred either to Nabonidus, or more probably to the usurper Nadin-tabelus of the Behistûn Inscription, who falsely called himself the "son of Nabonidus." In the ecclesiastical canon of Syncellus Belshazzar is identified with Nergal-sar-uzur. Sir John Marsham, in the days of Scaliger, and Niebuhr and Canon Westcott in the present day, identify Belshazzar with Evil-Merodach. This is the most extraordinary identification of all identifications. Scaliger himself argued that Belshazzar was the same as Laborosoarchod, and Mr. Boscawen, as I said before, is in favour of the idea that he took the name of Marduk-sar-uzur, and that he changed his name from Belshazzar to Marduk-sar-uzur. The name Belshazzar, or Bel-sar-uzur, however, is not unknown in the Assyrian inscriptions; for from a cylinder of Nabonidus[2] we learn that he had a son named Bel-sar-uzur, as shown by Sir Henry Rawlinson and Mr. Fox Talbot. And, coupling this fact with the plain evidence of the Book of Daniel, we may safely infer that his father Nabonidus, who had no legitimate title by birth to the throne, had connected himself by marriage with the royal family of Nebuchadnezzar, and that his son Belshazzar is therefore spoken of by Daniel as "son," or "son's son," of that great king. My conviction is that Bel-sar-uzur son of Nabonidus is Belshazzar[3] of the Book of Daniel.

Now, with regard to Darius the Median as distinguished

[1] Ant. X, xi, 2.

[2] See Records of the Past, vol. v, p. 147.

[3] It is remarkable, however, that no tablet amongst those published by Mr. Boscawen bears the title Belshazzar king of Babylon. We learn from the Book of Daniel that in the third year of Belshazzar the palace of the king of Persia was already at Shushan. It may be a question whether the registration of tablets had not been removed from Babylon to Shushan, or Warka, or Acmetha, after the return of the Jews in the reign of Cyrus, as head branch of the Persian treasury. Dan. viii, 2.—J. W. B.

from the son of Hystaspes the Persian, I beg to refer to my paper read in the year 1876 (that is, about this time last year), before these tablets had been purchased by Mr. Smith, upon the subject of Esther and Ahasuerus, in which I strongly urged the necessity of giving up all belief in the existence of this king, as being a mere fiction of interpreters. In fact, I gave to Darius the Mede every unsubstantial epithet I could think of; I called him a will-o'-the-wisp, a scholastic fiction, a phantom king, and anything of a shadowy nature that came into my head. Yet once again, and in a still more unsubstantial form, he comes forward under the auspices of Mr. Boscawen, who should be a great support, for he has all the documents before him. He comes forward, however, I trust for the last time, as it were, in the character of Pepper's Ghost, and as about to retire from the stage of history altogether. We are told to our surprise that "Darius" does not represent the name of any king—that it was merely a title signifying a "firm holder." We are asked to believe that when Darius Hystaspis, Darius Nothus, and Darius Codomannus are spoken of in history, the word is not meant to express any particular king, but only *a* Darius, or a title attached to any king; and that, in fact, when the words דריוש מידיא (Darius the Median), are made use of in Daniel they signify merely "*Dariavush Madai the king or ruler of the Medes, a fit title for Cyrus.*" There is no doubt, however, that three kings bearing the special title Darius ruled in Persia. I have a great admiration for Mr. Boscawen's talents and abilities in anything he takes up; in fact, I look on him as one of the rising geniuses of the day, if I may be allowed to say so; but I do hope that he will give up the idea of supporting this shadow of a king, whom he has finally extinguished by these very tablets. I maintain that these tablets have put an end to this fiction for ever. There is not a single month left for Darius the Mede in all the reigns that Mr. Boscawen has given us up to the year B.C. 538; and if he never existed, as I said before, except as identified with Darius son of Hystaspes, and so took the throne when he was about sixty-two years of age, then was Darius Hystaspis the king who was "set over the realm of

the Chaldeans" in the year B.C. 493, when he was about sixty-two years old. We know from Ctesias that his age was seventy-two when he died;[1] therefore we know what it was in that year.

Now, this is the first certain inference to be derived from the Egibi tablets, and that for which I have always contended; and the result I consider to be invaluable to Biblical Archæology.

A second inference from the tablets is, that Herodotus has correctly reckoned the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius as in succession lords paramount over the threefold empire of Babylon, Media, and Persia, which threefold division is shortly represented on the Median tablets by the words, "Babylon and the countries."[2] The countries (*matati*) signifying Media and Persia, because we read sometimes, "Cyrus, king of the *matati*," without "Babylon," and sometimes, "Cyrus king of Babylon and the *matati*." This threefold division of the empire—Babylon, Media, and Persia—with Babylon as the head, began, it appears, after the conquest of Evil-Merodach king of Babylon, by Cyrus, in B.C. 538, as related by Xenophon, and we find the same order continued through all the tablets down to the latter years of Darius, Babylon always taking the precedence, which leads to the sure inference that the time when the kingdom of Babylon was given to the Medes and Persians was during the latter years of Darius. The Canon of Ptolemy is therefore correct in placing the first year of Cyrus in the year B.C. 538, the first year of Cambyses in 529, and the first year of Darius in 521. These dates are fixed in conformity with the date of the death of Astyages, in B.C. 539; and I may observe, with regard to the Babylonian tablets, that Ptolemy, or Hipparchus, used some of them bearing records of lunar eclipses, which undoubtedly fix those reigns as he has placed them in the canon. The reign of Cambyses affords the central date from which to reckon, beginning in B.C. 529, as

[1] According to Orosius, Darius died in the seventy-fourth Olympiad, B.C. 484. —Lib. ii, p. 109.

[2] *Sar Babilu, sar matati*, or *sar mati*.

certified by a lunar eclipse in the seventh year of his reign (B.C. 523). And the reign of Cyrus is placed just nine years above him. But I will not now determine whether it was Cyrus the father of Cambyses, or Cyrus the son of Cambyses, who reigned immediately after Astyages, for they were then both living. Xenophon tells us that it was the son of Cambyses who conquered Babylon and Crœsus, and so does Herodotus. Herodotus also tells us that there was another Cyrus, father of Cambyses, not therefore the conqueror of Crœsus or grandson of Astyages. Ctesias tells us that it was the father of Cambyses king of Persia who conquered Crœsus. This is a question which I do not desire to enter into at this moment; but the three leading points to which I now wish to direct your attention, with a view to determine the dates of the tablets of Nebuchadnezzar, and from thence the reign of Darius reckoning downwards, are, first, that which is represented on that diagram,[1] namely, that the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah ended just six months before the Sabbatical year 689–688; in the next place, that the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, necessarily deduced from that date, and also from astronomical data,[2] was B.C. 583; and that Nebuchadnezzar, therefore, reigned his forty-three years from the year 583, down to the year 540, as embodied in that table;[1] and the third proposition, as already shown, is, that Darius the Median, who reigned just seventy years after the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar (B.C. 563), so fixed, must, in the regular succession of reigns, have been Darius Hystaspis himself, and so have begun to reign over the Chaldeans in B.C. 493–492, when Babylon fell, and the empire of the Persians was established. There he represents himself, as sculptured on the rock at Behistûn, the inscriptions connected with which have been laid open to us by Sir Henry Rawlinson. These are the three chronological points I wish to establish in the course of the evening. They will, of course, give rise to much variety of opinion as to what Xenophon has related, and what

[1] Referring to a diagram on the wall.

[2] The solar eclipses of B.C. 585 and 556.

Herodotus has related, and what Æschylus has reported, as contemporary with Darius himself, and, above all, what Daniel has recorded, as minister of Darius the Median, if the Book of Daniel is allowed to hold its position as a true book, and to convey the testimony of an eye-witness of many events therein related. There is also the testimony of Abydenus, and Megasthenes, and Polyhistor, and an amazing number of other historians to be referred to on the subject. A great variety of opinions will be entertained concerning details as related by one or other of these historians, into which I do not think it desirable to enter this evening. But I do insist upon these three leading points—the date of the reign of Hezekiah, the date of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, and the date of the reign of Darius Hystaspis, or Darius the Median, as having been now finally established by these tablets.

Let us now direct our attention to the Egibi tablets, registered in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, the true position of which in history involves the chief question before us. Up to the year B.C. 538, the date of each Persian tablet is plain and undisputed, but above the year 538 there is no internal evidence to be drawn from the forty-three tablets dated in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar by which to fix with precision the chronology of that reign. Mr. Boscawen feels justified in placing the first year of Nebuchadnezzar in B.C. 604. His reign, I have always contended, should range from 583 to 540. With a view to this question, allow me to refer to the arguments used in my paper on Esther and Ahasuerus, in which, by fixing the date of the fourteenth of Hezekiah, which fell within the time of the siege of Lachish, the date of Nebuchadnezzar is easily ascertained. Now, there you see a representation of that siege, taken from large slabs in the British Museum. Here[1] is Sennacherib sitting on his throne, in a garden near the city, and over his head is written, "Sennacherib, king of nations, king of Assyria, on his lofty throne sat; the spoils of Lachish came before him." No doubt this is the Sennacherib spoken of by Isaiah; and we know, from the Books of Kings,[2] and Isaiah

[1] Pointing to a diagram on the wall, see Plate annexed.
[2] 2 Kings xviii, 13–17.

that Sennacherib was engaged at the siege of Lachish when he sent messengers to Hezekiah threatening the siege of Jerusalem; therefore, the fourteenth of Hezekiah and the siege of Lachish must be placed in the same year. Now, if we turn to Sir Henry Rawlinson's series of annual archons or prefects at Nineveh, we find that the first year of Esarhaddon is fixed in 680–681, in agreement with the Canon of Ptolemy, and there is no question that the preceding archons from thence upwards are all correctly arranged in the series, for if one is fixed all are fixed. Thus, the first year of Sennacherib appears to be B.C. 705, and the first of Sargon his father, 722. There are also in our possession three cylinders, each containing a portion of the reign of Sennacherib: Taylor's cylinder, one of the most beautiful and perfect in the British Museum; Bellino's cylinder; and Metunu's cylinder, who is one of the archons, dated in 700. Bellino's cylinder, dated in 702, mentions nothing whatever with regard to Sennacherib's attack on Hezekiah. Metunu's cylinder, after recording the final expulsion of Merodach-Baladan[1] from Babylon in 702, mentions an attack on Hezekiah, which we find described in the Scriptures as taking place in his second year, and in which he succeeded in defending himself, setting the king of Assyria at defiance.[2] Taylor's is the chief cylinder, and that is dated in the month Adar, 690.

Now, Mr. George Smith has drawn attention to the fact that there is no reference to the siege of Lachish contained in that or earlier cylinders. There are records of eight campaigns, but not a word about the siege of Lachish; and yet Sennacherib considered the siege of Lachish such an important event in his reign, that he had adorned the walls of his palace with the two slabs presented before you, and a vast number of other slabs relating to the same siege. He must have looked upon it as a great exploit in his reign; and yet there is not a word mentioned concerning it before the year 690, that is to say, before the month Adar, or March, 690. The siege of Lachish, therefore, took place after that date. We

[1] Merodach-Baladan, it appears, claimed to be king of Babylon for twenty years, counted from B.C. 722. Oppert's Inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan, p. 27.

[2] 2 Chron. xxxii, 7.

must not dwell upon this point at any great length, lest it should lead us into a variety of matter not directly connected with the Egibi tablets, the special subject for discussion. I now merely wish to remind you that I had already fixed the date of the siege of Lachish, or 14th of Hezekiah, in the paper read last year, as the pivot or key-date of all sacred history, and the fourteenth year of Hezekiah as ending in March, B.C. 689.[1] To these results I desire still to adhere. To avoid particulars, I have appended in few words the several arguments leading to this conclusion, in a lithograph representation of the siege of Lachish. The first argument is, that Sennacherib was at Lachish during the year 690–689, besieging that city, when he sent his Tartan and Rabshakeh to Hezekiah. Second, that the sickness of Hezekiah and his recovery took place in the course of the Sabbatical year 689-688; and that Isaiah was then commanded to declare: "This shall be a sign unto thee. Ye shall eat this year that which groweth of itself; and the second year that which springeth from the same; and in the third year sow ye and reap." These words have reference to the Sabbatical year 689–688.

Another sign, foreseen and fore-ordained of God,[2] was given to Hezekiah. He had fallen sick. He was told that he should recover, and that as a sign of his recovery and of its date, the shadow should return ten steps which it had gone down on the steps of Ahaz. I have frequently explained that if the shadow of the sun on the dial was affected, it must have been affected by something in connection with the sun, and that the most natural and probable way of producing a movement of the shadow would be by an eclipse of the sun. Accordingly, we find that there was a large solar eclipse at Jerusalem on the 11th January, 689. The dial, we are told, was in the form of steps, and it would be found that the shadow would return "ten steps," neither more nor less, on a staircase of 120 steps placed at the angle of the latitude of Jerusalem, on the 11th January in that year, supposing that a partial eclipse had taken place on the northern limb of the sun, and

[1] Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. V, p. 240.

[2] "God who made the world ..... has fixed the limits of the times before appointed." Acts xvii, 24–26.

that a ray of light were admitted from the south into the dial apartment above the point of the upper angle.

Again, fourthly, there is direct historical proof that this was the date of the threatened attack of Sennacherib upon Jerusalem. Demetrius, who wrote in the time of the fourth Ptolemy, says that Sennacherib did not conquer, but carried off captives from Judea, 466 years 9 months before the fourth Ptolemy, which brings us directly to February in the year 688.

Fifthly, Josephus tells us that the revolt of the Medes took place soon after the phenomenon of the shadow returning on the dial, thus placing the reign of Deioces, the first king of Media, in B.C. 688, while the duration of the kingdom of the Medes, according to Herodotus, lasted exactly 128 years, ending at the time when Cyrus I. conquered Astyages—that is, in the year B.C. 560, or the 55th Olympiad. Adding, therefore. 128 years to 560 brings us again to B.C. 688 for the reign of Deioces. Thus Demetrius and Josephus combine to confirm what Taylor's cylinder has already determined, and what astronomical records have securely fixed. From these six independent and converging arguments, we may assume without hesitation that the 14th of Hezekiah was the year 690–689.[1] Any one who wishes to pursue the subject is at liberty to have a copy of the lithographic representation of these arguments now lying before the Chairman, with a view to shorten this discussion.[2]

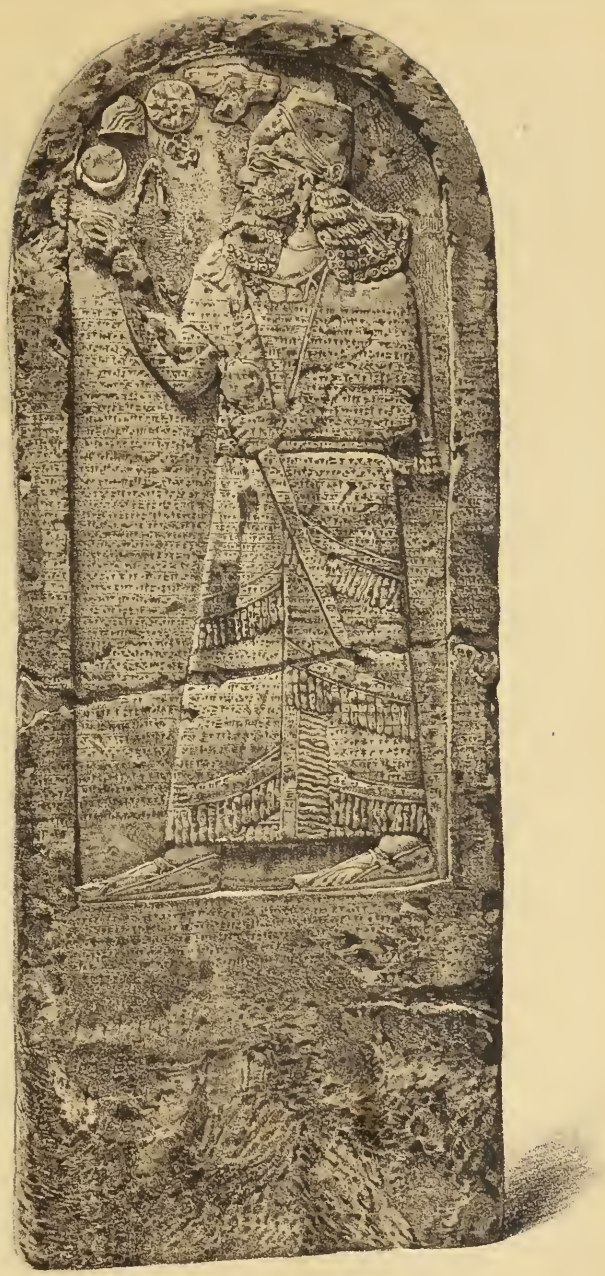
We are now in a position to fix the date of the Nebuchadnezzar tablets. This next step in the argument is embodied in that map.[3] Hezekiah, it will be observed, is assumed to have reigned fifteen years after March 689, because it was announced to him by Isaiah, You shall recover from your sickness: "I will add unto thy days fifteen years." Therefore 15 years are counted for Hezekiah after March B.C. 689, 55 for Manasseh, 2 for Amon, 31 for Josiah, 4 fo Jehoiakim—together, 107 years; and this fourth year o Jehoiakim, we are told, was commensurate with the first year of Nebuchadnezzar.[4]

[1] A seventh argument, derived from ancient tombstones in the Crimea, is omitted for the present, an accusation of forgery having been raised against the discoverer, which has yet to be made good.

[2] Plate facing p. 85.

[3] Pointing to a map on the wall, see p. 89.

[4] Jeremiah xxv, 1.



SHALMANESER II

THE KEY-DATE OF SACRED HISTORY,

The 14th Year of Hezekiah, March, b.c. 690–689.

Hezekiah	reigns	15	years	counted	from March	689
Manasseh	„	55	„	„	„	674
Amon	„	2	„	„	„	619
Josiah	„	31	„	„	„	617
Jehoiakim	„	4	„	„	„	585 to 583
		107	„			

"The fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, king of Judah, that was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon."—Jer. xxv, 1.

Accession of Nebuchadnezzar = 107th year from the 14th year of Hezekiah = March, 583.

First year of Nebuchadnezzar, on the death of Nabopalassar, March, b.c. 582.

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b.c.		
585	ECLIPSE OF THALES, total in Asia Minor, 28th May.	
584	Fall of Nineveh. The Medes conquered all Assyria, except the district of Babylonia.—Herod. i, 106.	
583	Expulsion of the Scythians, after 28 years of domination.	
582	1 Nebuchadnezzar.	After the death of Nabopalassar.
581	2 „	On the expulsion of the Scythians, the Medes and Babylonians divide the empire of Assyria. Æschylus reckons the kings of Media from Cyaxares, who took Nineveh in 584–3, down to the time of Artaphernes.
580	3 „	
579	4 „	
578	5 „	

Sabbatical Years.	Intercalary Months.	B.C.	Kingdom of Babylon.
Sabbatical year from Oct.		577	6 Nebuchadnezzar .. ..
to Oct.	Sept. 2nd Elul,	576	7 „ .. ..
		575	8 „ .. ..
	Sept. 2nd Elul,	574	9 „ Mordecai carri to Babylon as a child
		573	10 „ .. ..
		572	11 „ .. ..
		571	12 „ .. ..
Sabbatical year from Oct.		570	13 „ .. ..
to Oct.		569	14 „ .. ..
		568	15 „ .. ..
		567	16 „ .. ..
		566	17 „ .. ..
		565	18 „ .. ..
		564	19 „ .. ..
		563	20 „ Fall of Jerusalem, years are counted from B.C. 563 the reign of the *empire of Pers*
Sabbatical year from Oct.			2 Chron. xxxvi, 20.
to Oct.	Sept. 2nd Elul,	562	21 Nebuchadnezzar .. ..
		561	22 „ .. ..
		560	23 „ .. ..
		559	24 „ .. ..
		558	25 „ .. ..
		557	26 „ .. ..
Sabbatical year not observed during the desolation of Jerusalem.		556	27 „ Pharaoh Hopl slain at Daphnæ by Nebuchadnezz
		555	28 Nebuchadnezzar .. ..
		554	29 „ .. ..
		553	30 „ .. ..
		552	31 „ .. ..
		551	32 „ .. ..
		550	33 [1] „ .. ..
		549	34 „ .. ..
Sabbatical year not observed		548	35 „ .. ..

[1] If Idina-Marduk son of Basa was a witness in B.C. 512, he could not of course have been witness in 572, that is to say, sixty years earlier, as placed in the common reckoning. But may have been so in 550.

Witnesses to the Exchequer Tablets Registered at Babylon.		Kingdom of the Medes, or the Madai, of the Achæmenian Race.
ula son of Zirukin, and Kudur son of Basa	37	Cyaxares or Ahasuerus.[1] The First Prince of Media of the Kaianian or Achæmenian race.
ula son of Zirukin, and Kudur son of Basa	38	„ „
ula son of Zirukin, and Kudur son of Basa	39	„ „
ula son of Belpahir, son of Egibi ..	40	„ „
udur son of Basa, son of Egibi.. ..	1	Astyages.[2] The 2nd Prince of Media.
.. ..	2	„
udur son of Basa, son of Egibi.. ..	3	„
agilili son of Zambubu	4	„
ula son of Nabu-upahir, son of Egibi ..	5	„
abu-ahi-iddin son of Sula, son of Egibi..	6	„
.. ..	7	„
ula son of Nabuzirukin, son of Egibi ..	8	„
ula son of Nabnzirukiu, son of Egibi ..	9	„
ula son of Nabuzirukin, son of Egibi ..	10	„
ula son of Nabuzirukin, son of Egibi ..	11	„
udur son of Basa..	12	„
abu-ahi-iddin son of Sula	13	„
ula son of Zirukin, son of Egibi ..	14	Cyrus, or Khosru, king of Persia, defeats Astyages in battle, and marries his daughter Amytis in 560.[3]
ergal-damid son of Nabu-ahi-iddin ..	15	Astyages and Khosru, kings of Persia and Media.
abu-ahi-iddin son of Sula-ahi-iddin ..	16	„
abu-ahi-iddin son of Sula-ahi-iddin ..	17	„ Solar Eclipse at Larissa, or Nimrûd, when taken by Khosru.
otal Solar Eclipse at Tahpanhes, in the 27th year of Nebuchadnezzar, on the 1st November	18	„
.. ..	19	„
abu-ahi-iddin son of Sula	20	
abu-ahi-iddin son of Sula	21	,
abu-ahi-iddin son of Sula	22	„
abu-ahi-iddin son of Sula	23	„
dina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin	24	„
dina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin	25	„
dina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin	26	,

[1] Μῆδος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ.—Æschylus, Persæ.

[2] Ἄλλος δ' ἐκείνου παῖς.

[3] Khosru, or Cyrus, the father of Cambyses, slain by Tomyris in B.C. 535, when Darius was nineteen years old. (Herod. I, 209.)

Sabbatical Years.	Intercalary Months.	B.C.	Kingdom of Babylon.
		547	36 Nebuchadnezzar .. .. ..
	March. Veadar,[1]	546	37 „ .. .. ..
		545	38 „ .. .. ..
		544	39 „ .. .. ..
		543	40 „ .. .. ..
Sabbatical year ..		542	41 „ .. .. ..
		541	42 „ .. .. ..
	March. Veadar,	540	43 „ .. .. ..
		539	1 Evil-Merodach .. .. ..
		538	2 „ .. .. ..
		537	1 Marduk-sar-uzur .. .. ..
		536	2 „ .. .. ..
Sabbatical year ..		535	3 Accession of Nergal-sar-uzur ..
	March. Veadar,	534	1 Nergal-sar-uzur .. .. ..
		533	2 „ .. .. ..
		532	3 „ .. .. ..
		531	4 „ .. .. ..
		530	Laborosoarchod .. ..
		529	Accession of Nabonidus .. .. ..
Sabbatical year ..	March. Veadar,	528	1 Nabonidus .. ..
		527	2 „ .. ..
		526	3 „ .. ..
		525	4 „ .. ..
		524	5 „ .. ..
		523	6 „ .. ..
	March. Veadar,	522	7 „ .. ..
Sabbatical year ..		521	8 „ .. ..
		520	9 „ .. ..
		519	10 „ .. ..
		518	11 „ .. ..

Sabbatical years not observed during the desolations of Jerusalem.

[1] The month Veadar (March) being the last month of the regnal year, which began in the previous year in the month Nisan (April), is placed in the year following the regnal date which appears on the tablet.

Witnesses to the Exchequer Tablets Registered at Babylon.	Kingdom of the Medes and Persians, or the Madai. Cyrus and Cambyses.		
eadar. Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin	27	Astyages.	
Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin	28	,,	
Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin	29	,,	
Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin	30	,,	
Nabu-ahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi	Upiya or Opis	Nergal-sar-uzur son of Belsum-iskun.	
Nabu-ahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi	Upiya or Opis	Nergal-sar-uzur son of Belsum-iskun.	
eadar 12. Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin	33	Astyages.	
Nergal-sar-uzur son of Belsum-iskun ..	34	,,	
Idina-Marduk son of Basa, son of Nursin Itti-nabu-baladu son of Nabu-ahi-idina	35	,,	
Idina-Marduk son of Basa .. .. Nergal-sar-uzur son of Belsum-iskun ..	1	Cyrus the Mule, son of Cambyses,[1] king of Lydia, Phrygia, and Ionia. The Third Prince of Media.	
Idina-Marduk son of Basa	2		
Idina-Marduk son of Basa	3	Cambyses the Persian appointed successor of Khosru, or Cyrus, his father.	
eadar 9. Idina-Marduk son of Basa ..	4	,,	
Nabu-ahi-idina son of Sula			
Nabu-ahi-idina son of Sula	5	,,	
Idina-Marduk son of Basa	6	,,	
Idina-Marduk son of Basa	7	,,	
Idina-Marduk son of Basa	8	,,	
Idina-Marduk son of Basa (?)	9	,,	
eadar 9. Nabu-ahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi	1	Cambyses[2] king of Persia and Babylon. The Fourth Prince.	
Nabu-ahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi	2	,, (2nd Elul)	Itti-Marduk-baladu.
Nabu-ahi-idina son of Sula	3	,,	Itti-Marduk-baladu.
Idina-Marduk son of Basa	4	,,	Itti-Marduk-baladu.
Idina-Marduk son of Basa	5	,,	Itti-Marduk-baladu.
Idina-Marduk son of Basa	6	,,	Itti-Marduk-baladu.
eadar 15. Nabu-ahi-idina son of Sula, son of Egibi	7	,,	Itti-Marduk-baladu.
Nabu-ahi-idina son of Sula	8	,,	Cambyses and Darius.
Itti-Marduk-baladu	9	,,	Bardes in revolt.
Idina-Marduk son of Basa	10	,,	Itti-Marduk-baladu.
Itti-Marduk-baladu	11[3]	,,	Itti-Marduk-baladu.
Itti-Marduk-baladu	1	Bardes[4] or Gau-Mata. The Fifth Prince of Media.	

[1] Τρίτος δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κῦρος, εὐδαίμων ἀνήρ. Cyrus the Mule.
Λυδῶν δὲ λαὸν καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐκτήσατο,
Ἰωνίαν δὲ πᾶσαν ἤλασεν βίᾳ.

[2] Κύρου δὲ παῖς τέταρτος. Cambyses son of Khosru, the Persian.

[3] Καμβύσης ἔτει ἐ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας Περσῶν, ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγύπτου ἔτη ς'. Africanus, Routh, Reliq. Sacr., vol. ii, p. 147.

[4] Πέμπτος δὲ Μάρδος.

Sabbatical Years.		Intercalary Months.	B.C.	Kingdom of Babylon.
			517	12 Nabonidus[1] .. ..
		March. Veadar,	516	13 „ .. ..
			515	14 „ .. ..
Sabbatical year..	Oct.		514	15 „ .. ..
			513	16 „ .. ..
			512	17 „ .. ..
			511	1 Nadintabelus, or .. ..
		March. Veadar,	510	2 Naboandelus, or .. ..
			509	Nabuchodrosser[2] .. .. ..
			508	.. ..
Sabbatical year..	Oct.		507	.. ..
			506	.. ..
			505	.. ..
		March. Veadar,	504	.. ..
			503	.. ..
			502	.. ..
			501	.. ..
Sabbatical year..	Oct.		500	.. ..
			499	.. ..
		March. Veadar,	498	.. ..
			497	.. ..
			496	1 Bel-sar-uzur (?) .. .. ..
			495	2 „ .. .. ..
			494	3 „ .. .. ..
Sabbatical year..	Oct.		493	Darius set over the realm of the Chaldeans
		March. Veadar,	492	.. ..
			491	.. ..
			490	.. ..
			489	.. ..
			488	.. ..
			487	.. ..
Sabbatical year	Oct.	March. Veadar,	486	.. ..

Sabbatical years not observed during the desolations of Jerusalem.

[1] The year 12–13 of Nabonidus is intercalated with Veadar in B.C. 516.

The year 5–6 of Darius also is intercalated with Veadar in B.C. 516.

[2] This Nabuchodrosser, called son of Nabonidus, is the king called Labynetus, son of Labynetus and Nitocris, by Herodotus, who thus places the date of his fall twenty-five years too early. For this Nabuchodrosser was an impostor, not of royal birth. By means of this king the Egibi tablets are brought into connexion with the Behistûn Inscription in the year 511.

Witnesses to the Exchequer Tablets Registered at Babylon.				Kingdom of the Persians and Medes. Cyrus and Darius.		
dar.	Itti-Marduk-baladu			2 Veadar	5	Darius.
	Idina-Marduk son of Basa ..			3	6	Marduk-nazirpal.
	Idina-Marduk son of Basa ..			4	7	Marduk-nazirpal.
	Itti-Marduk-baladu			5	8	Birsu son of Nadina.
	Idina-Marduk son of Basa ..			6	9	
	Itti-Marduk-baladu			7	10	Cyrus and Darius.
	Itti-Marduk-baladu			8 Veadar		Marduk-nazirpal.
	Marduk-nazirpal[1]			9	12	Sirku son of Nadina.
	Marduk-nazirpal			Maraphis,[3] or Martes, the Sixth Prince.		
..	.. .. ..			11	14	Marduk-nazirpal.
..	.. .. ..			12	15	Marduk-nazirpal.
..	.. ..		? Veadar	13	16	Marduk-nazirpal.
..	.. .. ..			14	17	Marduk-nazirpal.
..	.. .. ..			15	18	Marduk-nazirpal.
..	.. .. ..			16	19	Marduk-nazirpal.
..	.. .. ..			Artaphernes,[4] the Seventh Prince.		
..	.. .. ..			18	21	Marduk-nazirpal.
..	.. .. ..			19	22	Marduk-nazirpal.
..	.. .. ..			20	23	Marduk-nazirpal.
..	.. .. ..			21	24	Marduk-nazirpal.
..	.. .. ..			Ahasuerus or Xerxes, Eighth Prince.[5]		
..	.. .. ..			23	26	Marduk-nazirpal.
..	.. .. ..			24	27	Sisku son of Nadina.
..	.. .. ..			25	28	Marduk-nazirpal.
..	.. .. ..			26	29	Marduk-nazirpal.
..	.. ..		Veadar[2]	27 Darius		"I am the ninth"[6] Prince of the Madai.
..	.. .. ..			28	31	
..	.. .. ..			29	32	
..	.. .. ..			30	33	
..	.. .. ..			31	34	
..	.. .. ..				35	
..	.. .. ..				36	

[1] The witness Itti-Marduk-baladu is observable, as coupled with Marduk-nazirpal.

[2] Mr. Boscawen.

[3] Ἕκτος δὲ Μάραφις.

[4] Ἕβδομος Ἀρταφρένης. Brother of Darius (?).

[5] See Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. I, p. 260; Ezra iv, 6; Daniel v, 31; Septuagint, Καὶ Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ τῶν Μήδων, κ.τ.λ.

[6] Behistûn Inscription.

Thus, the first year of Nebuchadnezzar in conjunction with his father was the 107th year below the 14th year of Hezekiah, B.C. 689; and if so, this first year must have fallen in B.C. 583. Whether, however, the date is made certain in this way or not, it becomes certain beyond dispute when we find that it is confirmed by two *total solar* eclipses, connected with the history of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. Ptolemy, we know, has certified his dates by means of lunar eclipses, and these are not disputed; but lunar eclipses when taken as chronological marks are not of equal value with solar eclipses, of which he has taken no account, because lunar eclipses are visible over half the world, whereas a *total* solar eclipse is visible only at one spot of the world. Now, the famous solar eclipse of Thales, which took place in the year B.C. 585, marks the place and date of a battle between Alyattes and Cyaxares in Asia Minor, soon after which Nebuchadnezzar began to reign at Babylon. There has been much controversy concerning the path of this eclipse, and some have denied that it passed through Asia Minor. The alternative eclipse is that of the 30th September, B.C. 610, the path of which, it is contended, may have passed through Asia Minor. The most recent corrections, however, of the lunar tables lead to no such result.

The path of both these eclipses of 610 and 585 have, at my request, been calculated by Mr. Godward at the Nautical Almanac Office, within the present year, according to Hansen's and Le Verrier's tables, the best tables in use. That of 585 is found to have passed through Asia Minor, over Sardis, and over the probable field of battle, and is undoubtedly that foretold by Thales; while those who take the alternative eclipse of 30th September, 610, are thrown out of the field, because it is found to pass directly over the Caucasus, east of where the Russians and Turks are now carrying on war, and where Ferdousi refers to a battle having been fought and lost by the Medes *after a six months' campaign*,[1] when the Scythians passed the Caucasus,[2] near Vladikaukaz, and raised the siege of Armavir or Erivan, bringing with them, it is said, "darkness like pitch." The Scythians then held dominion over

[1] Atkinson's Ferdousi, pp. 138, 140, 162.

[2] Herod. I, 104.

Upper Asia during twenty-eight years, and those twenty-eight years, counted from B.C. 610, ended of course in 583.

The first year therefore of the accession of Nebuchadnezzar may, with very close approximation, be fixed in the year 583, soon after the eclipse of B.C. 585. It is still more accurately determined by another solar eclipse, which occurred in the 27th year of Nebuchadnezzar. For in that year (B.C. 556) we are told that the king of Babylon went down into Egypt, and set up his "royal pavilion" before the Egyptian king's palace at Daphnæ or Tahpanhes.[1] At that time the prophet Ezekiel was commanded to declare "all the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over thee, and set darkness upon thy land"[2]: "at Tehaphneches also the day shall be darkened."[3] In these words Mr. Hind recognized the effect of a total solar eclipse. I had pointed out to him another eclipse which I thought might perhaps mark the date, but it was only annular; and as an annular eclipse will not produce darkness, he computed the path of the only total solar eclipse about the time in the latitude of Daphnæ, which he found took place on the 10th of November in the year 556—that is, in the 27th year of Nebuchadnezzar, as before ascertained.

We return now to the consideration of Mr. Boscawen's arrangement of the tablets of Nebuchadnezzar, in which I must admit he has the world in general in his favour, while unfortunately, I find myself in opposition for the present, to many very learned authorities. His conviction is, that Nebuchadnezzar's reign began in 604, and ended in 562; while I maintain that his reign began in B.C. 583, and ended in the year 540, and that that was the date of his death. Thus the last year of Nebuchadnezzar is fixed in B.C. 540; while I have already admitted that counting upwards from Darius, the first year of Cyrus must have been B.C. 538; therefore Nebuchadnezzar died just two years before the Medo-Persian empire began under Cyrus. Now, what authority is there in ancient history for any such conclusion? Can it be true that the reigns of the kings of Babylon, after Evil-Merodach to the end of the reign of Nabonidus, which together covered a period of twenty-five years, were concurrent with, or

[1] Jeremiah xliii, 8-10. [2] Ezekiel xxxii, 7, 8. [3] Ezekiel xxx, 18.

lapped over, the first twenty-five years of the Medo-Persian empire? For if I bring down the reign of Nebuchadnezzar twenty-five years, and cannot bring down the reign of Cyrus to the same extent, of course there must be an overlapping of reigns. And do the names of the witnesses to the tablets which have been so ably deciphered by Mr. Boscawen, in any way tend to support or disprove this result? There, on the wall, is a rough table,[1] only completed this morning, on which the first twenty-five years of the Medo-Persians are made concurrent with twenty-five years of the kings of Babylon, which should make evident any difficulties in the arrangement, if they exist. There is, however, no indication of difficulty as far as regards the names of the witnesses to the tablets of the Egibi family; in fact, the names of the witnesses remain the same whether the reigns are overlapped or not. Idina-Marduk son of Basa, and Itti-Marduk-baladu were both living in the reign of Cyrus, B.C. 538–530, and both are witnesses in the years B.C. 513–511, that is, in the last year of Nabonidus and first year of Nadintabelus, who claimed the throne as his son, twenty-six years later, in accordance with the Behistûn Inscription, when he was conquered by Cyrus.

As regards ancient historians, I will now read a well-known passage from Megasthenes, which strikingly confirms the conclusion that the death of Nebuchadnezzar preceded the accession of Cyrus by only a very few years. Megasthenes wrote in the days of Alexander the Great, and alludes particularly to the exploits of Nebuchadnezzar, whom he looked upon as more powerful than Hercules, and he tells us that just before the death of Nebuchadnezzar he ascended to the roof of his palace, and having surveyed Babylon, in a fit of frenzy proclaimed to the Babylonians that a calamity was then hanging over them, namely, the coming of a "*Persian mule*," who should place a yoke upon their necks, and that this evil could not be averted by the Fates.[2] If, then, Nebuchadnezzar died in B.C. 540, and Cyrus was then preparing for war with Crœsus and the Babylonians in 538, this passage becomes not only intelligible but very significant; but if

[1] See Table, pp. 92–94.

[2] Armenian Eusebius, Auch., p. 29; Præp. Evang., p. 457.

we read it as commonly placed, and Nebuchadnezzar died in 562, and Cyrus did not come to the throne till twenty-four years later, doubt might rest upon the genuineness of the passage: for Nebuchadnezzar could hardly have predicted such an event at such a distance of time. The reason why he was enabled in 540 to foresee the coming contest of Babylon with the "Persian mule" in 538 was this—He was in alliance and communication with Crœsus, and Crœsus had sent to Delphi to consult the oracle "whether he would succeed if he made war upon the kingdom of the Medes?" The answer was, "When a *mule* shall reign in Media, then, tender-footed Lydian, flee over pebbly Hermus." The mule, we know, was Cyrus grandson of Astyages, and Nebuchadnezzar was referring, no doubt, to the response of the oracle, which foretold the coming of Cyrus,[1] communicated to him, we may assume, by Crœsus his ally. Now, according to Xenophon, Cyrus the grandson of Astyages, did conquer Evil-Merodach and Crœsus in 538, and took the city of Babylon in 530; and Xenophon also tells us, that when he had conquered the city, he went up to his father Cambyses in Persia, and delivered over to him the newly-acquired kingdom. A treaty for mutual defence between the Medes and Persians was then entered into by Cyrus and his father Cambyses, who, addressing the Persians, said—"As long as I live the sovereignty over the *Persians* is mine, and when I die it will no doubt belong to Cyrus if he is alive." My impression is, therefore, that Cyrus did not reign *in Persia* till after his father's death in B.C. 518, nor in Babylon till after he came against Nabonidus in 513, as king of the Medes, or Northern Asia; nevertheless I think that Herodotus is correct when he tells us that Cyrus (not, I believe, the grandson of Astyages, but Cyrus father of Cambyses) was slain while fighting with the Scythians in B.C. 536, when Darius was about nineteen years old; and that it was Cyrus son of Cambyses, who is named in the Parian Chronicle as having conquered Crœsus about the year B.C. 535.

I will not trouble you now with further details, for the history at this point becomes very intricate, owing to the

[1] This forecast would have been confirmed by Daniel from Isaiah.

reckoning of the line of local kings of Babylon having been continued after the line of the Medo-Persian conquerors had commenced. I will therefore close these remarks by repeating that I adhere firmly to my three propositions, viz., that the date of the 14th of Hezekiah was B.C. 690–689; that the date of the first year of Nebuchadnezzar in conjunction with his father, was B.C. 583, between which year and B.C. 485 the chief part of the Egibi tablets were written; and that Darius son of Hystaspes was "Darius the Median," made king over the Chaldeans in B.C. 493, when the empire of the Persians superseded that of the Babylonians,—all which I trust has been proved.

[These three cardinal dates are linked together in a scale of perfect intervals of sevenths, or Sabbatical years, beginning with the grant of the Holy Land to Abraham in Ur, in B.C. 1963–2, and ending with the birth of Christ in the Sabbatical year B.C. 3–2; and, like a chord in music, vibrate in harmony with the deep voice of Holy Scripture, but break into discord on the alteration of a single year.[1]]

M. Ernest de Bunsen.—I was in hopes that we should get Mr. Boscawen to stand up at once, which no doubt he will be asked to do before this meeting separates. As I have mentioned his name, I should like to say, how much we are all indebted to Mr. Boscawen for his having discovered and interpreted in so intelligent a manner these very interesting Egibi tablets, forwarded by the late Mr. Smith to this country, and now in the British Museum. The meeting will no doubt be glad to express its sense of gratitude to Mr. Boscawen, and also to express its regret that on the last occasion he was prevented from being here, no doubt from over work. Mr. Boscawen has given us very interesting materials; and Mr. Bosanquet has, in his usual detailed and interesting manner, dwelt on the systems of chronology, which he has on former occasions more fully laid before us.

My remarks will be as few as possible. I only wish to show that the general scheme of Mr. Bosanquet's chronology, which is based on the assumption of three successive periods

[1] This paragraph has been added with the view to connexion with Mr. Bunsen's observations, which otherwise seem to be outside the discussion in hand.

of seventy weeks or 490 years,[1] which are to end with the birth of our Lord, beginning with the call of Moses on Mount Horeb, starts from a demonstrably incorrect date. I will only show that the first of these periods cannot be historical. I shall take the liberty of pointing out here a diagram[2] which

[1] The argument combated by M. de Bunsen may be thus simply stated—

The 14th year of Hezekiah (the key date) is	B.C.	690
From thence to the 4th year of Solomon is exactly 300 yrs.		990
From thence to the Exodus (1 Kings vi, 1) is 480 years		1,470
From thence to the appearance of Jehovah to Moses on Mount Horeb, 3 years		1,473

being equal to three even periods of 490 years, or seventy actual sabbatical weeks each, or 1,470 years, ending with the birth of Christ, in B.C. 3.—J. W. B.

DIAGRAM.

[2] From the Exodus to the foundation of the First Temple not 480 years but 592 years, according to Josephus (Apion, II, 2), as confirmed by St. Paul (Acts xiii, 19, 20), whose period of 450 years is made up from the dates in the Book of Judges and the First of Samuel.

From the Exodus to the foundation of the Temple (Josephus)			592
To the death of Moses		40	
To the division of the land		5	
From the division of the land until Samuel (St. Paul)	450 years		
Chusan Risathaim	8		
Othniel	40		
Moab	18		
Ehud	50		
Philistines	20		
Peace	40		
Midianites	7		
Gideon	40		
Abimelech	3		
Thola	53	450	
Jair	22		
Philistines	18		
Jephtha	6		
Ibzan	7		
Elon	10		
Abdon	8		
Philistines	20		
Eli	60		
To Mizpah	20		
Total of Scriptural dates	450 years.		
Dates in the Book of Judges and First of Samuel.			
Samuel, duration of Judgeship not mentioned		32 or 14	
Saul (1 Sam. xiii, 1; or Acts xiii, 21)		22 or 40	
David		40	
Solomon, to the foundation of the Temple		3	
From Exodus to foundation of Temple			592 years.

refers to the first of Mr. Bosanquet's seventy weeks, that is to say, to the period from Mount Horeb to the foundation of the Temple, which is based on the assumption that the period from the Exodus to the laying of the foundation of the First Temple was 480 years. Now, that either was so or it was not so. In this diagram I have tried to show, as clearly as I think it is possible, that from the Exodus to the foundation of the First Temple are not 480 years, according to 1 Kings vi, 1, but 592 years, according to Josephus, as confirmed by St. Paul.

In the Acts, St. Paul is recorded to have said, that from the division of the land "until Samuel the prophet" was a period of 450 years. Neither the Apostle nor Josephus refers to a period of 480 years from the Exodus to the laying of the foundation of Solomon's Temple, whilst the Jewish historian computes this period at 592 years. If we add to the period of 450 years the Biblical dates from the Exodus to the division of the land, and also from the foundation of the Temple backwards to the coronation of Saul, we get 560 years, to which we have to add the time of Samuel's judgeship. This is nowhere recorded, but Josephus implies that it lasted 32 years, if we accept the 22 years of Saul's reign according to the amended text of 1 Samuel xiii, 1, or that Samuel was judge during 14 years only, if we accept the 40 years assigned to Saul's reign in the Acts. It is far more probable that Samuel's judgeship extended over 32 years. But whether we add 32 years to the 560 years, or 14 years to 578 years, in each case we get the 592 years of Josephus for the period from the Exodus to the foundation of the Temple, which period includes St. Paul's period of 450 years from the division of the land until Samuel the prophet.

At first sight this seems to be a strange coincidence, that Josephus, who never mentions St. Paul, should confirm his correction of the 480 years, which in the First Book of Kings are assigned to the period from the Exodus to the foundation of the Temple. But they drew from one and the same source, from the Scripture. The Apostle and Josephus have included in their calculations the respective Biblical dates, St. Paul for the period from the division of the land until

Samuel the prophet, Josephus for the period from the Exodus to the foundation of the Temple. But Josephus has implied by his period of 592 years, as we have seen, that the judgeship of Samuel lasted 32 or possibly 14 years, on which subject the Bible is silent. Thus all difficulty is removed about accepting the dates in the Book of Judges, which have hitherto been a stumbling-block to all chronologists. These were misled by the assumption that the 480 years of the First Book of Kings were correct, not seeing, that if this were so, St. Paul as well as Josephus would have committed a gross chronological error.[1]

Another confirmation of the correctness of the period of 592 years instead of 480 years may be derived from the fact, which we tried to elucidate in another place,[2] that if we accept the period of 592 years, as also the year 2360 B.C. for the Noachian flood, which date is the only one transmitted to us, the 14th year of Hezekiah's reign, which Mr. Bosanquet calls "the key-date of sacred history," corresponds, as it ought to do, with the monumental year for the first expedition of the Assyrians to Judæa in the reign of Sargon, that is, with the year 711 B.C., according to one of the cuneiform inscriptions. This cannot be said of Mr. Bosanquet's date, 690-689 B.C. We may assume that Sargon's son and successor Sennacherib, who possibly was co-regent, commanded the invading army, since he is mentioned in this capacity by other inscriptions. Had I accepted 480 instead of 592 years for the period from the Exodus to the foundation of the Temple, this chronological harmony between the Biblical narrative and the monuments could not have been arrived at, which is heightened by the fact that in the inscriptions

[1] The simple explanation of this apparent difficulty is—that St. Paul and the writer in the Book of Kings are both reckoning in the same era, that is from the Exodus. St. Paul reckons τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη in the wilderness, then the division of the land, and after that Judges, ὡς (for ἕως) ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα, that is till the 450th year, or the last year of Samuel, the last of the Judges. Samuel lived till after the anointing of David. We do not know how long. There is no difficulty in supposing that he lived till within thirty years before the First Temple. He may have died earlier, as the "450 years" is a round number—say somewhat less than 450.—J. W. B.

[2] The Chronology of the Bible.

Hezekiah is stated to have paid on this occasion the exact amount of gold mentioned in the Bible.

The aggregate number of Biblical dates from the division of the land until Samuel's accession is exactly 450 years, and this Biblical chronology is accepted by St. Paul as well as by Josephus. Thus, even if any Biblical scholar did accept Mr. Bosanquet's premises, he could not accept his conclusions, without undermining the most palpable truths of the Bible.

I submit that the incorrectness of the period of 480 years is now proved, with mathematical precision, and that, consequently, Mr. Bosanquet's chronological scheme falls to the ground, being established on the basis of 480 years for the period from the Exodus to the foundation of the Temple.[1]

In conclusion, I wish to make a few remarks with regard to what Mr. Bosanquet has said about my theory, now accepted by Mr. Boscawen, that the three names, Darius, Ahasuerus, and Artaxerxes, in the Book of Ezra, may be mere royal titles, and that "Darius the Mede" in the Book of Daniel may refer to Cyrus.[2] This theory requires further support. I shall try to point out the probability that, in the book of Ezra, Hystaspes is called, not only Darius or "king," but also Artaxerxes or "king of the Aryans," so that it would seem to have been the Darius or Artaxerxes-Hystaspis and not Artaxerxes-Longimanus who sent Ezra and Nehemiah to Jerusalem.

I submit that it is already implied in the 14th verse of the 6th chapter in the Book of Ezra, that Darius was also called "Artaxerxes king of Persia," for the Second Temple

[1] It would lead too far away from the subject of the Babylonian Tablets to reply to these remarks. M. de Bunsen is not aware of the various readings of this passage in the Greek (see Grotius, and Bengel). He will allow me also to observe that in reckoning upwards from the birth of Christ to the Exodus, three periods of 490 years each, reaching to the year B.C. 1473, the basis of the reckoning lies below, at the known date B.C. 3, not above, at the unknown date B.C. 1473. The destruction, therefore, of the summit of the edifice would not affect the solidity of the base. The stronghold of the fortress is left untouched—viz., that from the birth of Christ, B.C. 3, to B.C. 493, when the Darius of the tablets was about 62 years old, was a period of exactly 490 years, or seventy weeks. Daniel and the tablets here agree. The second period of 490 years is equally certain, being fixed by means of the eclipse of Amos, B.C. 763.—J. W. B.

[2] Keys of St. Peter; compare The Chronology of the Bible.

was finished in the sixth year of Hystaspes, 516, "according to the commandment of Cyrus and Darius and (or) Artaxerxes king of Persia." Only of Cyrus and Darius we know that they had given orders to build the Temple, and if after Cyrus, who rescinded his order, a successor of his, possibly called Artaxerxes, had renewed it before Darius did so, the latter could not have referred to the order of Cyrus without mentioning the order of the supposed predecessor Artaxerxes. It is, therefore, not a mere assumption, but a logical inference, that the passage in question refers to Hystaspes as the Darius and (or) Artaxerxes, "king of the Persians," which is a correct translation of Artaxerxes, or "king of the Aryans," that is, of the Artaioi of Herodotus, by which name the ancestors of the Persians, the Aryans, were called.

If in the sixth chapter of Ezra, Hystaspes is called Darius and also Artaxerxes, the Artaxerxes of the following chapter, who sent Ezra as governor to Jerusalem in the 7th year of his reign, may be the same king in whose 6th year, according to the preceding chapter, the consecration of the Temple had taken place. As the latter event certainly took place in the year 516, the mission of Ezra would have fallen in the year 515, not in 444 as hitherto universally asserted. Thus interpreted, there would not be a lapse of 71 years between the sixth and seventh chapters in the Book of Ezra, the narrative of which would be shown to refer to consecutive events.

The hypothesis that Hystaspes may have been the king of Ezra and Nehemiah is indirectly confirmed by the fact, that the 32nd year of the reign of Nehemiah's king, when the royal cupbearer is for the last time mentioned as having been in the province over which he was governor, is the year 490, the year of the battle of Marathon, if the king was Hystaspes, and not Artaxerxes-Longimanus, who alone, like Hystaspes, ruled more than 32 years. No reason is given for the termination of Nehemiah's governorship, and it may well have been brought to a sudden close by the consequences of the battle of Marathon, which virtually put an end to the power of Hystaspes. The Egibi tablets show a blank for the year 490, from which we may assume that Babylon at once felt the consequences of the battle.

A more direct confirmation of the theory that the title Artaxerxes in the Book of Ezra may refer to Hystaspes, can be derived from the connection in which this narrative places Artaxerxes with Ahasuerus, who certainly is meant for a substitute of Darius, if not for Darius Hystaspis himself. Ahasuerus must be identified with Hystaspes if the Ahasuerus in the Book of Esther, who "possessed the land from India even unto Ethiopia," that is, Cush, in the land of the Nile,[1] can only refer to Hystaspes, since the possessions of no other eastern king extended from the Indus to the Nile. Moreover, Esther or Hadassah is 'Atossa, the queen of Darius, and her predecessor's name, Vash-ti, may be, after the analogy of Baal-ti, interpreted as "the wife of Vash." This word, in combination with "açpa," forms Vashtaçpa, the family-name of Darius, which may be translated "the possessor of the horse," and from which the legend about the winning horse of Darius may have sprung. The Book of Esther is certainly not an entire myth. I will conclude by hoping that Mr. Boscawen and Professor Sayce will give us the benefit of their very elaborate studies on the subject.

Mr. Boscawen.—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, in replying to Mr. Bosanquet, I must say of course that I do not pretend to be a chronologist. This is my first attempt in chronology. I may say I have had advantages which few other chronologists have ever had—a regular sequence of tablets to deal with so complete as this series of the Egibi tablets. With the exception of two years between the first year of Nebuchadnezzar and the last year of Darius, we have only two breaks, and we are most fully initiated into the trade secrets of the Egibi family.

Now, I differ from Mr. Bosanquet in one or two matters with regard to the family. We have clearly stated, all through the tablets, the periods when various sons were taken into partnership, and great care is taken throughout to mention any second son who may enter for a short time into the firm. In that case I cannot see how he can cross

[1] Ahasuerus reigned from India to Cush, or Chushistan (מֵהֹדּוּ וְעַד־כּוּשׁ). J. W. B.

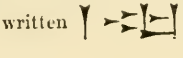
the various witnesses. Another difficulty which meets me is the date of the accession of Nebuchadnezzar. Mr. Bosanquet inserts a period of Scythian rule. I maintain the Scythians never came to Babylon. Among the tablets that came over with Mr. Layard's excavations, were a series of very roughly written ones relating to the last days of the Assyrian empire. These tablets I lately examined, and I find in them an account of the rising which took place in the reign of two kings; one was Esarhaddon, the other was Assurbanipal. They are mentioned together, and in the mention of Sennacherib's victories they are dated in the reign of Nabu-sar-uzur. Those who have examined the canon will find that the only Nabu-sar-uzur that occurs was in the last year but one of Sennacherib; there is no Nabu-sar-uzur in the reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal, but after 647, the last of our canons proves it; but among a series of detached eponymes we have the name of "Nabu-sar-uzur." There are a number of tablets in the Museum which cannot be arranged, but there are six canons, and the last of those terminates in B.C. 647, calculating from the eclipse in B.C. 763; after that there are twenty or twenty-five names which we cannot arrange systematically. Among these names is the name of Nabu-sar-uzur. This shows that these facts, according to the tablets, took place later than B.C. 647. Among the facts recorded are a rising in the northern provinces of Assyria, when the Medes or Aryans revolted against Esarhaddon's son Assurbanipal. But he is an unknown king, although Mr. Smith has suggested that the Canon of Ptolemy, which gives Isintadanus, here refers to Assurbanipal. But since my paper was written I have come to the conclusion that the king in the Canon of Ptolemy may be Esarhaddon son of Assurbanipal, who was acting for his father. When we examine these tablets, we see a very curious state of the last trace of the Assyrian empire.

From these it appears the empire was breaking up in every part. Babylonia was in revolt, Egypt was in revolt, the North was in revolt, and so all throughout the Assyrian empire there was rebellion and insurrection. The curious thing about these tablets is that the person who commanded

the Medes is called Castariti.[1] Now Castariti resembled closely the name of Artaxerxes: he is not called king of the Medes, but "chief" or "general of the Medes," when he was probably acting for his father; and in a later document, of which unfortunately there are not more than five or six lines left, I discovered the termination of his name and the title of the king of the Medes, which shows that at some later period, on the death of his father, he became king of the Medes.

Now, Babylon was in revolt, and the Babylonian revolt appears to have been the most powerful and most difficult one to suppress. After the death of Assurbanipal we have three or four kings who appear together, and during these revolts it is very probable that Nabu-abal-uzur, who was an Assyrian general sent to quell the Babylonian rising, became Governor of Babylon, and on the overthrow of the Assyrian empire in B.C. 625 became king. To this period the great check is the Canon of Ptolemy; from the accession of Nebuchadnezzar to that of Darius is 83 years. If you reckon up the periods of the Egibi family you get, by the death of one witness in the first year of Darius, this result of 83 years. Sula, who appeared at the head of the firm in the 3rd year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, 16 years, Nabu-ahi-idina 38 years, and his grandson Itti-Marduk-balatu 23 years, which makes 81 years. Sula appears for the three years of Nebuchadnezzar, and, adding the remaining two years of Nebuchadnezzar, we get 83 years, and from going carefully through the Egibi family, we can get no other result than 83 years between the two reigns.

Then comes another argument, about Belshazzar. I at first considered that Marduk-sar-uzur was Belshazzar. I have gone through a great number of tablets, and checked them carefully, and I do not find I can now hold to that idea. I went through the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, and I found that the witnesses to Marduk-sar-uzur are the same as to Nergal-sar-uzur. Probably Nergal-sar-uzur, like Assur-banipal, had two names; and among the Egibi family also there

[1] The name is written  , *Ka-as-ta-ri-ti.*

is no doubt, as I can show from some of the tablets, that there are in them examples of persons combining the names of two gods in their names. There is a person called Itti-Marduk, and another Itti-Nabu-Balladu, and he is probably the same person. In another case we have Bel-Pakir, Marduk-Pakhir; the witnesses thus change the names of the divinity which is the patron god, as modern nations adopt the names of patron saints.

Now, if we trace down the family of the Egibi, we shall find the record of the various sons coming to the firm is carefully preserved, and we can in no case cross the witnesses more than the tablets allow us. I have gone through, and hope again to go through, very carefully the whole of this family and its transactions, and money matters relating to them, and by that time I shall be able to give every name occurring. When we have some 2,000 tablets to go through, and to read names, which, as everyone who has studied Assyrian knows, is the most difficult part, because it is not easy always to recognize the same name, as it may be written four or five different ways, you may judge it is an arduous task. I have copied two apparently different names; but I afterwards found them to be variants of the same name.

As regards Darius the Mede, I do not think Darius the Mede can be Darius Hystaspis, or that there were two kings reigning at the same time. From the tablets it appears the Egibi family were closely connected with the ruling house. The Egibi firm were selling houses to royal personages, and in one case Cyrus sells some slaves to the firm, and the members of the royal household appear to be closely connected with the firm. When we find they are so closely knit up, we should surely find some trace of so important a person as Darius Hystaspis, if he was in existence, in connection with the royal family, in the reign of Cyrus or Cambyses.

With regard to the reign of a second Cyrus the son of Cambyses. If he should be placed between the reigns of Cambyses and extending into the reign of Darius, the last date in the reign of Cambyses is 23rd day of Nisan, and the

first date in Darius is 14th of the month Adar of his first year, B.C. 521. Between these two dates comes the revolt of Bardes, which lasted at least seven months.

The first date in this interval is the 20th of the sixth month of Bardes. Now, this being the first year, shows that of course his accession was in the previous year, so that the accession year of Bardes must have been in B.C. 523. Now, we have only six months between the two dates, and in that space we have to get the reign of Cyrus. The former argument applies to this Cyrus. If he was with Darius in Babylon in B.C. 521, or his father Cambyses, there must be some trace in the tablets of his existence. We find estates which are connected with the royal families, and land and houses are surveyed and measured and sold; their owners, and any person who seems to have had the slightest connection with these properties, mentioned; surely if they mention the positions of the various temple gates, and the different small houses and temples, so they would mention so important a person as Darius Hystaspis, if he was Darius the Mede, the ruler or co-ruler with Cyrus II or Cambyses. I can only stick to my old argument: if the Darius in the Book of Daniel (if there was such a person) was Darius the Mede (son of Hystaspes?), and ruled after Belshazzar and conjointly with Cyrus and Cambyses, you must have some definite mention of him. I see that Mr. Bosanquet agrees in some measure with me in putting Marduk-sar-uzur before Neriglissar, although I cannot see on what grounds Mr. Bosanquet makes this arrangement.[1] I have gone carefully through every witness during the later part of Nabonidus, and we have 200 tablets; for the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (who said he was (?)) son of Nabonidus we have 60 or 70; for Cyrus we have 30 or 40; and by going carefully through these, we can obtain names to arrange the witnesses, and I find that I am obliged to move

[1] The last year of Nebuchadnezzar was intercalated with the month Veadar. The first year of Neriglissar also was intercalated. Now, the intercalation of Veadar was made every sixth year. The three years, therefore, of Marduk-sar-uzur are required immediately after the two years of Evil-Merodach, to complete the six years to Veadar, in the first year of Neriglissar.—J. W. B.

Marduk-sar-uzur, and the only reason I can account for his appearance is this—that it is a variant name for Nergal-sar-uzur. Count the years up till you get the eighty-three years between Nebuchadnezzar and Darius Hystaspis, and you get no trace of kings reigning contemporary between this period, and no traces of any king mentioned in any way as equal with himself. Those who have read Oriental history, know how thoroughly it was the custom to be king and sole king, and to have nobody in conjunction with him. They know how unusual it would be to find two kings ruling together on the same throne, and in the same country. I do not pretend to be a chronologist. I may say I do not like it, because it is one of the most bothering subjects. You are always going right and always going wrong; you work for three or four or five hours, you consult everybody and everybody's theory, together with your own, and your four or five hours' work ends in three figures, and this result is frequently wrong. I have had a long bout of chronology for three or four months, and I intend to go through these tablets again, if I can, and to get as much information as possible. My work is not so much to form a theory; I would rather get a great quantity of material and food together, and give it to other people to pick up and form their own theories. I do not care for it myself; but I intend to work at the tablets as long as I am able. It is a most interesting part of the work; it gives you a thorough insight into Babylonian work. Those who have never worked at these tablets think they are all dates and dry matter, but they are mistaken. You obtain names, trades, professions, and relationships between people, and it is just like a man entering into some large land agent's office. The Egibi firm was not so much a commercial firm as they were large land agents, where you examine title-deeds, leases and plans. The Babylonians had a considerable amount of draughtsmanship, they drew their plans and figured them as a surveyor would do at the present day. If you examine these tablets you will obtain a neat knowledge of the Babylonian families; there are marriage contracts, and you may see how much the Babylonian young ladies gave to their

husbands, and how much the husbands gave for them. All this kind of work I would rather do; but I do not care for chronology. I undertake to supply the materials. Take my bricks and build up any wall you like, but I am not responsible for that wall.

Professor Seager spoke at some length with regard to the Xenophontic view of the history of Cyrus, and the question of its historic value; the drift of his observations being nearly as follows.[1]

Mr. Chairman; ladies and gentlemen; It is not my purpose, in the presence especially of the very learned Assyriologists whom we have the pleasure of seeing amongst us, to offer any opinion, as regards either the Tablets or any other Assyriological subject of controversy. My object is simply to put for consideration a question with regard to the possibility of saving the existence, which seems at present to be not a little threatened, of Darius the Mede.

This question is, how far the Tablets do or do not preclude our accepting, if not as true, at least as probable among others, that view of the history of Cyrus which Xenophon in his Cyropædia sets before us; and which seems certainly to agree better with Biblical history and prophecy, than the one which Herodotus happened to think the most probable; or rather, perhaps, the least improbable.

Until this question is determined;—the question how we ought to regard the Xenophontic account of Cyrus;—what place and value we ought to assign to it among the sources of Medo-Persian and other connected history;—until this question has been fully examined and settled, we cannot, I think, say safely, that we have reached the end of the more general question which is the subject of our present discussion.

[1] Some parts of this speech are more fully developed here than when spoken; in others, probably, the contrary is the case. This however it would have been difficult to avoid; as I had the whole to recompose, with but little help from memory; while of the fragmentary notes or memoranda with which I had been kindly furnished, all I can say is, that alongside of matter, which, even where possible, it was anything but easy, to interpret or correct into sense, I found also some useful reminders.—C. Seager.

That the story of Herodotus should have prevailed, as regards public opinion in general, against that of Xenophon, is not wonderful. Let us remember, first, the greatness of the reputation of the former;—a reputation acquired, not merely by his industry and his truthfulness, but also by his religious tone and the eminently interesting manner in which he handles his ever-varying matter. Let us remember, I say, first, how great and spreading was the well-deserved reputation which had thus been gained by the Father of History; and then, that the account of Cyrus which we find in the first of those nine delightful books was a story that had had a century and a half during which to take root and establish itself before that of Xenophon appeared; and we shall easily understand with how great a difficulty this latter must have had, both at once and ever after, to contend.

But further, the Cyropædia was, to all appearance, in respect of development and the filling in of details, such especially as those concerning the childhood of its hero, much indebted to the fictional talent of its author;—that talent by which, from the known we judge of and fill up the unknown. It was pretty clear, in fact, and no doubt had been fully admitted, that in part at least this work was fictional. And this being the case, the easiest theory, how far soever it was from being the safest, might naturally seem to be, to regard as fiction, not details or developments only, but whatever in the outlines also, differed from other accounts, and especially from the story to which Herodotus had given so extensive a currency.

But before accepting indiscriminately this easier theory, it will be right at least to consider what Xenophon himself, by way of preface, says of the object and plan of his work; and in what way he was led to study the life of Cyrus, and the forming of his character.

Having reflected, he says, how short-lived on the one hand had been the success of political establishments in general, and further, how deficient, in private life also, was the success of masters in obtaining from those under them the obedience they desired; on the other hand, with what comparative ease the lower animals were governed, he had

concluded that of all animals man was the most difficult for man to govern. But when he considered the extraordinary success of Cyrus, who had brought half the world (so to say) to be, not willing only, but desirous, to be governed by him, he had found himself obliged to come to a different conclusion; namely, that if one went the right way to work, it was neither impossible nor difficult for man to govern man. After which, having developed a little the details of this success, he goes on to say, that he had thought it worth while to examine into the origin, the natural gifts, and the education or general forming, both outward and inward, which had led to so remarkable a result; and that he purposes to communicate to the reader the fruits of his inquiries and studies.

Surely what he here proposes is not the inventing of a dramatic character, but the close examination, and truthful exhibition, of an historical existence.

To the same conclusion point, both the particular account which at the beginning of his book he gives of the Persian system of education and subsequent training, and also the concluding chapter, in which he speaks of the degeneracy of the Persians of his own time.

It may be said, however, that the work being admittedly more or less supplemented by fiction, and the best fiction being generalized history; history of which the essence is retained, while non-essentials are dealt with as most convenient; Xenophon may have felt himself at liberty to modify or alter even the leading outlines, so long as the Cyrus he presented was the same in nature, and in the general character of his actions, with the Cyrus of reality.

To this I answer; first, that the extent of such liberty must be limited by the professions or circumstances of each case; and that the prefatory expressions which we find used by Xenophon, while they may be regarded as fully applicable to, and purposely providing for, the development of details, cannot easily be understood as allowing him any liberty at all with regard to the leading outlines.

Then, secondly, even granting that they do, it so happens that the Cyrus of Xenophon is no less morally, than in

regard of his outward history, different from the Cyrus of Herodotus. The character of the latter is in no small degree repulsive; that of the former lovely throughout; and as such, both accounts for the extraordinary power, which our author attributes to him, of attaching to him his fellow men, and agrees well with the high distinction accorded him in the Bible, both in the singular favour with which, in the prophecies of Isaiah, he is addressed by the Almighty, and in the fact, which we find in the historical books, of his having been divinely instructed to be the liberator of the people of God, and the issuer of the decree for the restoration of His temple.

As regards coincidence with the Bible, however, it is not in respect of the character, only, of Cyrus, that Xenophon's version, as I have already said, is more in accordance with what we there find, than is that of Herodotus. That of the former accounts satisfactorily, that of the latter not at all, for the view which Daniel puts before us, when he makes it appear, that it was not Cyrus, though the taker of Babylon, but another, who succeeded to the supreme power. Again, Xenophon's version of the history of his hero fully accounts for, whilst that of Herodotus tends rather to make, if not inexplicable, at least difficult to understand, that intimate union of the Medes and Persians which is so conspicuous in the Book of Daniel, and to the mention of which our own ears also have been so much accustomed. Nor are Daniel and Xenophon alone in exhibiting to us this remarkable union: that it entered still more into the ideas of the Greeks in general, than into our own, we may gather from their language itself: witness the common use of the term *Mede* or *Medes* for *Persian* or *Persians;* as in the plays of Aristophanes;—those contemporary photographs, so to say, of ancient Athenian life.[1] So also the use of its derivatives; for instance, of τὰ Μηδικὰ for the Persian wars; and of the verb *medizo*, literally, to imitate or favour the Medes, but practically equivalent to *persizo*, to imitate or favour the Persians.

[1] The case of these two national names, *Medes* and *Persians*, as I had occasion, farther on in the discussion, to observe, "is something like that of the Angles and the Saxons; each originally distinct, and each in the end including the other."

With respect, then, to the main outlines of the Cyropædia, it does not appear, to say the least, that we have any real basis for regarding them as either invented or altered. But with respect to the details also,—the development of which, as I have already observed, does appear to be in part at least, fictional,—I wish, with your kind permission, to say a few words.

In the first place we must remember, that even Thucydides, the great model of historical care and accuracy, tells us in effect, with respect to the speeches, that he supplements his information by the use of his judgment, according to the nature of each case; that is to say, that he attributes to the several speakers such speeches as they may naturally be supposed, under the circumstances, to have spoken. What could he do else? And can there be any doubt that Herodotus did the same? So far, then, as the speeches, at least, are concerned, if Xenophon also supplied by his excellent judgment what was wanting in evidence, the amount of the fictional element would be only what was allowed and adopted by the best historians of the best days of Greece.

We have seen, however, that he appears to have gone somewhat farther; by fictionally developing, that is to say, the minor and unessential details of events also; and that his own prefatory language seems to imply as much. To this extent, then, the Cyropædia must be regarded as probably fictional: but that he allowed himself to alter the leading features of the historical information which he had made it his business to collect,—as I have already observed, we have, to say the least, no satisfactory basis for concluding.

We must remember, too, that concerning even the childhood of such a man as Cyrus, there may naturally be supposed to have been still current in Xenophon's time a large amount of anecdotes and narratives; and further, that no few of these may not improbably have reached the ears of one who was so desirous, and had such good opportunities, of hearing whatever could be heard. Hence we may be in danger of attributing to his fictional talent what in reality he is only repeating in his own

interesting way; or even matter in which his real difficulty was, to combine as well as might be, or, failing this, to choose between, different versions of the same occurrence or circumstance.

I wish, however, distinctly to state, that even with the limitations I have made, I am far from advocating absolutely the acceptance of Xenophon's account. It may be, that the Tablets, our ultimate authority, will decide against our adopting either this or the account of Herodotus; or at least against our doing so without much modification. All I contend for is, that taken by themselves, the former is to all appearance much to be preferred to the latter; and that anyhow, both the early and extensive *private* acquaintance of the Greeks with the East, and that gigantic *public* struggle with the Medo-Persic Empire, in which during the whole of its existence,—from the time of Cyrus himself down to that of Alexander the Great,—they were more or less engaged, make it simply impossible, either to ignore the authority of their historians in general, or to put aside, without the fullest consideration, the work, even though partly fictional, of *that* Greek historian, who, with military and general talents of the highest order, with a thorough knowledge of mankind and the world, had also, not merely seen so much of the Empire in question, but further, had taken so great and so conspicuous a part in that struggle itself; and had also, in so doing, contributed so materially to its ultimate result.

Whatever, then, the Tablets may in the end decide, I am safe in repeating, that before we can be said to have reached the last word of this controversy, the evidence or quasi-evidence of Xenophon will have to be fully dealt with, and its value, so far as possible, determined. Nor, certainly, in doing this, ought we to forget, that to how great an extent soever we may suppose Xenophon to have introduced fiction into his work, so long as we do not suppose the whole to be such, it will always be possible, that of the various accounts which were current of the life and death of Cyrus, Herodotus in his history may have selected a wrong one; Xenophon, as the basis of his fiction, may have made out and adopted the true one. And if we find that Xenophon's account has

better external support than that of Herodotus has, we shall be right in giving it the preference. But we have seen that Xenophon's account agrees better with what we find in the Bible.[1]

One of the points of this better agreement, as you will remember, was what we find in Daniel with regard to the position of Cyrus at Babylon after the taking of that city; namely, his not succeeding at once to the supreme power. According to the Herodotean, or common account, he did so succeed; but according to that of Xenophon, if practically he both ruled and reigned at Babylon, yet as regards the strictly supreme authority,—being in all respects a man of the best feeling, and having acted towards his uncle with the greatest consideration,—he may have continued, during the life of Cyaxares, and even have preferred continuing, to be what he seems previously to have been, his uncle's vice-gerent.[2]

[1] The critical department of history, it need scarcely be remarked, is not one for which Herodotus appears to have been specially fitted, either by nature or by practice.—C. SEAGER.

[2] In Cyaxares, as king of the Medes,—if not in him and Cambyses unitedly,—was probably continued that partial supremacy which for so long a period the Medic sovereigns had possessed; but in which he was to be succeeded by Cyrus: who, as we have seen, had married his daughter, and was the son of his sister. In this way of looking at the matter, Cyaxares might in modern language be called *the Emperor;* in that of the Greeks, *the Great King;* Cyrus being, not merely, his appointed, perhaps also, associated, successor, but also, both his vice-gerent for the Empire in general, and the local king at Babylon. Had the scene been at Rome, under the Empire, Cyaxares might perhaps have borne the title of *Augustus;* Cyrus that of *Cæsar.*

In this way, possibly, the apparent difficulty with regard to the Darius of Daniel, that is to say, Darius the Mede, may be satisfactorily explained; it being understood, of course, that this Darius is the Cyaxares of Xenophon; with whom, it may be added, his somewhat advanced age at the time of the taking of Babylon makes him all the better correspond; Cyaxares, both as the uncle, and also as the father-in-law, of Cyrus, belonging to the preceding generation.

It must be admitted, however, that Xenophon is not very explicit as regards the precise relations which subsisted between Cyaxares and Cyrus; possibly he had little or no trustworthy information concerning them, and was unwilling to make use of his fictional powers in handling a question of historical importance. But our adoption of his account as a whole, noways hinders our supplementing or correcting it by the help of other authorities; as in particular by that of the Book of Daniel; from which, as regards our present question, Herodotus differs fundamentally, Xenophon, if he differs at all, differs only with respect to development or matters of detail.

Anyhow, we find in Xenophon, that whatever may have been the political position of Cyrus, he still, as before, gave special honour to Cyaxares; of which, as an example, we

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If however the relations between Cyrus and his uncle were such as I have suggested, there will be no difficulty,—so at least it seems to me,—in accounting, either for the acts attributed by Xenophon to Cyrus, or for those which are attributed by Daniel to Darius; that is to say, to Cyaxares. For, on the one hand, these latter are clearly imperial acts; and it was natural that Darius should take such part as he thought good in the affairs of the Empire. Then, on the other hand, the acts attributed by Xenophon to Cyrus are such as it was natural that he also should perform, either as King (or Viceroy) of Babylon and its territory, or as the associated administrator, and practical ruler, of the Empire in general.

With respect, however, to that supremacy of the Medes of which I have been speaking, a word more will not, I think, be out of place. In the splendour and popularity of such a reign as that of Cyrus,—himself, as we have seen, both the nephew and the son-in-law of Cyaxares, as also the victorious leader under whom they had so long fought, and with such signal success,—any apparent diminution of this supremacy which might seem to be involved in its being shared by the Persians, would have been little likely, even under ordinary circumstances, to trouble them; much less when they saw that with Cyrus it was an object of primary importance, to make the union of the two nations, not merely no detriment to either, but also, a solid advantage to both.

But when, later on, this supremacy had become, in all but the name, practically Persian, we find from Herodotus (I, 130) that they became discontented, and accordingly revolted against Darius Hystaspis, but were overcome and subdued.

To this war seem to belong the events to which Professor Sayce (see p. 125) calls attention, as having taken place, according to Xenophon's Anabasis, when the Persians were engaged "in overthrowing the Median Empire." For this rebellion and its successful suppression may naturally be regarded as the final extinction of whatever either had remained or had been recovered of the supremacy in question.

*** In conclusion, I have only to add, that the suggestions of this note must be understood, like those of the speech itself to which it belongs, as made subject to any such correction as may be required or suggested by the Tablets, or may come to us in any other way; as in particular by the sifting of those important chronological questions, which, in connection with these Tablets, are raised in Mr. Bosanquet's speech.

The question, however, of Mr. Bosanquet's chronology I leave, like all other Tablet or in-part Tablet subjects, to those who are better able to deal with them; for myself, taking only the simple question, how the early Medo-Persic history ought to be regarded, if judged of without other evidence than that of the Bible compared with Xenophon and Herodotus;—what, in fact, for an ordinary student, this evidence, taken by itself, may seem to teach and suggest. —C. Seager.

read, that when the former, on his way, at length, to revisit his father and mother in Persia, made a branch journey to see the latter, he told him that there was a palace selected for him at Babylon, in order that when he came there also, he might be able to put up at his own home.

Having now put before you, as well as I could, the grounds which have occurred to me for weighing carefully the account which Xenophon in his Cyropædia gives of Cyrus, there remains only, to offer you my best thanks for the kind patience with which you have listened to my observations.

Mr. Bosanquet.—May I beg to answer one point of Mr. Boscawen's observations? He put one pertinent remark before the meeting, which is, that if the suggestion I have made that the reigns of Cyrus and Darius overlapped is correct, there ought to be some mention made of it in some history or other about that time. Now Josephus tells us that he had Berosus before him, and Megasthenes and Philostratus and the works of many other learned writers extant in that day; and Scaliger says there is scarcely more to be learned of these times than what is contained in the two books of Josephus against Apion. What does Josephus say? Speaking of Nabonidus, whose last year is brought down by the tablets to the year B.C. 513 or 512, he says, "Against this king, Cyrus king of Persia, and Darius king of Media, made war"; and again he says, a few pages later, "When Babylon was taken by Darius, and when he and his kinsman Cyrus had put an end to the dominion of the Babylonians, he (Darius) was sixty-two years old."

Professor Sayce.—As far as I can see, Josephus, when quoting from classical authors, mentions his authority, but not when quoting from Jewish traditions. Now, when he mentions this Darius, he does not make any allusion to profane writers.

Mr. Bosanquet.—He had Berosus and Megasthenes specially before him. He quotes verbatim from Berosus, and refers to the fourth book of Megasthenes.

PROFESSOR SAYCE.—He does not quote from them the statement that it was Darius along with Cyrus who was king of Babylon. In fact he states that Darius "had another name among the Greeks." (Antiq. x, 11, 4.)

Mr. BOSANQUET.—His words are, "Against this king Baltasar, who by the Babylonians was called Naboandelus, Cyrus king of Persia and Darius king of Media, made war." Then afterwards he says, "when Babylon was taken by Darius, and when he and his kinsman Cyrus had put an end to the dominion of the Babylonians, he (Darius) was sixty-two years old."

PROFESSOR SAYCE.—What I mean to say is this. It is a practice of Josephus, when he does not give his authority, to be simply quoting from Jewish tradition or the Bible, but when he quotes from profane authors to name them. Now when he mentions the facts in this particular case, he does not say that his account of Darius is derived from profane writers. The inference therefore seems to be that he derives that information not from profane writers, but from the Bible. It is his own inference from Jewish tradition.

Mr. BOSANQUET.—I do not think it necessary to believe that all the authors before him had written that Darius was sixty-two years old when he took the kingdom; this may have been derived from the testimony of Daniel. But the work of Megasthenes I think was specially consulted by him. I will refer to another passage copied by Abydenus from Megasthenes, concerning which there can be no question as to its being a quotation, where he couples Cyrus with Darius. Eusebius writes—"Hear also Abydenus, who writes in these words: Megasthenes says that Nabonedochus was commanded to be raised to the throne, to whom it by no means belonged. To whom Cyrus, when Babylon was taken, gave the principality of Carmania. *King Darius drove him out of that region.*"[1] "Verum omnia hæc cum Hebraicis scriptis optime conveniunt." There is still another passage said to

[1] Arm. Eusebius, Auch., p. 30.

be quoted from Megasthenes by Annius, "Baltassare interfecto, regnaverunt simul Cyrus et Darius, annis 22." (Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. I, p. 262.) And yet once again we may refer to Daniel x, 13, where in the 3rd year of Cyrus, melek of Persia, the prince (*sar*) of the kingdom of Persia is spoken of. The high testimony of Xenophon quite agrees [1] with that of Megasthenes. I have already shown how Xenophon declares that Cyrus did not inherit the throne of *Persia* till after the death of Cambyses—that is, in B.C. 518. He must have known when he wrote this that Darius had usurped the throne of Cambyses even before his death. If so, he must have assumed that Cyrus and Darius reigned at the same time.[2]

M. ERNEST DE BUNSEN.—May not Darius the Mede and Cyrus be one and the same person? It may be mentioned that Josephus in another passage mentions a Cyrus who is called by the Greeks Artaxerxes.

PROFESSOR SAYCE.—Darius the Mede in Daniel is called a Mede, and not a Persian, and Ahasuerus is Xerxes. It seems to me that Darius the Mede of the Book of Daniel may be resolved into Darius Hystaspis, who took Babylon, as we know, after a siege of ten months. This siege, I believe, has been identified with the siege and capture of the city by Cyrus.

M. ERNEST DE BUNSEN.—Daniel refers to one taking of Babylon, and I assume it is that by Cyrus.

[1] Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. I, p. 213.

[2] Orosius writes—"Babylon novissime eo tempore a Cyro rege subversa quo primum Roma a Tarquiniorum regum dominatione liberata est" (Lib. II, ch. ii); that is, in B.C. 510, when Darius was on the throne. Clement of Alexandria counts 186 years from the taking of Babylon to the death of Alexander the Great. This capture must refer to the time when Nadintabelus, who called himself Nebuchadnezzar, had obtained the throne of Babylon for about two years, as first brought to light by these tablets. The taking of Babylon by Darius, after a siege of twenty months, was after the death of Cyrus the Mule, as shown by the taunt of the Babylonians—"When mules bring forth, then shall the city be taken."—J. W. B.

The CHAIRMAN.—A joint taking, in which the Medes are mentioned first.

Mr. BOSANQUET.—He refers to the taking of Babylon by Darius, not by Cyrus. Darius is a Mede, and you see him here in the sculpture from Behistûn, attired in the Median robe, with two Medes standing behind him in attendance. There he is, trampling on Gau-mata, a Median pretender, who had assumed the Median robe. There are three Medes before him dressed in the Median costume, who have set up as competitors for the throne of Media, or Susiana. The whole character of the sculpture is tinged with Median accessories, and also with the title Ahasuerus, or Cyaxares the Achæmenian, who was a Mede. Darius, we know, claimed to be the son (or representative) of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, who had married ʿAtossa. And ʿAtossa is Hadassah, the queen of Ahasuerus. The whole of the tablet is as it were coloured with references to the seed of Ahasuerus. The Darius before us is by title a Mede, and not a Persian, because the Medes were yet the superior race. The costume of the Persian, we are told, was less graceful than the robe of the Mede. He is not so portrayed.

The REVEREND THOMAS TYLER.—There is a passage in Daniel which has not been referred to, as to whether Darius means king. The passage runs like this: "So Daniel prospered in the *reign* of Darius and in the *reign* of Cyrus the Persian."[1] It would be most unfortunate if we take Darius as a proper name; but if we must face the extinction of Darius, we must face it.

M. ERNEST DE BUNSEN.—Daniel may have lived during the reigns of Cyrus and of Darius Hystaspis, and Daniel the prophet may have been identical with Daniel the priest. In "The Persians" of Æschylus, ʿAtossa is the wife of Hystaspes, and mother of Xerxes.

[1] Or rather, "in the reign of Darius" (the Mede, the husband of Hadassah, who ruled over 127 provinces, from India to Cush) "and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian." (Dan. vi, 28.)—J. W. B.

Professor Sayce.—I confess that, although I agree with Professor Seager respecting the account given by Herodotus, I cannot agree with him in otherwise regarding the Cyropædia than as a romance. It seems so very similar to Rasselas.

Professor Seager.—I do not question its being a romance; but only its being a mere romance.

Professor Sayce.—We ought to distinguish between Medes and Persians. Medes and Persians seem to have been always carefully distinguished from one another. Cyrus the Persian[1] is distinguished from Darius the Mede. Mr. Bosanquet quoted Darius as being represented in a Median dress; but Mr. Boscawen reminds me that that was probably because the tomb was in a Median country. Darius traces his ancestors back to the Achæmenians (the pure Persian breed), and Cyrus does the same.

Professor Seager.—Xenophon does distinguish the Medes and Persians. Their case is something like that of the Angles and the Saxons; each originally distinct, and each in the end including the other.

Mr. Bosanquet.—During the war of Darius Hystaspis with the Athenians, Herodotus called the fleet of Darius "the fleet of the Medes"; also, the Spartans hastened to Marathon in B.C. 490, after the battle, to see the formidable "Medes." The empire was that of the Medo-Persians at the time of the battle of Marathon. Æschylus fought at the battle of Marathon, and he is one of the best authorities, although he is often put in the waste basket. He traces the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh kings of the Medes from the overthrow of the Assyrian empire by Cyaxares the Mede, all before the accession of Darius. What does Darius himself say? "I am the ninth." The eighth is left out, who may have been "Artaxerxes the

[1] Cyrus was not king of *Persia* (Ezra i, 1) till after the death of Cambyses king of Persia.—J. W. B.

Mede." Darius comes after Martes, or Meraphis, and after Artaphernes, and therefore it must have been towards the end of the reign of Darius that he called himself the ninth king.

Professor Sayce.—At the time of the battle of Marathon the Medes and Persians had been unified. The Medes had come to take the first rank in the empire. It seems that was not the case originally. If one looks at the Anabasis of Xenophon, one finds a reference to places inhabited by Medes, and destroyed by the Persians when engaged in overthrowing the Median empire. As regards the use of the words *Medoi* and *Medizo* for *Persai* and *Persizo* ;—

Professor Seager.—You find both.

Professor Sayce.—It seems easy to explain. The first general of Cyrus who subjugated the Ionians in Asia Minor was a Mede. It was not therefore the Persian general with whom the Greeks first came into contact.

Mr. Irvine.—May I ask those who are acquainted with Assyriological research, whether *mattai* may not mean "king of country," [? be the name of a country,] and form part of the title, which I believe to be a custom with Eastern names ?

Professor Sayce.—The word is *matâti* ("countries"), not *Madai* ("Medes"). The latter word, too, would be preceded by a determinative prefix denoting "people" or "country."

Mr. Irvine.—Might it be corrupted to *magi* [*? matati*] ?

Professor Sayce.—A confusion between *matati* and *madai* could not take place in Assyrian. If you go back to B.C. 2000 the two words would, I believe, be identical ; but in Assyrian the two words are not identical. In the one case it is *madai* and in the other *matati*.

Mr. IRVINE.—You think Josephus might not have made a mistake?

PROFESSOR SAYCE.—Josephus was not acquainted with Assyrian.

The CHAIRMAN.—May I inquire whether the writing on the wall has not been differently arranged by recent critics; and instead of *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin,*" has there not been suggested "*Mene, Tekel, Madai Upharsin*"?

PROFESSOR SAYCE.—It has been suggested, but I am not sure that it commends itself.

PROFESSOR SEAGER.—It is only a conjectural emendation.

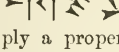
The REVEREND Mr. LÖWY.—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, might we not elicit something about the internal life to which Mr. Boscawen has alluded? It appears to me that Egibi is not necessarily the name of a commercial firm. Might not Egibi mean a treasurer? The word is quite legitimate in some Semitic languages. *Gabbaï* is at the present day a treasurer. In the early days of the Bible you have no word for treasury, but Adoniram was על המס over the tax. When we come to the period of the Persians and Medes, the treasurer appears in the Bible as *gisbar*. *Gaz* is the treasury, *gisbar* is the person who treasures. At a later time, in other Semitic works, you find *gabbaï* meaning "treasurer," a name retained at the present day in the East. Many persons boast of the name of *Gabbaï*, "treasurer." I have a conviction, but I do not know if any Semitic scholar shares it with me, that the words of antiquity do not die out, but live in the same place. *Matati* means "country," but in Kurdistan, the country where once the Median language was spoken, *mata* means "place," and in many Semitic dialects you find *mata* means a place, and sometimes a village. I would venture to suggest, subject to correction by more competent scholars, that Egibi might mean a treasurer, and a treasurer would carry on his duties from generation to generation;

and therefore we need not be surprised that eighty-three years are occupied by the successors of Egibi. I would take the word Egibi, if I am permitted to do so, as an appellative meaning "treasurer." (Ezra i, 8.)

Mr. Boscawen.—The suggestion made by Mr. Löwy is a valuable one in one way; but any one who has studied inscriptions would at once see it will not hold water. If Egibi had meant "treasurer," we should have had a prefix of some class of persons.[1] There are certain prefixes denoting a man, or an abstract prefix denoting certain classes of people. This system of prefixes is found in several other languages. In Egyptian, in Mexican, and in Chinese you have an ideograph denoting a proper name, and in no case do I find it relating to any class of beings. Another argument against it is, in a list of taxes collected in Babylon in the reign of Assurbanipal, we find the family of Egibi mentioned as giving certain taxes to the Assyrian treasury; and, moreover, among the family, we find Egibi dedicates a son, his child, to the service of one of the temples; and there can be no doubt Egibi was the name of a very important Babylonian patrician family.

Mr. Bosanquet.—I will not make any remark on the philological question, but I will refer to a passage in Ezra.[2] Speaking of the reign of Darius, when the governors of Judea wrote to the king, "Let search be made in the king's treasure-house which is there in Babylon," the subject of the letter was the collection of "toll, tribute, and custom," and we find that the tablets at the head of this paper relate to the collection of toll, tribute, and custom.

Mr. Boscawen.—There are receipts for such payments.

[1] The prefix for a state office would be  or alone. Here the prefix used is always , denoting simply a proper name of an individual. At the same time I am convinced that the House of Egibi was the treasury and land agency of the Babylonian Court, who collected the taxes and dues, as well as managed finance arrangements of extravagant kings.

[2] Ezra iv, 13–20; v, 17.

Mr. Bosanquet.—I do not think we have got into a banking-house, as suggested by Mr. Boscawen, but into the actual treasury or exchequer of Nebuchadnezzar, where he farmed out the revenue of the nation. The system of registration and receipts for taxes was carried on by a distinguished family connected with the kings of Babylon, and this office descended from father to son. The accuracy and perfection of the system is very striking. It may also be observed that the period over which the mass of the tablets extend is that during which the Jews were in captivity in Babylonia, for seventy years, and during which the use of the intercalary month Veadar was probably introduced by them. It will be remembered also that the companions of Daniel were placed over the *affairs* of the kingdom.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

The valuable remarks of Professor Seager concerning the Cyropædia of Xenophon, followed by the suggestion of Mr. Irvine, that *Mattai* may possibly signify Medes, appear to lead towards the solution of the difficulty concerning the time and title of "Darius the Mede." D and T were interchangeable letters in Babylonian and Median inscriptions in the time of Darius. Compare the Median or Scythian text of Norris with the Babylonian text of Rawlinson, in the Behistûn Inscription throughout. For instance we read—

BABYLONIAN.	MEDIAN.	
Dariyavush	= Tariavush	= Darius son of Hystaspes.
Dadarshish	= Tatarshish	= A general of Darius.
Mada	= Mata	= Province of Media.
Vidarna	= Vitarna.	
Frada	= Farrata.	
Bardiya	= Fartiya.	

Also elsewhere—

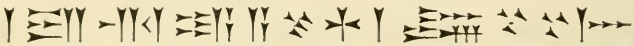
(Dan)Uwakshatara	= Tanu-Oxarces	= Ahasuerus.
Hadassah	= ʿAtossa	= Esther, or Ishtar, his wife.
Dumu-zi	= Tammuz.	
Dendera	= Tentyra.	
Daphnæ	= Tahpanhes, or Taphnes. Judith i, 11.	
Don	= Tanais.	
Hiddekel	= Tigris.	

Also—

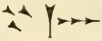
מָדַי or מָדָיָא, the Median, Dan. v, 31 = Madiya or Mata = Median.

"A part of Media is called Mate-ana" (Strabo, II, 14). Strabo speaks of "Scythians and Sauro-Matæ, or Sar-Matæ" (XII, 3). "Forte dicti *Σαρμάται* ex Chaldæo שַׂר־מָדַי, vel

Sar-Mādai, quasi Medorum reliquias dixeris." (Bochart, Phaleg, p. 225). Now in the Egibi tablets the name of Darius Hystaspis is written—



Da - ri - ya - a vush sar Mātāi, or Mādāi.
or *Darius king of the Medes.*

I have in my possession a tablet dated in the 15th year of Darius, *Sar*  *Mati* or *Matai*, which is equivalent to

"DARIUS THE MEDIAN."

Should this view be considered inadmissible by Assyrian scholars, and if the true reading should be Sar-Matati (not Sar-Madai), as stated by Mr. Sayce, the only alternatives would be, either to look upon the 127 provinces of Tanuoxarces, reaching "from India to Cush," as the Matati or countries specially referred to, or that the Matati represent the confederate countries, or kingdoms, of Media and Persia.

These 127 provinces fell to the lot of Hadassah or ʿAtossa, the queen of Ahasuerus, when he was put to death by Cambyses; and, of course, it was an object of desire on the part of the Persian kings to re-annex these provinces to the empire, by seeking the hand of ʿAtossa, who having married the son of Cyrus the First, was called his daughter.

Cambyses, therefore, married his sister after formal consultation with the judges and counsellors of Persia; that is probably ʿAtossa, his sister-in-law. Smerdis the Magian sought her hand. Cyrus the Mule married the daughter of Ahasuerus or Cyaxares, and with her obtained the kingdom of Media as her dowry. But Darius succeeded in securing queen ʿAtossa herself, a person of vigorous and ambitious character, by whom he gave an heir to the throne before his death, declaring Xerxes or Ahasuerus to be his successor, who was born of ʿAtossa; and thus set himself above all competitors as "Darius, son," or representative of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, the ninth Achæmenian king, who ruled over Assyria, Babylon, Media, and Persia.

J. W. B.

Remarks of Dr. Oppert concerning the Date of the Illness of Hezekiah in his 14th Year.

The discussion contained in the foregoing pages would not be complete in the absence of the opinion of so distinguished a scholar as Dr. Oppert. Fortunately, he has published within the present year a work entitled "Solomon and his Successors," which travels over the whole ground of our inquiry down to the year B.C. 538. He wrote, however, without the advantage of having Mr. Boscawen's publication before him.

Dr. Oppert comes very prominently forward on the subject of the reign of Hezekiah, and into direct collision with the view which I have set forth concerning the date of his fourteenth year, which I look upon as the key date of sacred history.

The following extract clearly expresses his view, and without comment may be left to the unprejudiced consideration of the reader— (J. W. B.)

Par suite d'une négligence très-ancienne, trois faits différents sont tous mis ensemble dans la 14me année d'Ezéchias; quoique l'un d'eux doive être postérieur aux autres. Ces faits historiques sont :

a. L'expédition de Sennachérib contre Juda ;

b. La maladie d'Ezéchias ;

c. L'ambassade de Mérodachbaladan, roi de Babel.

1°. La maladie du roi tombe réellement dans la 14me année, car il est expressément remarqué que le roi malade devait encore survivre à sa maladie 15 ans durant (R. II, xx, 6; Is. xxxviii, 5), ce qui s'accorde avec la durée du règne de 29 ans.

2°. L'ambassade de Mérodachbaladan se rattache à cette maladie; et elle ne peut appartenir qu'à cette époque, où d'ailleurs Mérodachbaladan (721–709), encore roi de Babylone, cherchait partout des alliés contre le puissant monarque de Ninive, Sargon. Ce fait résulte avec évidence de plusieurs textes assyriens.

3°. *L'expédition de Sennachérib* a dû arriver, comme cela s'entend de soi-même, pendant le règne de ce roi, lequel ne monta au trône que *dix ans après la maladie d'Ezéchias*. Aussi résulte-t-il du texte de la Bible (R. II, loc. cit.; Is. xxxviii, 6) que le danger de mort que courut le roi fût antérieur à l'expédition de l'Assyrien, puisque le prophète Isaïe en parle comme d'un événement futur. *En réalité, elle eut lieu*, 14 *ans après la* 14me *année d'Ezéchias*. Les Diasceuastes, ou rédacteurs définitifs de ces fragments, placèrent le grand évènement de la destruction de l'armée de Sennachérib avant ceux qui, dans leur esprit, avaient une moindre importance. C'est de cette interversion qu'a pris naissance l'erreur aujourd'hui existant dans le texte, erreur très-préjudiciable, pendant très-longtemps, à la chronologie biblique, dont elle a obscurci l'authenticité.

L'adoption du synchronisme contenu dans la Bible était, il est vrai, indiquée par les faits, aussi longtemps qu'on n'avait pas de moyens critiques pour apprécier une donnée qui réunît dans la même année trois faits complétement différents. Aujourd'hui cependant, où *le règne d'Ezéchias est mieux connu que celui de Trajan*, on ne peut plus se cramponner à la teneur actuelle du texte, sans encourir le reproche d'ineptie ou de mauvaise foi: on croit néanmoins pouvoir déduire de cette *interversion* des chapitres la thèse, que toute la chronologie biblique doit être rejetée sans merci.

Et pourtant c'est ce qu'on a fait, surtout en Allemagne. Rien, disons-le sans ambages, n'est moins conforme à une critique équitable des données historiques. Il est inexact que nous violions nous-mêmes la chronologie biblique, comme l'on dit, pour s'excuser, nos adversaires.

Il ne s'agit même pas d'un *changement de chiffre*. Le nombre "de la 14me année d'Ezéchias" est parfaitement exact, en ce qui concerne la maladie du roi, et l'ambassade du prince babylonien. On ne propose que l'interversion des chapitres, qui lèvera toute la difficulté, et qui, au surplus, est ordonnée par des raisons intrinsèques de premier ordre. Les invasions assyriennes relatées Rois II, xviii, 13, jusqu'à la fin du ch. xix, sont postérieures à la promesse donnée au roi ch. xx, *v.* 6:—

" Je te sauverai de la main du roi d'Assyrie, toi et cette ville, et je protégerai cette ville, à cause de moi, et à cause de David, mon serviteur."

Nous ne parlons pas ici de l'impossibilité historique de placer dans la 14me année d'Ezéchias l'expédition d'un roi qui commença son règne dix ans plus tard; mais nous repoussons même le reproche de l'inexactitude fait au récit biblique. L'interversion des chapitres a lieu ailleurs, ainsi les Septante changent, même d'une façon plus conforme à l'unité du récit, l'ordre de l'histoire de Naboth et d'autres textes à la fin du premier livre des Rois. Il y a donc, dans ces cas, des déplacements prouvés, et il en faut également admettre un en ce qui concerne l'expédition de Sennachérib contre Juda.

ON A

CYPRIOTE INSCRIPTION, NOW IN THE IMPERIAL OTTOMAN MUSEUM AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

By Dr. Paul Schrœder.

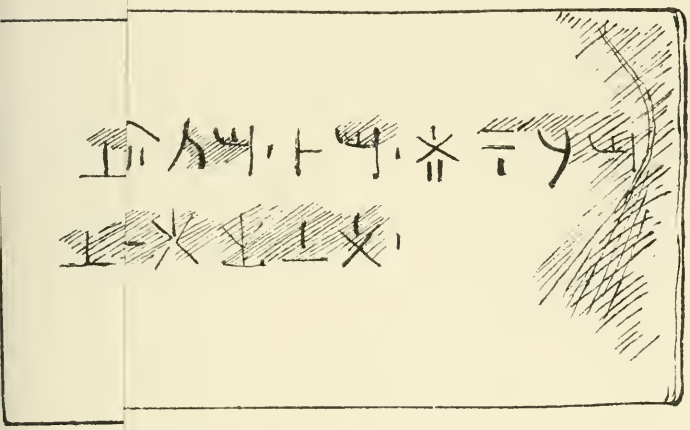
Read 6th November, 1877.

Among the ancient inscriptions deposited in the small museum of antiquities existing in the Old Seraglio at Constantinople, I found a marble stone on which is engraved a Cypriote inscription, offering for various reasons a particular interest to learned men. I hastened to take a paper cast of the text, and to copy it as accurately as possible.

The stone lies at present, among other stones bearing Greek inscriptions, within the precincts of the Old Seraglio at Stambul, close by a Sultan's kiosque called "Tchinli kiosk," destined to serve as a museum.[1] The stone is a quadrangular marble block, measuring 37½ inches by 12 inches on the surface, the depth is 30 inches. It had been brought over in 1875, I suppose, along with other antiquities, from Cyprus to Constantinople. Though I could not learn exactly from what locality the stone proceeds, I have no doubt, from the contents of the inscription, as well as from the particular type of its writing, that the stone must have come from Paphos. The Cypriote text is composed of two lines, the first one contains twenty-six, the second twenty-three letters. It is not preserved intact; in some passages it is

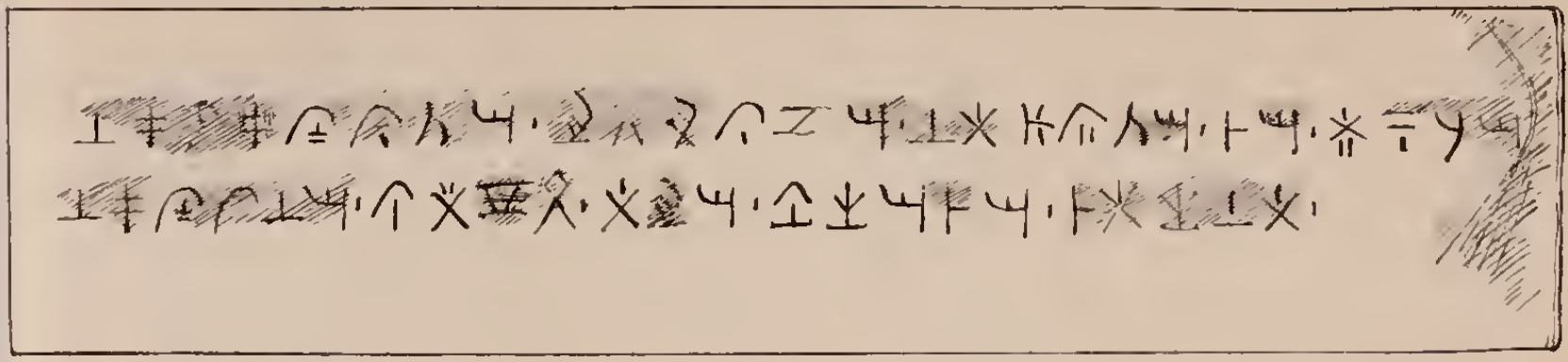
[1] The antiquities hitherto deposited in a room and a court belonging to the ancient Byzantin Church of Saint Irene, are now being brought into this kiosque, which for this purpose has been restored by order of the Sultan.

(P. Schrader.)

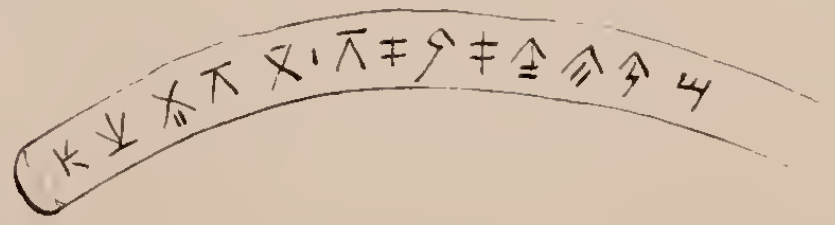


(General Cesnola.

Cypriote Inscription from Paphos, now at Constantinople. (Copy of P Schroeder.)



Cypriote Inscription on a Golden Bracelet found at Curium by General Cesnola
(Copy of General Cesnola.)



seriously injured, especially in the beginning of the two lines. The first four letters, the tenth and eleventh characters of the first line, the ninth, tenth, twentieth, and twenty-first characters of the second line, are damaged, and only vestiges of them are remaining. The third character of the first, and the twelfth of the second line, are almost entirely erased. It was therefore only after a repeated and minute examination of the stone, that I succeeded in deciphering entirely the inscription.

The different words are separated from each other by points of separation, and the text is to be read from left to right. At the ends of the lines the characters are very plain, and admit of no doubt as to their value. We read here, ι—ϵ—ρϵ—υ—ϛ . τα—ϛ . ϝa—να—σσa—ϛ at the first, and κa—τϵ—σ(ϵ)—τa—σϵ . τa—ι . θϵ—ϝo—ι at the second line. The inscription is therefore a dedicatory one, but it is not so easy to point out the name of the dedicator, which must have preceded the substantive ἱερεύς. On examining more closely the stone, we find the first group of letters finishing by the syllables σι-λϵ-υ-ϛ, which no doubt are to be completed so as to form the word βασιλεύς; indeed, the vestiges of a ⋕ βa can yet be distinguished before the sign σι. The three characters which precede the group βασιλεύς, and by which the text commences, are not clear; we found the first to be an ⊥ the phonetic value of which sign is known from other Paphian texts to be ϝo (o with digamma); the second character is more like an ⋕ than anything else, for the perpendicular stroke of this letter is, at the top and the base, plainly recognisable, and traces of the two horizontal cross-lines are also faintly visible. Thus we obtain the reading—

ϝo | πa (βa, φa) | ? | βa | σι | λϵ | υ | ϛ.

The third letter is entirely obliterated. But when we consider that the word placed between βασιλεύς and the syllable ϝo, which is the article ϝό, consisted only of two syllables, and that it must have been certainly the genitive of the name of the city or of the land the dedicator of the inscription ruled over as king, we have no other choice than

the name of *Paphos*, for it is the only disyllabic city name in Cyprus which commences by the syllable *pa*. The third character was in consequence a *pho*, and the word coming after the article must be read *Πάφω*.[1]

It now remains to point out the name of the king of Paphos. It apparently is contained in the group of six letters following the word *βασιλεύς*, and confined between two points of separation. The fourth and fifth characters are plainly ; the sixth, though less clear, is yet recognizable as an . Thus we obtain λε-Fε-ς or λε-Fη-ς (λέης or λῆς), and we cannot help thinking immediately of the well-known Cyprian noun-proper *Νικοκλῆς*. Two Cyprian kings of this name we find mentioned in ancient historians. The one was king of Salamis, son of the renowned king Evagoras, and friend of the orator Isocrates. The other, who lived half a century later, at the time of Ptolemy Soter, was the last king of Paphos, and died in 310 B.C. If we suppose the name of the Paphian king who dedicated our inscription to have been Nicocles, we are not contradicted by paleographic reasons. Not only the number of characters in question corresponds to this name, but we have even the satisfaction to remark that what remains of the three signs forming the first part of the name can very well be adapted to the characters required for the name of Nicocles, for the first sign is yet recognizable as being a (*νι*), and the second and third bear vestiges which can be identified with the signs of the syllables κο and κε .

[1] It is not the first time we meet the name of Paphos written in Cypriote characters. It occurs twice on the golden armlet found by General di Cesnola, in 1875, at Curium, and bearing the inscription, *Ἐτεϝά(ν)δρω τῶ Πάφω βασιλέϝως*, and upon an alabaster vase discovered at Marion by the same, and published by Is. Hall (Cypriote Inscriptions, pl. vii, 30), Sam. Birch (Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. IV, 1875, p. 24), and Moriz Schmidt (Sammlung Kyprischer Inschriften in epichorischer Schrift. Jena, 1876, pl. xxi, 20). The ten letters on this vase are explained by the latter (p. 7) in this manner: *Πάφω γε εὐνοϝεῖτε*. The graphic character of the first inscription, viz., on the armlet of Curium, has much analogy to that of our inscription. I give here, therefore, a new copy of it, which was taken in July, 1875, a few days after the discovery by General di Cesnola, and communicated to me by the late Dr. Siegismund. This copy differs in several points from that of M. Pierides, published by Schmidt, l. c., pl. xxi, 10.

We pass now to the second line. We have here three groups of letters, separated from each other by points, the first of which does not offer any serious difficulty. The words *Fo βα-σι-λε-Fος* are easily made out, and consequently it must be supposed that the next group of four letters contains the name of king Nicocles' father. The two first letters are perfectly plain and certain : 𐤕𐤌 *ti-ma;* the third and fourth are greatly damaged. What is yet visible of the fourth sign looks like a 𐤓 (*ρο*), for the two feet are yet distinctly to be seen, but the upper part has nearly disappeared. Starting on this supposition, I was at first disposed to think that it was the genitive *Τιμαγόρω.* but by a closer examination I was soon induced to abandon this reading, the vestiges of the third letter corresponding not at all to the sign of *γο*, but rather to a *ρα* of angular shape, 𐤓. Having made sure of this last reading, the fourth letter must be taken for a 𐤊 *κο* (*γο, χω*), notwithstanding its resembling an 𐤓. This latter form of the sign was perhaps peculiar to the Paphian alphabet. The whole group is thus read : *Τι-μα-ρα-κο = Τιμάρχω.*

The genitive depends from the following substantive *ἶνις* 𐤀𐤉𐤍𐤔. Though the letter in the midst of this group is entirely erased, the reading *ἶνις* is undoubtedly certain, the first and third characters being perfectly clear an *ί* and a ς, and a word meaning "son" being necessarily required here. The substantive *ἶνις* is rarely used by ancient Greek authors ; it was a very poetical expression, occurring only in the tragedians Æschylus and Euripides.[1] No doubt we have here an example of those numerous expressions which were peculiar to the old Cyprian dialect.

Our reading of the name of king Nicocles' father, only based on paleographic reasons, we found, to our great

[1] Æsch. Eumen., v. 313 (*ὁ Λατοῦς ἶνις*) ; Supplices, v. 42, 248 ; Eurip. Troades, v. 570 (*Ἕκτορος ἶνις*) ; Hercul. fur., v. 354 ; Iphigen Aul., v. 119. In Hesychius' Lexicon the word is explained *υἱός, νέος, παῖς, βρέφος, ἀπόγονος, νήπιος* ; and Pollux in his Onomasticon (iii, 19) says, *οἱ δὲ καταβαίνοντες (καλοῦνται) ἀπόγονοι καὶ ἔγγονοι, ὁ γὰρ ἶνις καὶ κέλωρ σφόδρα ποιητικά* (Cf. Schol. ad Theocr., i, 43, and the Etymolog. Magn., s. v.).

satisfaction, entirely confirmed by historical testimonies. Indeed, we know from two ancient Greek authors that the father of Nicocles, king of Paphos, was named Timarchos. In Pollux's Onomasticon we read a curious notice concerning this personage, taken from Aristoteles: that Timarchos, father of Nicocles the Cyprian, to whom (viz., Nicocles) the "Athenian sophist wrote the exhortatory orations," had a double row of cheek-teeth.[1] The same notice we find in Pliny,[2] but with this difference, that Timarchus is called by him "son of Nicocles the Paphian." The truth is that, both, the Roman as well as the Greek author, have committed an incorrectness. Pollux evidently makes a confusion between Nicocles king of Paphos, and Nicocles king of Salamis, the friend and protector of Isocrates, who lived half a century before the first one, and was the son and successor of Evagoras I. This is an error which does not appear strange when we consider that Nicocles, son of the famous Evagoras, has obtained, by the orations of Isocrates, which bear his name, and by the sumptuous life he led at Salamis, a certain celebrity among ancient Greeks, and became much more renowned in antiquity than his namesake of Paphos, who was a contemporary of Ptolemy Soter and Antigonus. Pliny, in order to avoid a mistake like the one committed by Pollux, gives to this latter king the epithet of "Paphian"; but he falls into another error by calling Timarchus "son" instead of "father" of Nicocles, unless the father of Timarchus being called Nicocles, his grandson was called so after him, as it was likewise the custom among the ancient Greeks.

In conformity with our above statements, we therefore transcribe the whole inscription as follows:—

(1.) Fo Πάφω βασιλεὺς . ΝικοκλέFης . Fo ἱερεὺς . τᾶς . Fανάσσας.
(2.) Fo βασιλέFως . Τιμάρχω . ἶνις . κατέστασε . τᾶι ΘεFῶι.

[1] Pollux, Onom., ed. Bekker, ii, § 95 (p. 78): ὁ δὲ Νικοκλέους τοῦ Κυπριου πατὴρ ᾧ τὰς Παραινέσεις ὁ Ἀθηναῖος σοφιστὴς ἔγραψεν, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα αὐτῷ Τίμαρχος ἦν, διστοίχους δ' εἶχεν ἄρα, τῷ Ἀριστοτέλους λόγῳ, τοὺς ὀδόντας.

[2] Plinius, Hist. Nat., xi, 63: Timarchus, Nicoclis filius Paphii, duos ordines habuit maxillarium; frater ejus non mutavit priores ideoque prætrivit.

The object which king Nicocles, "priest of the lady," dedicated to the "goddess" (viz., to Aphrodite, the goddess particularly worshipped at Paphos [1]) is not indicated; it was probably a statue or an altar to be placed in the temple. In the first case, the stone on which our inscription is engraved served most likely as pedestal to the statue. The title of ἱερεὺς τᾶς ἀνάσσας, which the king bears, is well in accordance with what we know to have been the ancient form of government in Paphos; for here the kings were at the same time the archpriests of Aphrodite, and their spiritual power was even greater than their temporal one, as it extended, beyond the district of Paphos, over the whole island of Cyprus (cf. Engel, Kypros, i, p. 477; ii, pp. 75, 76). This theocratic government continued at Paphos up to the conquest of the island by Ptolemy. The author of our inscription, Nicocles, son of Timarchus, was the last king-priest of Paphos. His tragic end is related at large by two ancient historians, Diodorus Siculus (Bibl. Hist., xx, 21), and Polyænus (Strategicon, viii, 48). During the war between Ptolemy Soter and Antigonus, for the possession of Cyprus, the different kings of this island took part for or against the king of Egypt. While those of Kittion, Marion, Amathos, Paphos, Lapathos and Kerynia formed a league with Antigonus, the kings of Salamis (Nicocreon) and Soloi (Eunostos) were partisans of Ptolemy. This latter triumphed

[1] The denomination ἄνασσα corresponds exactly to the Phœnician name *Baaltis* בעלת, by which Astarte was worshipped in Byblus and other Phœnician cities (cf., for example, the Phœnician inscription of the stèle of Iehawmelek, king of Byblus, published in 1875, by Count de Vogüé, where she is always mentioned under the name Baalath-Gebal, "Lady of Gebal"). The worship of the Cyprian Aphrodite was of Phœnician origin; her great sanctuary at Paphos, according to a legend, was said to be a foundation of Byblus, and the family of the Kinyradae, to which the performance of the divine service of the Paphian Aphrodite was confined, descended from the Phœnician hero Kinyras, the legendary founder of Paphos. Lucian (de dea Syria, c. 9) visited a very ancient temple of Aphrodite in the mountainous region of the Lebanon, in the neighbourhood of Byblus, which was said to have been built by Kinyras. Conforming to her Oriental origin, the Cyprian Aphrodite is represented on two coins, with Cypriote legends (Luynes, Numismatique et inscr. Cypriotes, pl. v, 1, 2), sitting on a running bull.

over his adversary[1] (312 B.C.), and in order to punish them for their alliance with Antigonus, he dethroned the kings of Kittion, Lapathos, Marion and Kerynia, and incorporated their territories with the domains of his ally Nicocreon, king of Salamis. The kingdom of Paphos was spared, on account, it seems, of the great spiritual authority which was attached to the persons of its rulers. It may also be possible that Nicocles had not taken part openly in the revolt against Menelaos, the brother of Ptolemy and governor of Cyprus.

The peace concluded between Antigonus and Ptolemy was not of long duration. In 310 the war broke out anew. Antigonus had secretly resumed his ancient relations with his friends in Cyprus, and as the other kings leagued formerly with him had lost throne and power, he endeavoured to gain the alliance of Nicocles. He succeeded, and the king of Paphos prepared the revolt against the Egyptian domination. But the plot was betrayed, and no sooner was Ptolemy informed of what was going on, than he despatched two generals, Argaeos and Kallikrates, to Cyprus, with the mission to get hold of Nicocles. With the troops furnished by the satrap Menelaos, they surrounded the palace of the king, and summoned him to kill himself without delay, in pursuance of an order of their master. The efforts made by the king to justify himself remained without effect; no attention was paid to what he said, and he was forced to commit suicide by hanging himself. The king's brothers, having no hope of being spared, followed his example. His wife, Axiothea, learning the death of her husband, armed herself with a poinard, and running into the gynaeceum, she stabbed her own daughters for fear of their falling into the hands of the Egyptian soldiers, and being outraged by them. She then convoked her sisters and sisters-in-law, exhorting them to take example of their husbands, so that no one of the royal family should remain, for it would be, said she, shameful for them to survive their husbands. Upon this the

[1] To this victory refers the bilingual inscription (in Greek and Phœnician) existing, engraved on a rock, near the village of Larnax Lapithoo, in Cyprus, and published by Count Vogüé (Mélanges d'Archéologie Orientale, pp. 36, 37).

women shut the doors, and running upon the roof of the palace, they killed, before the eyes of the people assembled in the streets, first their children in their arms, then setting the house on fire, some died in the flames, others stabbed themselves. Axiothea remained the last. After having wounded herself mortally with the dagger, she threw herself into the flames, so as not to allow the enemy even to have her corpse. In this tragic manner the royal race of Paphos was entirely extinguished, the last representative of which was the dedicator of our inscription.[1]

I conclude by adding several remarks on the character of the writing and the language of our text. The writing type is an archaic one, which we are justified by other inscriptions proceeding from Paphos in calling the *Paphian* style of Cypriote writing. It is the same type which we observe in the inscriptions of the sepulchral caverns at Kuclia (Palæpaphos) and Ktima (Neapaphos), published by Count de Vogüé,[2] and in the short inscription engraved on the golden armlet of King Eteandros of Paphos, found in the ruins of Curium (*see the copy given in the annexed plate*). With regard to details, we point out the following. The syllable *fo* is expressed by the sign , instead of the common sign (on the bracelet of Curium), and the

[1] Without any valid reason, Engel (Kypros, i, p. 362) refers this episode of Cyprian story to Nicocreon of Salamis, and believes that Diodorus and Polyaenus had by error substituted the name of Nicocles for Nicocreon. But this latter was not in the league with Antigonus, he was, on the contrary, always a zealous partizan of Ptolemy, whose brother and lieutenant Menelaos resided in Salamis. It is true that Nicocreon and Nicocles are sometimes taken the one for the other by ancient authors; for example, it was not Nicocles, as the philosopher Phanias (ap. Athen., 8, 352) pretends, but Nicocreon who put to death the Citharœde Stratonicos. But the reason advanced by Engel in favour of his opinion is inadmissible; his statement that Axiothea was called otherwise "wife of Nicocreon," is not confirmed by any testimony; we know rather from the comic poet Machon (ap. Athen., 8, 349), that the wife of Nicocreon was named Biothea.

[2] Journal Asiatique, 1868, pl. iii, 2, *a*, *b*, *c*; pl. iv, 5, 6, 7; and in Schmidt's Collection of Cypriote Inscriptions (Sammlung Kyprischer Inschr., &c.), pl. viii, 3 *α*, *β*, *γ*, 4, 5, 6. Especially the inscription over the entrance of the ancient cavern in the locality called "Halonia tu Episcopu," near Ktima (Vogüé, iii, 7; Schmidt, viii, 5), shows the greatest analogy in the type of its letters with our inscription.

sign for the vowel *υ* in the words *ἱερεύς* and *βασιλεύς* appears to be the same as in the inscriptions of Ktima (Vogüé IV, 6–7, *κατεσκεύασε Ὑλάτᾳ*), that is to say , while the ordinary form of the letter *υ* is . For *ϝα* we find not , but , like in other Paphian texts (Vogüé III, 2 A.C., in the words *ϝανάσσας* and *κατεσκεύϝασε*), and upon the armlet (in the name *Ἐτεϝάδρω*). The sign for *ε η*, , corresponding to the ordinary , is exactly the same which occurs in the above-mentioned Paphian texts. The character for *ϝε*, differs a little from the common type . The character = *σ*, which occurs nine times in our text, is the inverse form of the common , and was in this form peculiar to the Paphian alphabet (cf. Vogüé, l. c. IV, 5, 6, 7, and an inscription found at Drimu in the district of Ktima, published by Schmidt, Sammlung, etc., Pl. III, 1).[1] For the syllable *λε* we find not the common sign , but the character , which must be considered as a slight modification of the sign existing with the same value on the bracelet of Curium. In another Paphian text (Vogüé, III, 2, first line) we have for *λε* the sign . The syllable *σι* is expressed in our text by the sign , which is almost like and in the inscriptions of Curium and Drimu (cf. also in the Kuclia inscription). The sign lastly, which expresses the syllable *σσα* in the word *ϝάνασσα*, seems to have been pronounced *sh*, and is probably only another form of , which occurs with the same value in some Paphian inscriptions (Vogüé III, 2 a.c. IV, 5).

As for dialectic peculiarities, our text, like all others written in Cypriote characters, shows Dorian forms, *α* for *η*, for example, *τᾶς ϝανάσσας, τᾶι Θεϝῶι, κατέστασε*, *ω* for *ου* in the genitive singular of the second declension, *Πάφω, Τιμάρχω*; the "Iota subscriptum" is fully indicated, *τᾶ-ι Θεϝῶ-ι*. The digamma æolicum equally, *Νικοκλεϝης*,[2] *Θεϝωι*,[3] *ϝανασσας*.

[1] An intermedial form between and is which we observe in the Kuclia inscription of the cavern called "Grotto of the Queen" (Vogüé, Pl. III, 2 *a, b, c.*

[2] *κλέϝος, κλέος*, corresponding to Sanskrit *çravas.*

[3] Cf. *divus.*

A very remarkable peculiarity of our text consists in the article being pronounced and written with digamma ⊥ = ϝο. This is an evidence of high antiquity, for it is known that the Greek article ὁ is derived from the Sanskrit *sa*, and that the pronominal forms οὗ οἷ ἕ correspond to the Latin forms of the personal pronoun *s*ui, *s*ibi, *s*e. In the other Cypriote texts discovered up to the present time, the article appears without digamma ⊻; but we have a characteristic trace of its ancient pronunciation in the bilingual inscription of Idalion, third line: *ἀφ' οἷ ϝοι τὰς εὐχωλὰς ἐπέδυκε*, "since he has granted him his prayers"; and in the bronze tablet of Idalion, twenty-ninth line, *ἀνόσια ϝοι γένοιτο*, "that it should be forbidden to him," where *ϝοι* is the dative of the pronoun of the third person. The fact also that the ancient Cyprians, like the Æolians, pronounced the digamma in the personal and possessive pronouns, is expressly attested by a gloss of Hesychius[1] and by ancient grammarians.[2]

[1] Hesychius, *γιό . οὗ, παρὰ Κυπρίοις γιό-ἑαυτοῦ γῷ-ἑαυτῷ.* The γ is here instead of digamma.

[2] For example, Apollon, de pron. 78: *τὸ αἰολικὸν δίγαμμα ταῖς κατὰ τὸ τρίτον πρόσωπον προσνέμεται, κ.τ.λ.* There is no doubt, also, that in Homeric language the forms *εὗ, ἕο, ἕθεν, οἷ, ἑ*, and the possessive pronoun *ὅς, ἥ, ὅν*, have been pronounced with digamma; a proof of this is the non-elision before these forms of the finishing vowel of the preceding word (for example, Il., 1, 200: *δεινὼ δὲ ϝοι ὅσσε φάανθεν*; 2, 292: *ἀπὸ ϝῆς ἀλόχοιο* (=*ἀφ' ἧς*), etc.; and the prolongation by "position" of the preceding syllable when it ends in a consonant (for example, Il., 7, 173: *καὶ δ' αὐτὸς ϝὸν θυμόν*; 10, 276: *δῶκέν ϝῳ παιδὶ φορῆναι*; 11, 783: *Πηλεὺς μὲν ϝῷ παιδί*).

Constantinople, May, 1877.

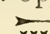
SUR LA LECTURE ET DE LA SIGNIFICATION DE L'IDÉOGRAMME , ET À CETTE OCCASION SUR QUELQUES NOMS DE MALADIES EN ACCADIEN ET EN ASSYRIEN.

PAR FRANÇOIS LENORMANT.[1]

Read 5*th June*, 1877.

I.

LE caractère cunéiforme dont nous traitons dans cette dissertation, , était désigné par le nom conventionnel de *śagitu:* Syllab. A*, 183; AA, 25. Il ne paraît pas avoir été susceptible d'une autre lecture que celle qui a produit sa valuer de phonétique indifférent de la syllabe *śa*, dans les textes accadiens dejà, aussi bien que dans les assyriens; mais Syllab. AA, 25, semble indiquer que dans le radical de la langue d'Accad correspondant à la signification idéographique de ce caractère la voyelle était pesante ou forte, **śâ**. La signification la plus certaine et la mieux connue de l'idéogramme, et du radical par lequel il se lit, est celle de "tumeur, ulcère," en assyrien *buanu* (de בעה), déterminée pour le première fois par M. Oppert.

Le texte classique sur  **śâ** = *buanu*, est la formule déprécatoire de W.A.I. II, 17, lignes 18–22, *a-b*. J'en ai dejà donné une traduction interlinéaire dans E.A. II, 1, pp. 154–157. Mais je crois utile de la reproduire ici avec quelques corrections et des notes philologiques.

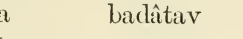
Accad.—

gar	nusurra	gar	nukuruga
Ce qui	*ne sortant pas,*	*ce qui*	*non favorable,*

[1] Les abréviations employées dans les citations de ce mémoire sont les mêmes que dans mon *Etude sur quelques parties des Syllabaires cunéiformes* (Paris, 1876, en 8vo.); quant à ce dernier travail il y est indiqué par les lettres E.S.C.

Assyr.—

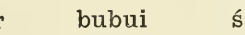
la badâtav la kinâtav (2)
Non sortant, (1) *non favorable,*

Accad.— 

gar bubui śâ nuχiga
Ce qui s'étend (?) *l'ulcère non bon*

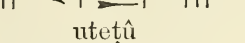
Assyr.—

uteṭû buanu la ṭabu
ce qui couvre (3) *l'ulcère non bon,*

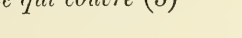
Accad.— 

śâ sar śâ tammalal (?) **śâ addu**
l'ulcère qui point, l'ulcère qui s'étend, l'ulcère excorié,

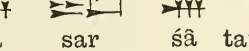
śâ adnum,
l'ulcère . . . . .

Assyr.— 

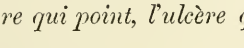
maśkadu rapadu sassaṭu
l'ulcère aiguillonnant (5), *l'ulcère étendu* (6), *l'excoriation* (7),



buanu . . . . . .
l'ulcère . . . . . .

Accad.— 

śâ gar dub śâ gar χul
l'ulcère qui éclate, l'ulcère qui mauvais,

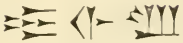
Assyr.— 

nipiṣ buani buanu limnu
l'éclatement (8) *de l'ulcère, l'ulcère mauvais,*

Accad.—

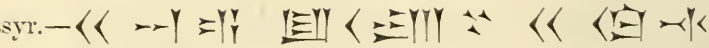
zi ana ganpâ zi kîa

Esprit du ciel conjure ! Esprit de la terre



ganpâ

conjure !

Assyr.— 

nis same lû tamat nis irṣiti

Esprit du ciel conjure ! Esprit de la terre

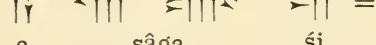
lû tamat

conjure !

II.

La plupart des expressions de la formule que je viens de citer se retrouvent dans la curieuse liste de noms de maladies que nous offre W.A.I. II, 28, lignes 1-28, *b-c*, et qui mérite que nous nous arrêtions quelques instants à la commenter, autant du moins qu'on peut le faire dans l'état actuel des connaissances.

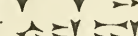
amut a śîgi = malia me.

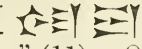


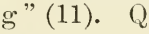
a sâga śi = (idem)

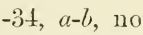
a galla tila = (idem)

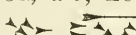
Ces trois noms désignent clairement l' "hydropisie," la "plénitude d'eau," comme dit la désignation assyrienne *malia* (de מלא) *me*. C'est, à ce qu'il semble, la maladie de Izdhubar, laquelle est appelée dans la tablette du Déluge (col. 5, lignes



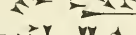


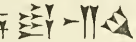


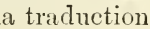


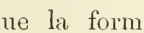


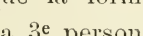
21, 24 et 31) *malû*, et est accompagnée d'induration, *masku* (lignes 22, 25 et 33); cf. l'acception de ܡܫܟ en syriaque. En accadien **amut a śîgi** et "l'eau répandue dans le sang," ou "le sang qui se répand en eau." **amut** est traduit *dami*, "sang," dans W.A.I. IV, 19, 3, lignes 48 et 49; **mut**, avec élision de la voyelle initiale (9), l'est également dans W.A.I. IV, 2, col. 4, lignes 23 et 24; **mut sursurra** (10) **mes** = *musaznin dami*, "qui font pleuvoir le sang" (11). Quant au radical verbal **śîgi**, W.A.I. II, 12, lig. 32-34, *a-b*, nous donne **śîginin** (12) = *isbuk*, "il a versé" (de שפך); **nenśîgi** = *isbuk*, "il a versé" (la traduction plus exacte eût été *isbuksu*, "il l'a versé," puisque la forme accadienne incorpore un pronom objectif de la 3e personne); **abbaśîgi** = *istapak*, "il s'est versé"; **a sâga śi** est "l'eau qui remplit à l'intérieur"; **sâga**, "intérieur," est un dérivé de **sâ**, "cœur," à forme adjective; sur son emploi comme postposition, voy. L.P.C., p. 254; sur le radical verbal **śi**, "remplir," je renverrai à E.S.C., p. 73. Dans **a galla tila** nous avons pour la première fois le radical **gal**, , dont le sens constant est "grand," pris comme verbe (au participe **galla**); le sens en est nécessairement dans ce cas "être grand, prévaloir," d'où **a galla tila** doit être traduit "eau prévalant sur la vie." Sur **tila**, voy. E.S.C., p. 92-94 et 99-103.

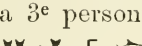








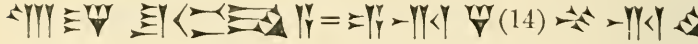




a galla tila = raḥ imtu.

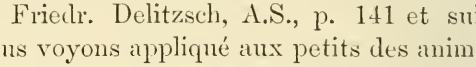
Ici nous retrouvons une expression accadienne que nous venons de voir, mais l'explication assyrienne est différente. Elle ne peut se traduire que "le souffler, l'exhaler par la respiration (de רוח) le venin, le poison" (13), ce qui s'applique évidemment à l'haleine fétide et comme empestée qu'ont

presque toujours les hydropiques, par suite de la décomposition de leur sang. L'accadien qui est mis en regard de cette expression de *raḫ imtu*, comme de celle de *malia me*, ne peut en effet, d'après l'analyse même que nous en avons donnée, désigner que l'hydropsie.



sâbur suguda eri sa muriv.

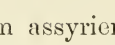
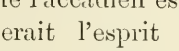
eru est "la grossesse," de ארא, hébr. הרה (15), *sa muriv*, qui s'y ajoute, précise encore le sens, "l'état d'être enceinte d'un enfant," car *muru*, étroitement apparenté à *maru* "fils" (sur celui-ci voy. Friedr. Delitzsch, A.S., p. 141 et suiv.), est un mot que nous voyons appliqué aux petits des animaux (W.A.I. I, 28, col. 1, ligne 6). L'accadien **sâ-bur suguda** est mot-à-mot "le gonflement de l'intérieur qui tient couché," ce qui semble impliquer la notion, non seulement de la grossesse, mais d'une grossesse pénible. J'étudierai dans un autre travail le radical **bur**, dont le sens essentiel est "amonceler, élever comme un tas." **Sâ**, "cœur," s'applique par extension à tout ce qui est à l'intérieur du corps ; de plus, il résulte d'un grand nombre d'expressions caractéristiques (16) que, dans la langage d'Accad, la notion de cœur était très habituellement mise en rapport avec celle de génération. Quant à **suguda**, c'est le participe de la 4e voix, gratificative, du verbe **gud**, "être couché," dont la lecture nous est donnée par la glose de W.A.I. II, 36, ligne 2 (17).

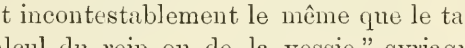


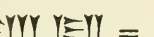
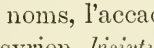
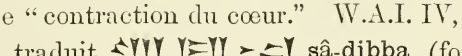
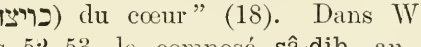
sâ maχ eśiltu.

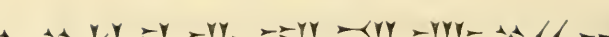
Le nom accadien, tout à fait positif, "le cœur très gros," caractérise clairement l'hypertrophie du cœur. Le nom assyrien est, au contraire, fort vague, pourrait s'appliquer à beaucoup de maladies différentes, et, sans son équivalent dans l'idiome d'Accad, nous serions hors d'état de déterminer l'affection précise qu'il désignait. En effet, *eśiltu* veut seulement dire une "consomption," de la racine חסל, qui, étant en arabe حسل, n'a pas son ח exprimé dans l'orthographe assyrienne.

sâta χargig ṣimertu

Ici, au contraire, c'est le nom assyrien qui précise la maladie, tandis que l'accadien est d'un caractère extrêmement vague, qui laisserait l'esprit en suspens. Le composé χar-gig (orthographié presque toujours  , mais écrit ici, par une variante d'orthographe très précieuse pour l'établisement de la lecture, avec l'élément χar, représenté par les deux phonétiques indifférents χa-ar) est traduit dans W.A.I. II. 17, lignes 23 et 55, *a–b*, par  *muruṣ ḫase*, "la maladie des viscères" (voy. E.S.C., p. 80). Sâta χargig signifie donc seulement "la maladie des viscères à l'intérieur." expression qui a pu servir à qualifier toute espèce de maladie interne. Mais la désignation assyrienne met fin à toute incertitude, car *ṣimertu* est incontestablement le même que le talmudique צמירתא, "calcul du rein ou de la vessie," syriaque ܨܡܝܪܬܐ, "la rétention d'urine."


sâdib kiṣirtu

Les deux noms, l'accadien sâ-dib, "ce qui prend, presse le cœur," l'assyrien *kiṣirtu*, pour *qiṣirtu*, de קצר, indiquent également une "contraction du cœur." W.A.I. IV, 3, col. 1, lignes 17–18, traduit  sâ-dibba (forme prolongée), par *kiṣ libbi* "la palpitation, le spasme (aram. כויצה) du cœur" (18). Dans W.A.I. IV, 10. col. 1, lignes 52–53, le composé sâ-dib, au participe  sâ-dibba, s'emploie verbalement et au sens moral pour dire "être irrité"; assyrien צבס; cf. l'arabe ضبس :  .... (nous ignorons la lecture du premier mot, bien que le sens en soit certain) muχmu sâdibba gigga munrûe (19) "la déesse contre moi irritée péniblement me travaille" = 

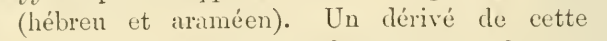


istar eliya išbuš va marṣis yusemananni (20). "la déesse contre moi s'est irritée et péniblement m'a troublé."

mara migganu.

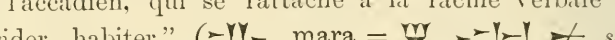
Migganu pour *miqqanu*, est "la langueur," de la racine מקק (hébreu et araméen). Un dérivé de cette racine pourrait également désigner "la gangrène, la pourriture," araméen מקוקה ; mais le sens que j'adopte me paraît indiqué par l'accadien, qui se rattache à la racine verbale **mara**, "résider, habiter" (*sakanu*, Syllab. A, 281), et désigne par conséquent une maladie qui retient immobile, empêchant l'activité et le mouvement.

mara gal iskibbu



mara sâsur (idem).

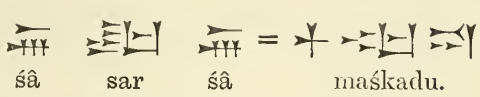
Il s'agit encore d'une maladie de même nature, mais plus forte, plus énergique dans son action, puisqu'un de ses noms accadiens est **mara gal**, "le grand mal sédentaire, la grande langueur.' L'autre est "la langueur qui presse le cœur, qui pousse le cœur" (**sâ-sur**). Quant au nom assyrien *iskibbu*, il est formé par la préfixation d'un א servile à la racine שכב, "être gisant, couché," que nous retrouvons en hébreu, en araméen et en éthiopien. C'est donc une maladie qui retient gisant et sans mouvement, suivant toutes les probabilités, "la paralysie."



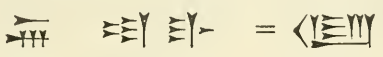
is. ti. ki. ur tab. libistu

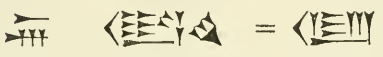
Je me sens tout-à-fait hors d'état de déterminer quelle peut-être cette maladie, dont le nom assyrien est emprunté à la racine לבש, "vêtir, revêtir" ; l'analyse de l'accadien m'échappe encore également.

Suivent les noms des diverses espèces d'ulcères. Les appellations assyriennes nous sont déjà presque toutes connues, mais leur synonymie accadienne est infiniment riche. Elle présente, du reste, dans bien des cas de grandes difficultés à notre analyse.


śâ sar śâ = maśkadu.

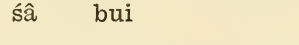
śâga kaśśa (idem).


śâ adgal (idem).


śâ gig (idem).

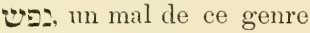
Il s'agit d'une variété particulière d'ulcère, dont le nom assyrien, comme nous l'avons vu, signifie "aiguillon," évidemment d'après la douleur aigue et lancinante que ce mal causait. Aussi a-t-il parmi ses correspondants accadiens **śâ gig**, "l'ulcère douloureux," par excellence. **Śâ sar**, "l'ulcère qui point," est l'expression que nous avons déjà vue traduite par *maśkadu* dans la formule magique de W.A.I. II, 17; je ne comprends pas très bien comment s'y ajoute le mot **śâ** répété une seconde fois. Quelques exemples semblent de nature à faire admettre l'existence d'un radical verbal **kaś** (ou peut-être **raś**), synonyme de **gid**, "allonger, étendre" (21); c'en est probablement le participe que nous avons, sous la forme **kaśśa** (ou **raśśa**, les deux lectures sont possibles à cause de la double valeur du signe employé), comme épithète de **śâga**, dérivé adjectif du simple **śâ**, "ulcéré," qui est pris ici substantivement. Nous avons déjà eu **śâ adgal** dans la formule de W.A.I. II, 17, et nous allons le retrouver encore deux fois, traduit par *sassaṭu* et par *rapadu*. **Ad-gal**, combine avec **gal**, "grand," un radical **ad**, que nous avons isolé, à l'état de prolongation, dans **śâ addu**, et en composition dans **śâ ad-diri**, **śâ ad-dugud**,

śâ ad-nim. Il faudra revenir, dans de nouvelles études, sur ce radical qui est encore très obscur, mais que l'on ne saurait confondre avec son homophone **âd**, "père" (22), dont la prolongation se fait en **âdda**, et non en **addu.**



śâ **bui** **nipistu**

Le nom assyrien désigne clairement "la pullulation" des ulcères, de נפש, un mal de ce genre qui pullule. Nous en parlons encore dans la note 3.

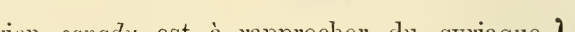


śâ **addiri** sanadu

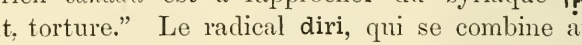
L'assyrien *sanadu* est à rapprocher du syriaque ܣܢܕ, "tourment, torture." Le radical **diri**, qui se combine avec **ad** dans **ad-diri**, implique une idée d'obscurcissement (23).

śâ **addugud** sassaṭu.

śâ **melgal** (idem).

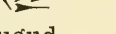


śâ **adgal** (idem).



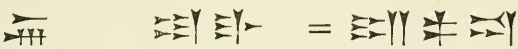
śâ **nim - marra** (idem).

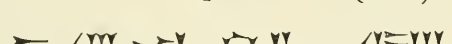
śâ **adnim** (idem).

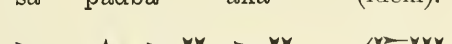
J'ai expliqué plus haut *sassaṭu*, dérivé du schaphel de נשט, comme désignant un mal spécialement caractérisé par l'excoriation. Il était aussi accompagné de tuméfaction, comme l'indique la présence du radical **nim**, "être élevé" (**nim.**  *saqû*, Syllab. A, 356), dans les épithètes **nim-marra** et **ad-nim**, qui accompagnent

sa parmi les désignations accadiennes ainsi traduites. Sur **dugud**, qui entre en composition de **ad-dugud**, voy. Syllab. A, 151 (24). On ne saurait, dans l'état actuel, pousser plus loin l'analyse des expressions accadiennes, que nous nous bornons à enregistrer.

Ici je n'ose pas proposer d'explications pour l'assyrien plus que pour l'accadien.

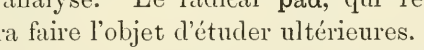






J'ai rattaché *rapadu* à la racine רפד, "s'étendre." Quant aux expressions accadiennes ainsi traduites, elles sont encore rebelles à l'analyse. Le radical **pad**, qui reste des plus obscurs, devra faire l'objet d'étuder ultérieures. Si l'on doit, ce qui se semble le plus probable, lire à la dernière ligne **śâ sarrara**, il faudra sans doute y reconnaître un développement du radical **sar**, "pulluler, multiplier, grandir, étendre," révélé par Syllab. AA, 14.

III.

Dans W.A.I. II, 27, ligne 11, *e-f* (25), **śâ-tik**, "l'ulcère du front," est traduit en assyrien  *labanu kisadi*, "blanchissement d'une partie de la tête" (26) par une maladie, une sorte de lèpre. Cf. araméen

לבנה, "humeur blanche," et l'emploi de لبن en arabe dans l'acception de "souffrir d'une douleur de tête." W.A.I. IV, 29, 3, nous offre (lignes 19-20) un exemple de śâ-tik = *laban*, parmi les mentions de diverses maladies (27) à côté de śâ-ti = *bamat* (śâtibi = *bamaśśu*), "la tumeur du côté," et de śâ = *buanu*. C'est peut-être cette affection à la guérison de laquelle était consacrée l'incantation, malheureusement si mutilée, de W.A.I. IV, 22, 1. Elle y est donnée comme accompagnée de "folie," śaggig = *ṭi'u* (verso, lignes 21-22); de même, dans W.A.I. IV, 3, col. 2, lig. 29-30, nous avons śaggig tik-śâ gig, "la maladie de la tête, le front ulcéré, douloureux," traduit ... *ṭi'u murus dadda* ... "la folie, la maladie de ....." (28); tik-śâ y est un composé des mêmes éléments que śâ-tik, ayant la même signification, mais d'ordonnance inverse.

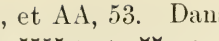
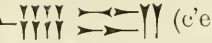
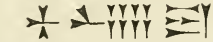
Nous avons aussi, dans W.A.I. II, 27, lignes 41-43, *e-f*:—

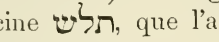
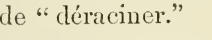
śâ ku = *ḥaraśu*.

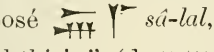
śâ kue = iggituv.

śâ tabin âkâk = talsutuv.

ḥaraśu est surement la "dartre vive," hébr. חרס (29) *iggituv* est une "maladie qui brûle," de אגג, arabe أجّ. Il s'agit, du reste d'une variété de la même affection, puisque *ḥaraśu* et *iggituv* correspondant tous deux au même mot accadien, dont le sens est "l'ulcère qui dévore" (30). Quant à śâ tabin âkâk, c'est "l'ulcère qui agit sur l'ongle, qui le détache"; sur tabin = *supruv*, "ongle" (hébr. et aram. צפורן, éthiop. ጽፍር:), voy. Syllab.

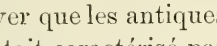
D. 28, et AA, 53. Dans W.A.I. II, 17, ligne 62, *a*, et 63, *b*,  (c'est par erreur que la copie lithographiée porte )  **tabin âka** est traduit *liqit ṣupri*, "la chûte (de לקה, araméen) de l'ongle." L'assyrien *talsutuv* appartient à la racine תלש, que l'araméen targumique nous offre avec le sens de "déraciner."

Notons encore que dans W.A.I. II, 17, ligne 61, *a-b*, le composé  *sâ-lal*, est traduit par  *arsasû*, "la phthisie" (de רשש; cf. l'arabe رشرش), ce qui semble prouver que les antiques Accads avaient déjà constaté que ce mal était caractérisé par une ulcération interne du poumon. Voici, du reste, tout le passage où se trouve cette expression :

Accad.— 

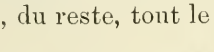
gar **âka** **ka** **bat** (?) **χulik**

Ce qui (*est*) *agissant* (*dans*) *la bouche le poison funeste*



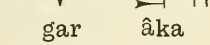
gugage

la parole pour,

Assyr.— 

arsasû ru'tav sa ina pî

La phthisie *empoisonnée* (31) *qui dans la bouche*



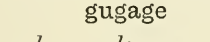
limnis badat

malignement *sort* (32),

Accad.—

śua **śâlal** **gar** **χul** **dimma**

la sputation de la phthisie qui malignement (*est*) *produisant* (33)



χirda

le lieu

Assyr.—

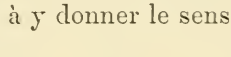
naruqu arsasê sa limnis sallat

la sputation (34) *de la phthisie qui malignement enchaîne* (35).

Le nom conventionnel du caractère est *śagitu*, Syllab. A*, 183; AA, 25. Il appartient peut-être à la très faible minorité des exemples qui, dans cette nomenclature des signes chez les grammairiens, rattachent leur origine à une lecture assyrienne, et non accadienne, de la valeur idéographique du caractère. En effet, il y a une singulière ressemblance entre *śagitu* et סגיא, qui en araméen signifie "ampoule, ulcère." Pourtant il faut ajouter que l'on n'a encore aucun exemple de l'emploi de *śagitu* comme nom attributif en assyrien, ni encore moins aucun exemple qui autorise formellement à y donner le sens d' "ulcère."

IV.

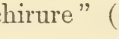
Dans W.A.I. II, 27, lignes 47–48, *e-f*, nous trouvons :—

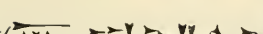


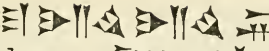
śâ masadu

śâśâ mussudu

Masadu est "la déchirure" (du vêtement); cf. l'éthiopien ፍሰጠ: Il semble donc que ce soit une autre acception du même mot śâ qu' "ulcère."

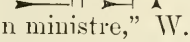
En revanche, nous trouvons un autre radical accadien **śa**, "possession, autorité," qu'écrit quelquefois le caractère , suivant toutes les vraisemblances à titre de phonétique indifférent de la syllabe. C'est celui qui entre dans le pronom indéterminé des choses **śate** (L.P.C., p. 424), exemple, **śatena**, "tout ce qui est à elle" (W.A.I. II, 10, ligne 20, *c*). Il entre aussi en composition du verbe  **śadudu**, "envoyer en possession, instituer," formé de ce radical śâ et de **dudu**, "faire aller";

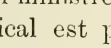
exemple,  (36).

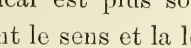
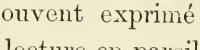
adgaga (37) šadudu =  *šar malikisu imallikusu*, "le roi a institué son ministre," W.A.I. II, 47, lignes 5–6, *a-b*.

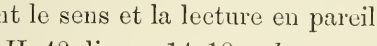
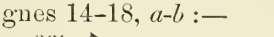
Ce radical est plus souvent exprimé par l'idéogramme , dont le sens et la lecture en pareil cas sont expliqués par W.A.I. II, 48, lignes 14–18, *a-b* :—

šá = *milku*, "possession, propriété, autorité";

 šágar = *maliku*, "possesseur, gouverneur";

 šámar = même explication (avec la note , qui paraît désigner les formes d'un dialecte particulier);

 šámarmar =  *maliku sa milki*, "possesseur de la propriété, de l'autorité."

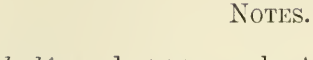
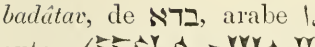
Voy. un exemple de cette dernière façon de s'exprimer dans W.A.I. IV, 26, 3, lignes 30–34, où le dieu Feu est appelé  šámarmar dimmer galgalene =  *malik milki sa ilani rabuti*.

šá = *rikšu*, "lien" (W.A.I. II, 48, ligne 28, *g-h*), où nous voyons reparaître l'emploi du caractère qui nous occupe, appartient manifestement à cette même racine, mais en présente la notion à un point de vue tout matériel.

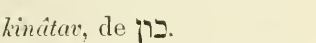
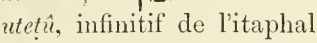
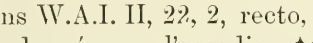
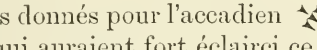
L'article consacré au caractère dans Syllab. A, 187, offre un frappant exemple des incertitudes où nous plongent les indications des Syllabaires, tant qu'on ne peut pas les contrôler par les textes, et du danger qu'il y a à se livrer à leur sujet, en dehors de toute vérification de ce genre, à des fantaisies extra-scientifiques d'étymologie, du genre de celles où se complaît un savant qui se pose en censeur des assyriologues. On y lit :

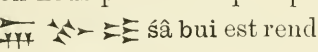
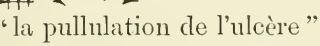
Comment transcrire ? Ce peut-être également *madnu* (מדן), *maṭnu* (מטן), *matnu* (מתן), *kurnu* (כרן), *sadnu* (שדן), *saṭnu* (שטן), *satnu* (שתן), *ladnu* (לדן), *laṭnu* (לטן), *latnu* (לתן), *nadnu* (נדן), *naṭnu* (נטן), et *natnu* (נתן), à cause de la polyphonie du premier signe. Il est évident que ce ne sont pas la fantaisie et le caprice seuls qui peuvent guider pour le choix entre ces treize lectures, également vraisemblables; s'il en était ainsi, le déchiffrement des textes cunéiformes ne serait plus une science, mais un agréable jeu d'esprit. La comparaison des variantes orthographiques du mot et des exemples de son emploi dans les textes, permettent seuls d'en déterminer la lecture et la signification, et jusqu'ici ce secours nous fait absolument défaut. Il faut donc s'abstenir de toute tentative d'explication, et cela d'autant plus que, par une circonstance assez piquante, qui ne laisse pas que de compliquer la question, deux des lectures possibles donneraient des mots sémitiques rentrant tout naturellement dans les deux ordres d'acceptions qui nous verrons de signaler, les seuls dont le caractère soit susceptible. *Natnu* se rapprocherait de l'arabe نتن, "pourrir, être fétide," et serait, par conséquent, un synonyme très convenable pour l'ulcère"; *saṭnu*, donnerait un correspondant de l'arabe شَطَن, "longue corde."

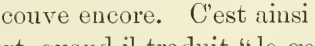
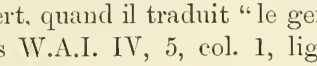
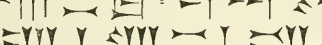
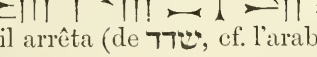
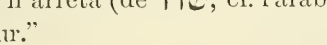
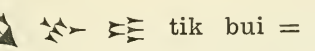
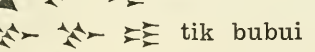
NOTES.

(1). *badâtav*, de בדא, arabe بدأ. À la ligne 27, *a-b*, du même texte,  **gigga gar nusurra** est traduit  *marustav la ullatav*, "le mal qu'on n'enlève pas," ce qui me paraît de nature à nous guider sur le sens à attribuer ici à בדא.

(2). *kinâtav*, de כנן.

(3). *utetû*, infinitif de l'itaphal de עטה. Malheureusement dans W.A.I. II, 22, 2, recto, les nombreux équivalents assyriens donnés pour l'accadien  **bui** et  **bubui**, qui auraient fort éclairci ce passage, sont trop mutilés pour pouvoir être restitués. N'était l'accadien, dont la traduction nous paraît indiquée par W.A.I. II, 28, ligne 17, *b-c*, où  **śâ bui** est rendu par  *nipistu*, "la pullulation de l'ulcère" (de נפש), on serait plutôt tenté de rendre *utetû* par "l'action d'être couvert, caché," le mal qui couve encore. C'est ainsi que paraît l'avoir compris M. Oppert, quand il traduit "le germe de l'ulcère."

Dans W.A.I. IV, 5, col. 1, lignes 53 et 55, nous avons  **gu sâbiku banbui** =  *amata ana libbisu isdud*, "il arrêta (de שדד, cf. l'arabe سدّ) une résolution dans son cœur."

 **tik bui** =  *magagu;* **tik bubui** =  *mitangugu;* W.A.I. II, 20, lignes 52-53, *c-d*. Ces expressions sont groupées dans une même section avec  *egû*, dont un des équivalents accadiens donnés en cet endroit est  **sebida**, traduit  *hiṭaṭu*, et  *ḥiṭṭu*, "péché," dans W.A.I. IV, 10, col. 1, lignes 36-37, et col. 2, lignes 39-40, *egû*, "péché," doit être rapporté à une racine עוג, correspondant à l'arabe عاج, que

la signification de "tordre, courber" au physique conduit à la même notion dans l'ordre moral. La formation d'une des dérivés arabes de عوجاجا, عاج, se rapproche de celle de notre assyrien *magagu*, car elle montre de même la racine s'allongeant en כיעלל, et ainsi étendue produisant des substantifs au moyen de la préfixation d'une lettre servile. Voilà, ce me semble, tout ce qu'on peut dire quant à présent sur ces deux mots, dont je n'ose pas encore proposer une traduction.

Tout ceci devra entrer en ligne de compte pour la recherche de la signification précise du radical verbal accadien bui et de son dérivé duplicatif bubui. Mais elle demeure encore bien obscure.

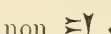
(4). et non , comme porte le texte lithographié ; corrigé d'après W.A.I. II, 28, lignes 23 et 24, *b*.

(5). *maškadu*, cf. l'araméen מסקרא, "aiguillon."

(6). *rapadu*, de רפד.

(7). *sassaṭu*, du schaphel de נשט (araméen) ; mot-à-mot. "ce qui rend excorié."

(8). Nous lisons dans Syllab. A, 155 et 156 :—

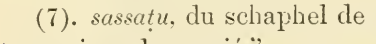


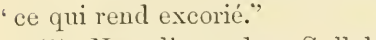
dub napaṣu.

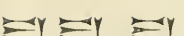
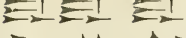
balak balangu.

La lecture accadienne dub est encore donnée dans une glose de W.A.I. II, 27. ligne 10, *g*.

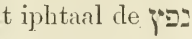
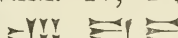
L'équivalent assyrien, que l'on peut appeler normal, pour ce radical dub et son idéogramme est le verbe נבץ, commun aux différents idiomes sémitiques, dont la signification première est "tailler," "mettre en pièces," conduisant à "disperser." Ainsi l'on trouve dans W.A.I. II, 48, lignes 42–44, *c-d* :—

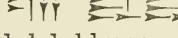
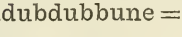
 dub = napaṣu ;

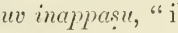
 dubdub (dérivé duplicatif) = itbuṣu ;

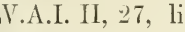
 **sudubdub** (4e voix de ce dérivé) =  *itabbuṣu; itbuṣu* et *itabbuṣu* sont des formes contractées pour *ittabuṣu* et *ittabbuṣu*, iphteal et iphtaal de נבץ.

W.A.I. IV, 16, 2, ligne 10: **kiellilal]** **mundubdubbune** = *ardatuv inappaṣu*, "ils mettent en pièces l'esclave."

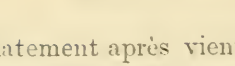
W.A.I. II, 27, ligne 10, *g*, où la traduction assyrienne de  **dub** est détruite, place ce mot à côté de χaś, "couper" et de  **luga** "blesser," deux radicaux dont le sens est certain et bien connu d'ailleurs.

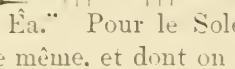
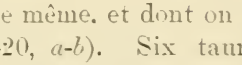
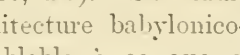
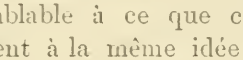
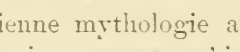
Dans W.A.I. IV, 24, 1, lignes 11–13,  **śak kala ine dub**, est rendu par  *paris sa ini banû*, ce qu'il faut traduire par "chef (puissant) qui ouvre les yeux." En effet, בנה, équivalent à l'accadien **dub**, joue exactement le même rôle dans *ini banû* que עבש dans *ebis pî*, "ouvrir la bouche," et שית dans *sit pî*, expressions si bien analysées et justifiées philologiquement par M. Friedrich Delitzsch (A.S., p. 21). Ceci indique que parmi les acceptions dont le radical accadien **dub** était susceptible se trouvait celle "d'ouvrir," mais non qu'il correspondît à בנה autrement que dans cette acception toute spéciale. C'est l'idée de "couper" et de "fendre," qui pour **dub** conduisait à celle d'"ouvrir." Une fois constatée, du reste, elle nous explique comment, dans les listes mythologiques, nous rencontrons parmi les êtres inférieurs d'essence divine dont on enregistré les noms :

 **kas aan gut dub mulkîgage** (W.A.I. II, 56, ligne 60, *d*.

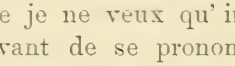
 **kas aan gut dub damkînage** (ibid. ligne 62, *d*).

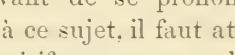
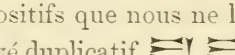
Ce sont "les deux taureaux de la porte (mot-à-mot de l'ouverture) de Êä" et "les deux taureaux de la porte de Damkina"; et ce qui achève de la prouver, c'est

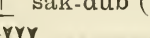
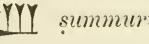
qu' immédiatement après viennent  8 aan nigab mulkîgage "les huit portiers de Êa." Pour le Soleil, nous trouvons six taureaux désignés de même, et dont on donne les noms (W.A.I. II, 58, lignes 17-20, *a-b*). Six taureaux supposent trois portes dans l'architecture babylonico-assyrienne ; il n'y aurait rien d'invraisemblable à ce que ces trois portes du Soleil se rapportassent à la même idée que les "trois pas" que lui prête l'ancienne mythologie aryenne. Mais c'est un point de vue que je ne veux qu' indiquer en passant, sans m'y arrêter ; avant de se prononcer d'une manière tout-à-fait affirmative à ce sujet, il faut attendre des éléments d'information plus positifs que nous ne les possédons.

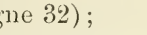
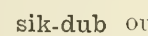
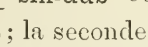
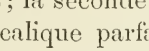
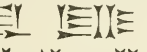
Le dérivé duplicatif  dubdubbu (à l'état prolongé) est traduit  *ubbulir* (cas oblique de *ubbuluv*). "destruction." de נבל, dans W.A.I. II, 27, ligne 46, *e-f*. D'après l'examen de la tablette originale, où des morceaux plus récemment découverts ajoutent des suppléments au texte imprimé, c'est  dubdubbu, que, dans W.A.I. II, 20, ligne 42, *a-b*, la colonne accadienne porte en regard de l'assyrien  *nuššušu sa . . . .*; j'ignore encore comment doit être lu et traduit le dernier mot, mais *nuššušu* est un infinitif du paël de נכס, dont une partie des acceptions, dans le langues de Sem. se rapproche de celles de l'accadien dub. Immédiatement avant nous avons  *nuššušu sa zumbi*, "l'action d'élever, de porter haut la queue."

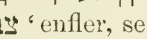
Les composés où entre le radical dub sont nombreux. Je citerai quelques uns des plus importants :—

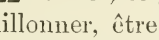
 *pisirti*, de פשר, entendu au sens de "disperser, dissiper" (W.A.I. II, 34, ligne 69, *f-g*) ;

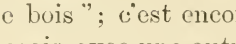
 dub-di, et  *ṣirḥu*, "cri violent," cf. héb. צרח, ar. صرخ (W.A.I. II, 20, lignes 20–21, *a-b*) ;

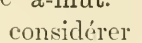
 **śak-dub** (mot-à-mot "tête fendant") =  *ṣummuru*, "fièvre ardente," araméen צמרא (Lt. 79, B, ligne 32);

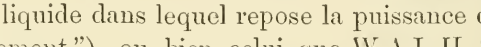
 **sik-dub** ou **uχ-dub**, car les deux lectures sont possibles; la seconde me paraît préférable à cause de son harmonie vocalique parfaite. W.A.I. II, 17, ligne 25, *a-b*:  **uχdub uχdubba** =  *ṣibtav ratitav*, "la tumeur (cf. hébr. צבה 'enfler, se gonfler') en ébullition (hébr. et aram. רתה 'bouillonner, être en ébullition')"; cette traduction me paraît préférable à celle de "hideuse," de רתת, que j'avais d'abord adoptée. W.A.I. II, 17, ligne 63, *a-b*:  **uχdub uχdubba** = *ablu maśû*, "l'éruption (hébr. יַבֶּל, fém. יַבֶּלֶת, 'atteint d'ulcères, couvert de boutons'; aram. יבלת, 'verrue,' יבלן, 'couvert de boutons'; arabe وَبَلٌ 'chûte des poils') purulente" (cf. aram. מסא). Le sens de l'idéogramme  est "étoffe," et aussi "poil, cheveu." Le composé **sik-dub** ou **uχ-dub** semblerait donc désigner spécialement, par les éléments qui le forment, une éruption qui fait tomber les poils.

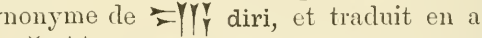
La sorte de grillon ou de sauterelle qui s'appelle en assyrien *ṣarṣaru*, arabe صرصر (Fr. Delitzsch, A.S., p. 76), porte le nom accadien de  **χU-BIR dub kana** (W.A.I. II, 5, ligne 17, *c-d*), c'est-à-dire, à ce qu'il semble, "l'insecte en troupe qui met en pièces avec sa bouche," la sauterelle qui ravage avec sa bouche.

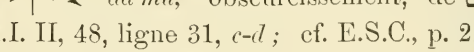
Au No. 156 du Syllabaire l'assyrien *balangu* pour *balaggu*, appartient à la racine sémitique commune פלג, "diviser," prise dans le sens de "mettre en pièces, tailler; c'est l'action de la faire; **balak**, dans la colonne accadienne, n'est autre que ce mot assyrien passé dans la langue d'Accad. Dans W.A.I. II, 48, ligne 16, *e-f*, une glose donne **bulug** comme la lecture accadienne du signe  , expliqué en

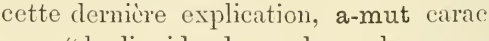
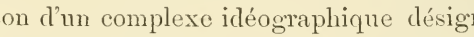
assyrien  *qarasu sa iṣi*, "l'action de tailler (hebr. קרש) le bois"; c'est encore le sémitique פלג, adopté en accadien, mais avec une autre vocalisation. Au No. 169 du Syllab. A on retrouve encore **bulug**, cette fois avec le sens de "choix." On voit qu'il n'y a pas de radical assyrien qui se soit naturalisé plus complétement que celui-ci dans l'idiome d'Accad, avec toutes ses significations, et qui y soit devenu d'un usage plus général.

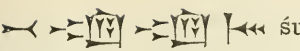
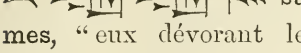
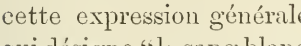
(9). L'élision de la voyelle initiale, fait très fréquent en accadien, a ici pour résultat d'oblitérer entièrement le premier élément du composé **a-mut**. Il me paraît, en effet, bien difficile de ne pas considérer ce mot comme formé de **a**, "eau, liquide," et d'un second radical **mut**. Ce dernier peut-être, ou bien celui que nous connaissons par Syllab. AA, 11, et qui y est traduit *banû sa aladi* ou *aladu* (le sang serait ainsi "le liquide dans lequel repose la puissance de vie et de développement"), ou bien celui que W.A.I. II, 32, ligne 64, *e-f*, fait synonyme de **diri**, et traduit en assyrien par  *da'mu*, "obscurcissement," de דעם; encore dans W.A.I. II, 48, ligne 31, *c-d*; cf. E.S.C., p. 211. Si l'on adoptait cette dernière explication, **a-mut** caractériserait le sang comme "le liquide de couleur obscure, noire." La combinaison d'un complexe idéographique désignant le sang dans certains documents accadiens lui donne aussi pour caractère essentiel sa couleur, qualifiée de noire. C'est dans Syllab. A, 223-225:—

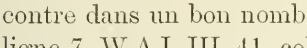

us dâmu.

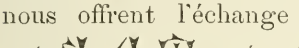

lugud sarku.


adama adamatu.

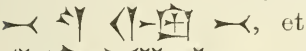
 **us**, "sang," se rencontre, dans des conditions où il serait impossible de le méconnaître, dans W.A.I. IV, 2, col. 4, ligne 23: 

 **śubi inkuku' mes ..... us naknak' mes,** "eux dévorant le corps ..... buvant le sang"; et lignes 31-32:  **us kuku' mes =** *akil dami,* "mangeurs de sang." Après cette expression générale, vient le complexe idéographique qui désigne "le sang blanc," c'est-à-dire "le pus," **lugud** = *sarku.* L'association de *damu u sarku,* "le sang et le pus," se rencontre dans un bon nombre de textes assyriens. Mich. col. 4, ligne 7, W.A.I. III, 41, col. 2, ligne 30, et 43, col. 4, ligne 17, nous offrent l'échange des orthographes idéographique , et phonétique  *sarka u dama;* voyez encore le document historique publié par M. Boscawen (Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., T. IV, pp. 84-97), verso, ligne 16. Après cette mention du pus ou "sang blanc," vient celle du "sang noir" ou rouge, désigné en assyrien par un mot tiré de la racine אדם, *adamatu,* et en accadien par un terme d'emprunt, tiré de celui-ci, **adama.**

(13). L'expression graphique la plus habituelle des idées de "pluie" et de "pleuvoir," dans les textes assyriens et accadiens, est  . En assyrien elle se lit *zunnu* comme substantif, et *zananu* comme verbe. En accadien, ce groupe, formé des deux signes, "eau" et "ciel," ne représente pas, comme on pouvrait le croire d'abord, un composé substantif **a-ana,** "eau du ciel"; il est positif que sa lecture se rattachait à un radical verbal tout différent et simple, signifiant "pleuvoir." Nous ignorons encore quel était ce radical, faute d'une glose qui nous l'apprenne; mais son existence et son caractère réel sont établis d'une manière incontestable par ce passage de W.A.I. IV, 19, 1, lignes 15-16:—

Accad.— 

ana-kîbita	**imidugud**	**dim**
Ciel (et) + terre + le + dans	*orage*	*comme*



. . . . . .

ils ont fait pleuvoir.

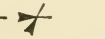
Assyr.—

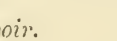
ina same u irṣitiv kima sâri bari

Dans le ciel et la terre *comme* *un orage*

izannunu

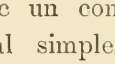
ils font pleuvoir.

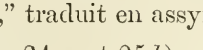
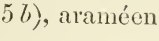
 est donc un complexe idéographique qui représente un radical simple, susceptible de produire par duplication un dérivé au sens factitif. Le seul bon sens et la plus superficielle connaissance des lois de la grammaire accadienne suffisent à faire comprendre qu'il ne pourrait en être ainsi d'un composé purement substantif, tel que serait **a-ana** "eau du ciel."

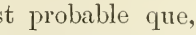
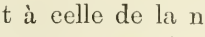
Il y a, du reste, une grande probabilité que ce radical verbal était **sur**, que nous venons de voir dans W.A.I. IV, 2, col. 4, ligne 23, écrit par le phonétique , avec le sens de "pleuvoir." **sur** s'emploie à chaque instant comme notation allophone du verbe זנן dans les documents astrologiques en langue assyrienne; un des pronostics qui s'y répètent le plus fréquemment est ou *zannu izzanun.* "la pluie pleuvra" (voyez par exemple W.A.I. III, 59, 2, ligne 7; 64, verso, lignes 5 et 15-17). L'astre appelé  , en accadien **mul sur**, est donc "l'étoile de la pluie," assyrien *kakkab zunni.*

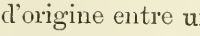
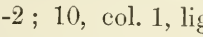
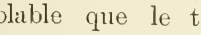
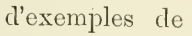
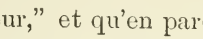
Comparez:

Fin. *sor-o*, *sor-ko*, "gouttes qui tombent"; *sor-o-tan*, "tomber en gouttes." Zyr. *zer*, "pluie"; *zer-a*, "pleuvoir." Perm. *zer*, "pluie." Vot. *zor*. Mag. *šor*, "gouttes." Your. *sâr-u*, *sâr-o*, "pluie." Yen. *sar-e*. Ost. Sam. *sor-o*, *sär-o*. Kam. *sur-uu*.

(11). Un autre mot accadien pour le "sang" est **umun**, traduit *damu*, et aussi *šaruv*, "sanie," lequel s'écrit par le signe , ou bien par un autre idéogramme suivi du complément phonétique *un*,  (W.A.I. II,

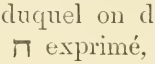
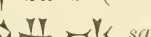
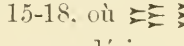
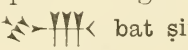
47, lignes 54 et 55, *e-f*). De là dérive aussi un nom de maladie,  **uamun**, "la dyssenterie, le flux de sang," traduit en assyrien  *sûlu* (W.A.I. II, 17, lignes 24 *a*, et 25 *b*), araméen שלשול, arabe شلشل.

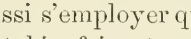
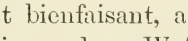
Il est probable que, par suite d'une association d'idées qui tient à celle de la noblesse du sang, et qui se retrouve chez presque tous les peuples, on doit admettre une parenté d'origine entre **umun**, "sang," et  **uamun** =  *beluv*, "seigneur" (W.A.I. IV, 9, recto, lignes 1-2 ; 10, col. 1, lignes 48-49). Ceci est d'autant plus vraisemblable que le textes accadiens nous offrent une infinité d'exemples de l'idéogramme avec le sens de "seigneur," et qu'en pareil cas il paraît devoir se lire encore **uamun** ou **umun** plutôt que simplement **u**.

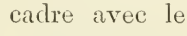
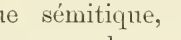
En revanche, il n'y a sûrement qu'une assonance toute fortuite entre le radical que nous venons d'étudier et son homophone **umun**, donné comme lecture du signe  dans Syllab. A, 90, et dans une glose de W.A.I. II, 33, ligne 56, *c*. Il y est traduit en assyrien *mummu ;* et cette dernière expression est bien connue par le récit de la Création (Friedrich Delitzsch, A.S., p. 40, B 2, *a*, ligne 4) ; c'est le nom du "chaos," *μωϋμῖς* chez Damascius (*De prim. princep.* 125), à rapprocher de l'hébreu מהומה "confusion." *Umun* est encore la lecture accadienne du signe de "marais,"  , expliqué en assyrien  *ḫammu* (W.A.I. II, 27, ligne 57, *a-b*), ce qui ne désigne pas, je crois, des eaux thermales, comme on pourrait le penser d'abord ; *ḫammu* est la nom du "marais putride," formé d'une manière tout-à-fait parallèle à celle dont naît dans la plupart des langues sémitiques l'expression אגם (assyrien  *agammu*) ; la racine חמם y prend le sens de "pourrir par la chaleur," que nous voyons à l'arabe حَمّ, d'où l'appellation d'un marais situé entre la Mecque et Médine. Dans la même tablette lexicographique, et tout à côté (W.A.I. II, 27, ligne 58, *a-b*), **umuna** est la lecture accadienne du caractère  , inconnu d'ailleurs, et traduit en assyrien

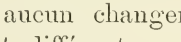
 alabû, arabe حَلَبٌ "lieu rocailleux," حَلَبٌ, "lieu que ne féconde aucune pluie." Le rapprochement de ces deux exemples avec **umun = mummu**, "chaos," est fort probable.

(12). Nous avons ici une forme de la conjugaison postpositive. Les exemples en sont d'une assez grande rareté; et l'importance capitale de cette conjugaison au point de vue philologique, à cause de son étroite parenté avec la conjugaison ongro-finnoise ou turque, réclame que l'on note soigneusement tous ceux que l'on rencontre.

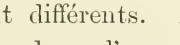
(13). *imat, imtu*, est certainement, dans l'exemple qui nous occupe, aussi bien que toutes les fois qu'il correspond à l'accadien **bat**, l'hébr. חמה, "venin, poison," dans la forme assyrienne duquel on devait s'attendre par avance à ne pas trouver le ח exprimé, puis qu'il est en arabe حمة, par un ح. Le sens est bien positivement établi par la façon dont W.A.I. II, 30, ligne 11, *a-b*, traduit l'expression accadienne **bat šî** (mot-à-mot "poison-donner") par *saqû sa imti*, "donner à boire du poison, abreuver de poison." Non moins formel est W.A.I. IV, 26, 2, lignes 15-18, où *imat*, employé absolument comme pour désigner le venin par excellence, traduit **bat ṣir**, "le venin du serpent," et  *imat zuqakipi*, "le venin du scorpion," . En hébreu, חמה, que l'on rattache à la racine יחם, "être échauffé," s'applique aussi à la "colère," à la "fureur"; il en est de même en assyrien, et parmi les qualifications poétiques données aux démons pour exprimer leur caractère malfaisant, nous les voyons appeler dans W.A.I. IV, 1, col. 1, lignes 16-17,  **bat ṣi dingirene** = *imat marti sa ili*, "venin," ou "fureur de la bile des dieux." Dans W.A.I. II, 17, ligne 33, *a-b*,  **bat χulik** =  *imtav limuttav*, enregistré parmi les

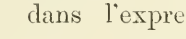
choses à l'action néfaste après "la face malfaisante, l'œil malfaisant, la bouche malfaisante, la langue malfaisante, la lèvre malfaisante," doit être traduit "le venin malfaisant," ou "le poison malfaisant." Pourtant, comme le grec *φάρμακον*, l'assyrien *imtu* peut aussi s'employer quelquefois pour désigner un philtre salutaire et bienfaisant, aussi bien qu'un poison. C'est ainsi que nous lisons dans W.A.I. IV, 1, recto, lignes 31-32, en s'adressant au dieu Silik-moulou-khi ou Maroudouk,  bat namtila zâge =  *imat balaṭu kuvvu*, "le philtre de vie est à toi."

Par un phénomène que nous voyons se reproduire assez souvent, et qui tient à l'imperfection avec laquelle l'écriture cunéiforme anarienne cadre avec le génie et l'organisme essentiel d'une langue sémitique, la même orthographe s'emploie aussi, sans aucun changement, pour représenter des mots radicalement différents. Ainsi *imat* est certainement l'hébreu אימה dans l'expression *imat muti*, "la terreur de la mort," que les documents historiques assyriens offrent à plusieurs reprises (Sarg. Barils, ligne 29; Khors. ligne 131; Nérigl. col. 1, ligne 27), et qu'un texte bilingue m'a donné traduisant l'accadien  tum bat (E.S.C., p. 141). Quant à  dans E.I.H. col. 2, ligne 48, et W.A.I. II, 67, ligne 80, c'est encore un autre mot, mais je n'ai pas à m'en occuper ici.

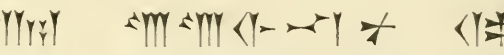
(14). Il me paraît que l'on doit corriger ainsi, au lieu de  , que porte le texte imprimé, par un lapsus soit du scribe assyrien soit du lithographe moderne; mais si la leçon *eria*, bien que moins grammaticale, était justifiée, mon explication resterait entière.

(15). On lit dans Syllab. A, Nos. 56 et 57 :


pies *erû*

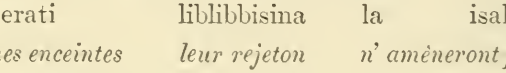

pies *aladu*

Les deux explications assyriennes ici enregistrées pour le même signe et pour le même mot accadien révèlent deux significations étroitement connexes. En effet, *aladu* est "l'enfantement, l'accouchement," de אלד, et *erû*, "la grossesse." de הרא (hébr. הרה) "concevoir, être enceinte," Sur le sens de ce dernier mot, on ne peut plus douter après la comparaison de deux passages d'un même document astrologique (W.A.I. III, 60, lignes 57 et 114) :



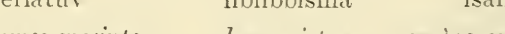
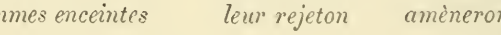
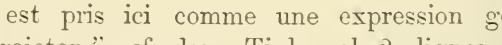
erati liblibbisina la isallimu

Les femmes enceintes *leur rejeton* *n' amèneront pas à terme.*

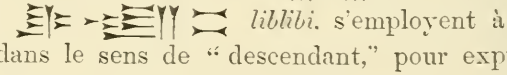


eriatuv liblibbisina isallimu

Les femmes enceintes *leur rejeton* *amèneront à terme.*

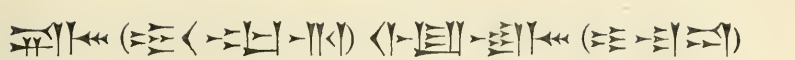
(*liblibbu* est pris ici comme une expression générale d' "enfant rejeton"; cf. dans Tigl.. col. 2, lignes 29 et 47 : *abli nabnit libbisu*, "les fils, progéniture de son cœur."  ou  *liblibbi*, et *liblibi*. s'employent à plusieurs reprises dans le sens de "descendant," pour exprimer une filiation du quatrième ou du cinquième degré : Tigl. col. 7, ligne 55 ; Assourn.. col. 1, ligne 30 ; W.A.I. I, 35, 3, lignes 21 et 23. Dans W.A.I. II, 29, ligne 62, *c-f.* on donne pour synonyme à *liblibbi*  *binbinuv*, בנבן, de בנה.)

Un autre document astrologique, où le caractère est accompagné de la glose *erâti*, qui en donne la prononciation phonétique, porte (W.A.I. III, 59, 7, lignes 8-9) :



ina sanat anniti erâti

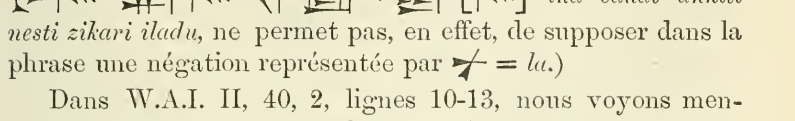
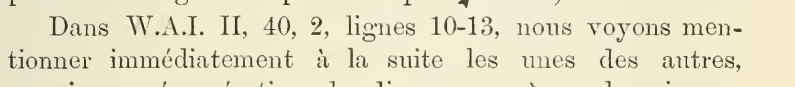
Dans année *cette* *les femmes enceintes*

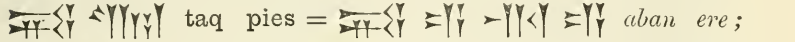


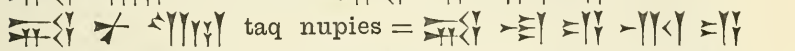
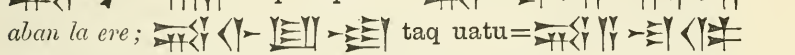
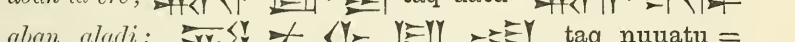
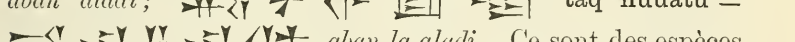
zikkari — iladu

des (enfants) mâles — *enfanteront.*

(Je vois dans une expression du démonstratif *annu;* la variante de W.A.I. III, 59, 6, portant *ina sanat anniti nesti zikari iladu,* ne permet pas, en effet, de supposer dans la phrase une négation représentée par = *la.*)

Dans W.A.I. II, 40, 2, lignes 10-13, nous voyons mentionner immédiatement à la suite les unes des autres, parmi une énumération de diverses espèces de pierres:  taq pies = *aban ere;* taq nupies = *aban la ere;*  taq uatu = *aban aladi;* taq nuuatu = *aban la aladi.* Ce sont des espèces de pierres regardées comme ayant une influence favorable ou nuisible sur la grossesse ou l'accouchement.

Il y a aussi une étoile appelée  *kakkab ere,* "l'etoile de la grossesse" (W.A.I. III, 53, 1, ligne 71), évidemment à cause de l'action qu'on lui attribuait sur cet état.

(16). Dans W.A.I. IV, 9, recto, lignes 26, 27 et 29, 5, verso, lignes 55-56, l'accadien  **sâlalsud,** est traduit en assyrien  *lidnû,* "générateur," en parlant d'un dieu, et  , *lidnituv,* "génératrice," en parlant d'un déesse. **Sâlalsud** est un composé signifiant mot-à-mot "du cœur (ou de l'intérieur)—plénitude—étendant," il est formé d'un premier composé **sâ-lal** (**sâ**, "cœur," et **lal**, "être plein"; sur ce dernier, voy. E.S.C., p. 46 et suiv.), et du radical verbal **sud**, "étendre." Il est vrai que dans W.A.I. IV, 29, 1, recto, lignes 17-18, le même **sâlalsud** est rendu par  , *rimnû,* "miséricordieux," comme l'est également **sâ-sud** (mot-à-mot, "cœur-dilatant"), écrit par extraordinaire, à la ligne 9 du verso du même

document, avec emploi du phonétique indifférent , au lieu de l'idéogramme , variante qui en assure bien positivement la prononciation.

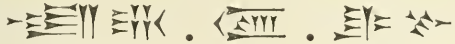
W.A.I. II, 10, ligne 4, *c-d*, nous offre **sâga,** "celui du cœur," qui, comme son équivalent assyrien *libbu*, doit être pris en tant que signifiant "enfant, fils," dans cette phrase légale : **dam sâgâni gannibtuqtuq,** "l'homme marié peut mettre son enfant en possession," traduite *mut libbisu iḫuššu*, "l'homme marié met son fils en possession." Nous venons de voir, dans la note précédente, l'emploi de *liblibbu* en assyrien pour dire "rejeton, descendant."

L'idéogramme de la "grossesse," étudié dans la note précédente, , est composé de , qui exprime, mais très rarement, la notion de "fils" dans les textes accadiens (je n'en connais jusqu'ici qu'un exemple positif, dans W.A.I. IV, 24, 1, lignes 14-15), et devient une de ses expressions idéographiques les plus habituelles dans les documents assyriens, et de , "cœur." Il semble que dans la manière dont on combiné ses éléments on ait cherché à éveiller l'idée d' "enfant dans le cœur, dans l'intérieur." De cette notion rendue pour l'œil par une combinaison graphique, on peut rapprocher les expressions de Sennachérib dans L. 38, ligne 3.

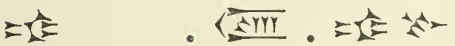
(17). Il est peut-être bon de rappeler ici, mais sans prétendre en tirer une conclusion précise, qu'un mot très analogue, **gudu,** est donné, dans Syllab. A, 55, comme la lecture accadienne d'un signe , dont la formation se rapproche beaucoup de celle de . Malheureusement la traduction assyrienne est détruite et jusqu'ici l'on n'a relevé dans les textes aucun exemple de l'emploi de ce caractère, qui permette d'en déterminer le sens idéographique.

(18). L'équivalent accadien plus ordinaire de *kiṣ libbi*, dans les textes bilingues, est ou **sem** (?)

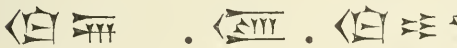
ou **semga** (?) ; voy. un exemple dans W.A.I. IV, 3, col. 2, lignes 44-45. L'idéogramme employé dans ce cas est enregistré avec plusieurs lectures accadiennes et plusieurs interprétations assyriennes diverses dans Syllab. A, 255-258 :



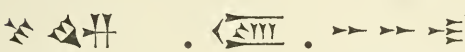
libis . . *libbu.* "Cœur."



ub . . *ubbu.* "Cœur."



kir . . *kîru* "Enveloppe (du cœur)"



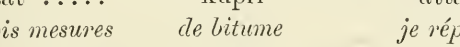
sem . . *ḥalḥallatu.* "Battement pulsation (du cœur)."

Libis est le mot assyrien *lib*, passant en accadien et s'y développement par l'adjonction d'un suffixe **s** ; *ubbu*, par contre, n'est pas un mot sémitique, mais l'accadien **ub**, reçu en assyrien. **Kir** = *kîru*, est le même mot que nous retrouvons dans Syllab. A, 94, s'appliquant à un autre idéogramme, et avec une modification dans la gutturale initiale de la forme accadienne :

gir . . *kîru.*

Le sens qu'il faut y attacher nous est révélé par un passage de Dél., col. 2, lignes 10 et 11, où les diverses copies montrent l'échange de l'orthographe phonétique avec l'idéogramme . C'est dans la description des derniers travaux d'achèvement du vaisseau de Khasisatra.

salsat	kupri	attabaq	ana
Trois mesures	*de bitume*	*je répandis*	*sur*



(var. kîri
l'extérieur.

salsat ..... iddî attabaq ana libbi

Trois mesures d'asphalte *je répandis* *à* *l'intérieur*

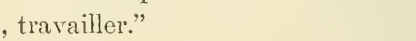
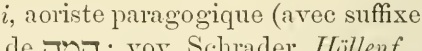
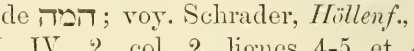
(Sur *iddû*, voy. Syllab. D, 1, et W.A.I. IV, 6, col. 5, lignes 45-46).

Le sens est donc "extérieur, enveloppe extérieure," et spécialement, quand il s'agit de l'idéogramme , "l'enveloppe du cœur." *Kîru* est un mot d'origine sémitique, passé en accadien sous les formes **kir** et **gir**; il faut en rapprocher l'araméen בורת, "alveus, arca, capsa," et la racine verbale בור, à laquelle il se rattache, se retrouve dans l'arabe بَارَ, "rotundus fuit, in gyrum ambiit."

Quant à **sem**, c'est manifestement un dérivé de la même racine accadienne que **sâ**, "cœur," dont la lecture est fournie par Syllab. A, 55.

(19). **Mun-rû-e**, indicatif impersonnel de la 5e voix du verbe **rû**, "faire, travailler."

(20). *Yusemananni*, aoriste paragogique (avec suffixe de la 1ère pers.) du schapel de הכיה; voy. Schrader, *Höllenf.*, p. 95.

(21). Dans W.A.I. IV, 2, col. 2, lignes 4-5 et 41-42, nous avons, suivant les exemplaires, les deux variantes **enenene lillal kaśkaś (ou raśraś) mes**, et **enenene lillal gidgid mes**, avec la traduction assyrienne  *sunu zaqiqu muttarrabiṭuti sunu*, "eux ils sont étendus en chaîne," en parlant des démons. Le sens est rendu tout à fait positif par la comparaison avec E.A. II, 1, p. 240-241, lignes 5-6:  **namtar zinna lil dim nigidgid** =  *sa ina ṣiriv kima zakiki ittanarabbiṭu*, "le Namtar (la Peste personnifiée) s'étend sur la plaîne comme une chaîne."

lil, ou **lillal**, qui dans ces exemples désigne la "chaine," entre en composition d'un grand nombre de mots comme radical verbal, tantôt au sens actif, tantôt au sens passif. Passivement nous le trouvons dans   **lillal** = *ardu*, "esclave"; "l'esclave femelle," entendue surtout au sens de "concubine," *ardatuv;* est désignée en accadien par le mot simple **kiel**, qui paraît impliquer principalement cette notion de "puella pathica" (cf. W.A.I. II, 30, ligne 14, *e-f*, avec la glose, où la synonymie **qalla** = *uru*, semble rattacher à la notion de fécondation la lecture **qal** du signe de la "femme,"), et par le composé **kiel-lillal**, qui y joint l'idée de captivité, d'esclavage. "L'homme libre" s'appelle **gurus** (voy. Syllab. A, 174), la "femme de condition libre mais mariée" **gurus lillal** (W.A.I. II, 17, lig. 31, *c-d*), composé exprimant à la fois sa condition sociale et sa situation par rapport au mari. Voici maintenant pour l'emploi du même radical au sens actif dans des composés; **lillal** est le nom du "démon incube," en assyrien *lilû*, et **kiel-lillal** celui du "démon succube," en assyrien *lilituv;* il est bien peu probable qu'il faille entendre ici ces mots dans une signification passive, "l'esclave mâle" et "l'esclave femelle"; il semble bien plus naturel d'en prendre l'élément **lillal** comme actif, "celui qui enchaîne," et "la concubine qui enchaîne."

(22.) C'est Syllab. A, 93, qui, en transcrivant le mot accadien pour "père," en fait connaître la véritable prononciation **âd** avec sa voyelle pesante. Le signe , "père," est un des premiers idéogrammes dont on ait reconnu la signification dans les textes assyriens. Le mot **âd**, ét, prolong. **âdda**, qui a fourni la valeur du caractère comme phonétique indifférente dans l'usage accadien et assyrien, est aussi l'un des mots de la langue d'Accad que l'on a déterminé les premiers, et dont on a le plus d'exemples

dans les documents grammaticaux ou dans les textes bilingues. C'est le protomédique hatu, atta, ou attu, car il y a les trois formes. On connaît aussi les rapprochements si frappants que ce mot ouvre avec le vocabulaire des langues ongro-finnoises et turques :

Fin. *isä :* Esth. *issä ;* Lap. *attje ;* Vot. *ataj ;* Tchér. *ätjä ;* Ost. *ata ;* Mag. *atya* (cf. *ös*, " grand-père," autrefois, *isä*) ; Turc. اتا.

Un autre mot accadien pour dire " père " est ai, toujours également traduit en assyrien *abu*. אב (W.A.I. II, 32, ligne 59, *c-d ;* E.A. II, 1, pp. 132-139, 228-229, 234-235, 258-259). Il prête encore à des comparaisons bien significatives :

Fin. *äijä.* " vieillard, grand-père " ; Lap. *aija ;* Zyr. *aj*, " père " ; Vog. *jaj*.

On dit aussi quelquefois a, " père," au lieu de ai : W.A.I. II, 31, ligne 28, *g-h ;* IV, 14, 1, lignes 7-8.

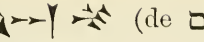
Un troisème mot pour " père " est abba (W.A.I. II, 32, ligne 60, *c-d*), turc. بابا.

Ce mot abba s'applique aussi au grand-père (W.A.I. II, 32, ligne 61, *e-f ;* 33, ligne 10, *e-f*), que désigne également le terme de aia (W.A.I. II, 32, ligne 61, *c-d*), pour ai-ai, " père du père."

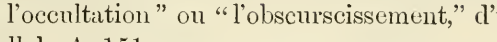
(23). Syllab. A, 178 :

diri adru

adru, contracté de *adiru*, signifie positivement " sombre, obscur " ; cf. l'arabe غدر, " être obscur." C'est avec ce sens que diri entre dans le composé imi-diri (mot-à-mot " région du ciel — sombre ") = *urpatuv*, " nuage." Dans W.A.I. II, 39, lignes 45-46, *e-f.* diri, pris comme substantif, est interprété par *sutruruv* (infinitif de l'iphtalel de שור). *halabu*

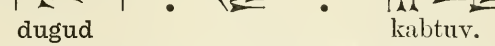
(de חלף) et  (de דעם), trois synonymes désignant "l'occultation" ou "l'obscurscissement," d'un astre.

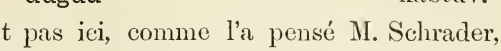
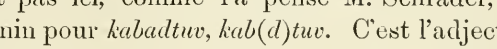
(24). Syllab. A, 151:



dugud kabtuv.

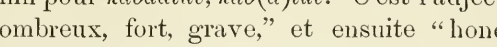
kabtuv n'est pas ici, comme l'a pensé M. Schrader, un substantif féminin pour *kabadtuv*, *kab(d)tuv*. C'est l'adjectif *kabdu*, "pesant, nombreux, fort, grave," et ensuite "honoré" (de כבד), que les scribes assyriens orthographient, en effet, plus souvent *kabtu*, en substituant un ת au ד (voy. Norris, A. D., p. 528). Les exemples ne manquent pas, dans les textes bilingues, qui prouvent l'emploi du signe dans ce sens et qui justifient sa lecture constante **dugud**, en formant en **da** son état de prolongation. En voici quelques uns:

 **eni dugudda** = *belu kabtu*, "seigneur honoré": W.A.I. IV, 14, 3, lignes 13-14.

 **śaggig imidugud dugudda dim arabi muluname nunzu,** "la maladie de la tête—un orage—puissant—comme—sa venue—personne—ne connaît" =  *ṭi'u sa kima sâri bari kabtav alaktasu manma ul idi*, "la folie, qui est violente comme un orage, personne ne connaît sa venue": W.A.I. IV, 3, col. 1, lignes 27-28.

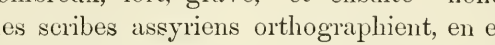
Cf. encore W.A.I. IV, 13, 1, recto, lignes 6-7.

Voici maintenant un exemple de la traduction de **dugudda**, non plus par *kabtuv*, mais par un autre synonyme assyrien, ayant le sens de "fort, puissant" (W.A.I. II, 19, 2, lignes 43-46):

Accad.— 

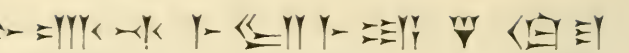
nî **mene** **ana** **dim**

Terreurs de la force immense le ciel comme

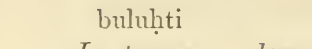


dugud dam u **ne**

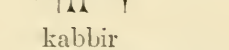
puissantes + miennes les.

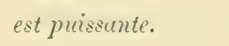
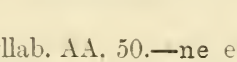
Assyr.— 

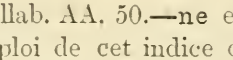
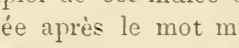
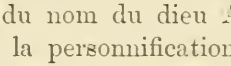
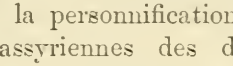
buluḫti melavveya sa kima
Les terreurs de ma force immense qui comme



anuv kabbir
le dieu Anou est puissante.

(Sur **nî**, voy. Syllab. AA. 50.—**ne** est ici pour **ene**; c'est un exemple de l'emploi de cet indice du pluriel à l'état de particule isolée, placée après le mot muni de ses différents suffixes. L'emploi du nom du dieu Anou pour désigner le ciel, comme en étant la personnification divine, est fréquent dans les versions assyriennes des documents bilingues. *Kabbir*, de כבר; cf. en s'adressant à Sin,
šî kirkirra =  *sa qarni kabbaru*, "qui des cornes est vigoureux": W.A.I. IV, 9, recto, lignes 19-20; de la même racine assyrienne nous avons: *kibru*, "fort, solide": W.A.I. I, 65, col. 1, ligne 49; *kabartuv*, "force, puissance," donné comme synonyme de *emuqu*: W.A.I. II, 43, ligne 8, *a-b*.)

Dans les variantes d'Assourn., col. 1, ligne 32,  s'échange avec l'orthographe purement phonétique  *kabtaku* (pour *kabdaku*), "je suis honoré." Les textes assyriens nous offrent, d'ailleurs, un certain nombre d'exemples de l'emploi de cet idéogramme pour exprimer le mot *kabdu*, *kabtu*, soit seul (Tigl. col. 2, ligne 93, et col. 3, ligne 85; W.A.I. II, 66, 1, ligne 2) soit avec le complément phonétique *tu* ou *ta*, suivant les cas (Assourn., col. 1, lignes 32 et 52; col. 2, lignes 68. 84, et 103).

Dans W.A.I. II, 28, ligne 63, *e-f*,  **dugud**, pris comme substantif, est traduit  *miktu* (je supplée le dernier caractère d'après S 277), pour *mikdu*, "force, solidité," de la racine אבד. arabe كد وكد. Il est suivi de  **anata subba**, traduit de même, et de  **ungal namenna**, "roi.

maître de la seigneurie," dont la version assyrienne est détruite (il n'en reste plus que . . . . *be*[*l*]).

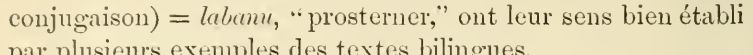
Le composé le plus habituel et le plus important dans lequel entre le mot **dugud** est **imi-dugud**; nous venons d'en voir un exemple, avec un second dans la note 10, et il serait facile d'en citer un bon nombre d'autres. La traduction assyrienne en est toujours la même dans les documents bilingues, expression que l'on retrouve dans l'inscription de Bavian (ligne 44); y est certainement un idéogramme à lire *sâri*, "les vents," *zunni*, "les pluies," ou *râmi*, "les tonnerres," et plutôt *sâri*; quant à *bari*, c'est le pluriel de l'adjectif *baru*, "brûlant," de la racine בער. s'emploie aussi comme expression idéographique dans les inscriptions assyriennes (Norris, A. D., p. 781). La traduction "orage" est imposée par ce fait que l'on ne désigne pas seulement ainsi la tempête qui éclate et fait rage (Senn. Bell., ligne 29; Senn. Tayl., col. 2, ligne 11), mais aussi le nuage noir qui recèle l'orage dans ses flancs (Senn. Tayl., col. 5, ligne 45, et col. 6, ligne 68).

(25). W.A.I. II, 27, lignes 8-11, *e-f*, réunit comme il suit un groupe d'équivalents accadiens pour les diverses acceptions de לבן en assyrien.

gal	=	labanu	("prosterner")
ka sugal	=	labanu appi	("prosterner la face")
du	=	labanu libitti	("mouler des briques")
śâ - tik	=	labanu kisadi	("lèpre blanche de la tête")

gal et **sugal** (verbe composé appartenant à la catégorie de ceux qui opèrent une tenèse entre leurs éléments pour la conjugaison) = *labanu*, "prosterner," ont leur sens bien établi par plusieurs exemples des textes bilingues.

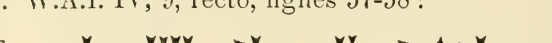
1°. W.A.I. IV, 9, recto, lignes 57-58 :



Accad.— **nun-galene** **ka**

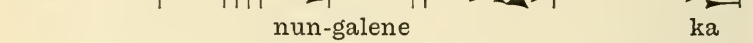
Les Seigneurs grands *la face*

(*Les Archanges célestes*)



subarangalline

la prosternent ensemble

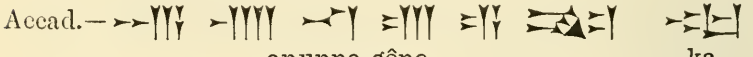


Assyr.— Igigi appa ilabbinu

Les Archanges célestes *le nez* *prosternent.*

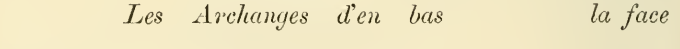
(Sur les *Igigi* ou *Igaga* et leur désignation par l'orthographe idéographique que nous avons ici, voy. Gazette archéologique, 1877, p. 32.)

2°. W.A.I. IV, 30, 1, verso, lignes 7-10 :



Accad.— **anunna-gêne** **ka**

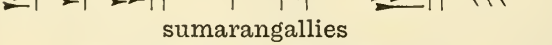
Les Archanges d'en bas *la face*



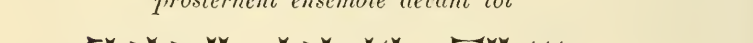
var.

sumarangallies **ka**

prosternent ensemble devant toi



sumaranmallies



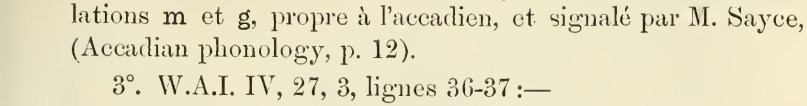
Assyr.— anunna irṣiti appa ilabbinuka

Les Archanges terrestres *le nez* *prosternent devant toi.*

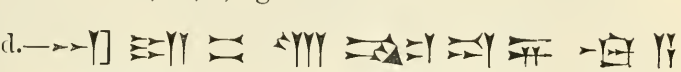
(**Sumarangallies** et **sumaranmallies** paraissent être des formes de verbes **gal** et **mal**, variantes de celle que j'ai numérotée 7ᵉ, et qui, dans son type le plus habituel, donnerait

samurangallies et **samuranmallies.** Nous avons ici un exemple très bien caractérise du singulier échange des articulations **m** et **g**, propre à l'accadien, et signalé par M. Sayce, (Accadian phonology, p. 12).

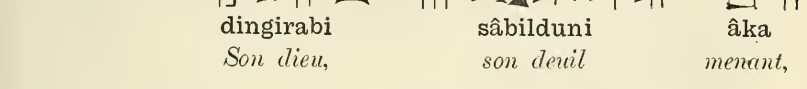
3°. W.A.I. IV, 27, 3, lignes 36-37 :—



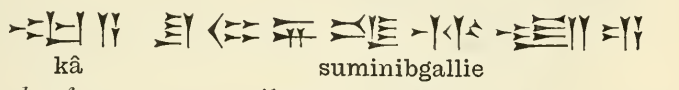
Accad.— **dingirabi** *Son dieu,* **sâbilduni** *son deuil* **âka** *menant,*



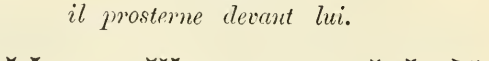
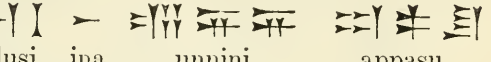
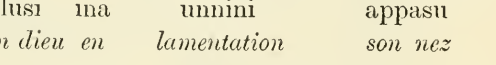
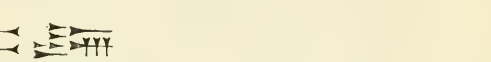
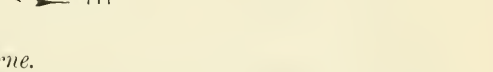
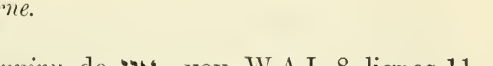
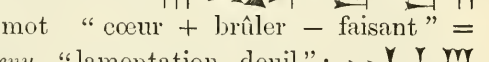
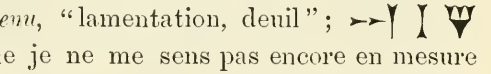
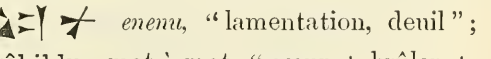
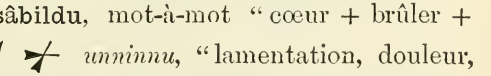
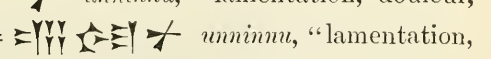
kâ *la face* **suminibgallie** *il prosterne devant lui.*

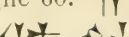


Assyr.— ana *Devant* ilusi *son dieu* ina *en* unnini *lamentation* appasu *son nez*

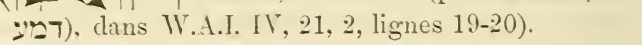


ilabbin *il prosterne.*

(Sur **sâbildu** = *unninu*, de אנן, voy. W.A.I. 8, lignes 11-16, *c-d*; Lt. 16, C, lignes 12-16 :  **sâbil alâka,** mot-à-mot " cœur + brûler — faisant " =  *enenu*, "lamentation, deuil";  **an-sû-gar,** groupe que je ne me sens pas encore en mesure d'analyser =  *enenu*, "lamentation, deuil";  **sâbildu,** mot-à-mot " cœur + brûler + allant " =  *unninnu*, "lamentation, douleur, deuil"; **ir** =  *unninnu*, "lamentation, douleur, deuil";  **ir - mâmal,** mot-à-mot, "en pleurs-étant " =  *unninnu.* La lecture **ir** du complexe  , comme radical verbal "pleures, se lamenter," est fournie par la glose de W.A.I. II, 21, ligne 38, *c*, et confirmée par la forme de prolongation en **ra,**  **irra,** que nous trouvons dans W.A.I. IV, 10

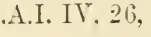
recto, ligne 60. ir, pris substantivement, est encore traduit  *dimtav*, "larme" (pour *dimetav*, de la racine דמע), dans W.A.I. IV, 21, 2, lignes 19-20).

4°. W.A.I. IV, 26, 8, lignes 64-65 :

Accad.— 

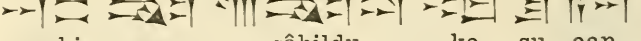
anabi ne sâbildu ka su aan

(*Devant*) *dieux siens les en deuil la face aussi*



mingal

il leur a prosterné

Assyr.— 

ana ilisu ina unnini appa

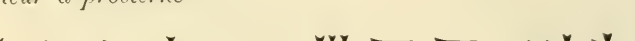
Devant ses dieux en lamentation le nez

ilabin

il a prosterné.

(**Su aan mingal** nous montre. non seulement les préfixes de la conjugaison, mais la particule **aan**, s'intercalant entre les deux éléments du composé soumis à la tmèse, **su-gal**).

Je retrouve ce verbe לבן, correspondant à l'arabe لبن, et cette fois avec un sens encore plus énergique, celui d' "abattre, renverser," dans Syllab. A, 147 :

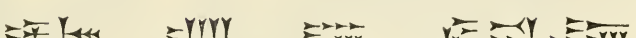


uku labnu.

On a universellement entendu jusqu'ici dans ce passage l'assyrien *labnu* comme synonyme de *libnu*, *libnat*, *libittu*, "la brique" (hébr. לבנה), l'un des mots les mieux connus et les plus souvent employés du vocabulaire assyrien. Mais l'unique exemple où je trouve ce groupe complexe employé me paraît démentir une telle traduction et en fournir une toute différente. C'est dans un document augural (W.A.I. III, 65, 1, recto, ligne 5) :

enuva nestu talid va uznisu

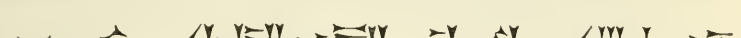
Voici que une femme enfante et ses oreilles (de l'enfant)



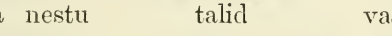
ṣiḫri bit nis illabin

(*sont*) *petites à la maison de l'homme* ..... (?)

M. Oppert a traduit "la maison de l'homme sera bâtie en briques." Mais ce n'est vraiment pas un sens acceptable. À la ligne précédent nous lisons :



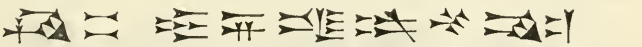
enuva nestu talid va uznu imnusu ṣiḫru



bit nis isappiḫ

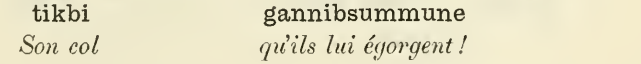
"voici qu'une femme enfante, et que son oreille droite (de l'enfant) est petite, la maison de l'homme tombera en ruines." Il s'agit évidemment dans l'autre pronostic d'un malheur du même genre, aggravé encore par cette circonstance, que les deux oreilles, au lieu d'une seule, sont petites. Je traduis donc "la maison de l'homme sera abattue."

(26.) J'ai longtemps hésité à admettre la traduction de l'accadien **tik**, et de son correspondant assyrien *kisadu*, *kisad*, par "col," proposée d'abord par G. Smith. Mais elle ne me paraît plus contestable en présence de la phrase suivante de W.A.I. IV, 16, 1, ligne 68 :

Accad.— 

tikbi **gannibsummune**

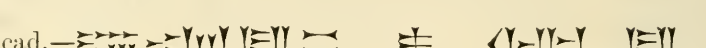
Son col *qu'ils lui égorgent !*

Assyr.— 

kisadśu liṭbuḫusu

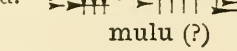
Son col *qu'ils lui égorgent !*

Je traduis et je restitue le verbe manquant dans la version assyrienne d'après W.A.I. IV, 7, col. 1, lignes 9–10 :

Accad.— 

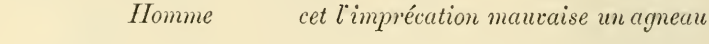
mulu (?) **bi** **as** **χul** **udu**

Homme *cet* *l'imprécation* *mauvaise* *un agneau*



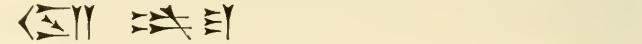
dim **summa**

comme *égorge.*

Assyr.— 

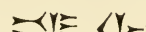
amelu suatuv arrat limnutiv

Homme *cet* *l'imprécation* *de malice*



kima immeri iṭbuḫsu

comme *un agneau* *l'égorge.*

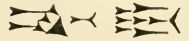
Au reste, dans le morceau de la descente d'Istar aux enfers, quand on dépouille la déesse de ses parures, ou quand on les lui restitue, son *kisad*, orné de pierres rouges,  *erimmati* (W.A.I. IV, 31, recto, lignes 48–49, et verso, ligne 43), c'est-à-dire d'un collier en grains de cornaline comme on en a trouvé un si grand nombre à Khorsabad, est mentionné immédiatement après sa tête, *qaqqadu*, et ses oreilles, *uznâ*, et avant sa poitrine, *irtu*, ce qui impose d'y voir le cou. Il en est de même de l'énumération des parties du corps dans W.A.I. II, 44, lignes 14–18, laquelle procède de la manière suivante :

qaqqadu

La tête.

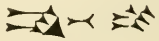
kisadu

Le col.



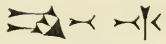
pat

Les boucles tombant sur les deux épaules.



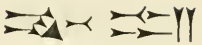
irtu

La poitrine.



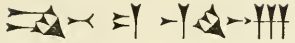
ṣilû

Le flanc.



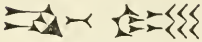
śunu

Le fondement.



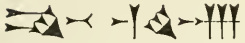
. . . . . .

La colonne vertébrale.



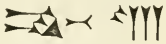
eṣin ṣiru

La voûte de la poitrine
(formée par les côtes)



zunbu

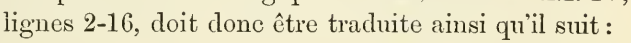
La queue.



libbu

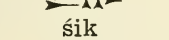
Le cœur.

La prescription du rite magique curatif, dans W.A.I. IV, 3, col. 2, lignes 2-16, doit donc être traduite ainsi qu'il suit :

Accad.— 

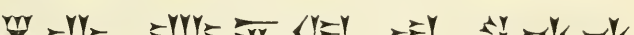
śik **ṣugar** **nita$_{\chi}$** **nuzu'**

Le poil *d'une chamelle* *le mâle ne connaissant pas*



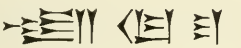
suumeti

que tu prennes.

Assyr.— 

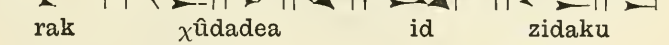
sarad uniki la ṣabtiti

Le poil *d'une chamelle* *non* *accouplée*



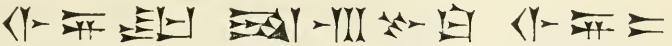
liki va

prends *et*

Accad.— 

rak **χûdadea** **id** **zidaku**

la devineresse *à droite*



umenisar **id** **gubbuku** **umenitab**

qu'elle se place, *à gauche* *qu'elle dispose.*

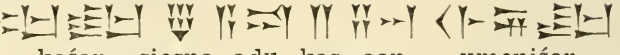
Assyr.—

zinnistu paristu imna litśib

La femme devineresse à droite qu'elle s'assege

va sumela liṣib

et à gauche qu'elle dispose.

Accad.— 

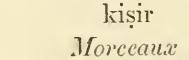
kaśar siesna adu kas aan umeniśar

Morceaux sept fois deux aussi que tu divises

Assyr.—

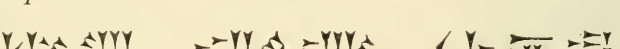
kiṣir śibit adi sina

Morceaux sept fois deux



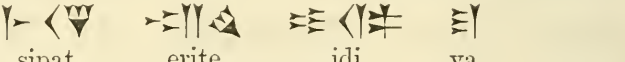
kuṣur va

coupe et

Accad.— 

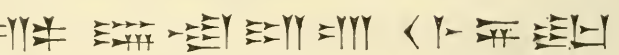
namru eriḍega umenisî

la grâce d'enchantement celle d'Eridhou que tu présentes,

Assyr.— 

sipat eriṭe idi va

l'enchantement d'Eridhou présente et

Accad.— 

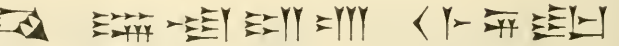
śak D.P. turage umeniχir

la tête du malade que tu lies autour,

Assyr.—

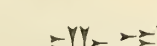
qaqqad marṣi ruśu va

la tête du malade lie autour et

Accad.— 

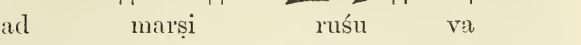
tik (D.P.) turage umeniχir

Le col du malade que tu lies autour.

Assyr.— 

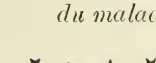
kisad marṣi ruśu va

Le col du malade lie autour et

Accad.— 

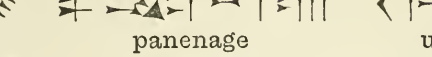
zi **panenage** **umeni$_{\chi}$ir**

le souffle de ses poumons que tu lies autour.

Assyr.— 

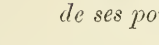
napistisu ruśu va

(Le siège de) son souffle lie autour et

Accad.— 

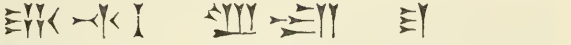
(D.P.) qat - arikbi **umeni$_{\chi}$ir**

ses mains et ses pieds que tu lies,

Assyr.— 

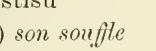
mesritisu śunqis va

ses membres lie-lui et

Accad.— 

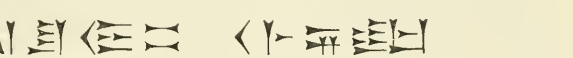
(D.P.) guddanage **umeninigine**

sur son lit que tu (l')asseoies,

Assyr.— 

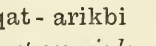
irsasu lisib va

sur son lit qu'il s'asseoie et

Accad.— 

a **namru** **mu$_{\chi}$na** **umenisî**

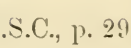
l'eau de l'enchantement sur lui que tu présentes.

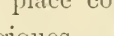
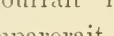
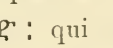
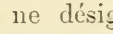
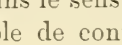
Assyr.— 

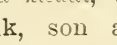
me sipti elisu idi

les eaux enchantées sur lui présente.

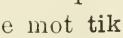
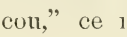
(**Suumeti**, optatif de la 4e voix de **ti**, formé d'une manière assez insolite. *Uniqu, uniki* étant ici pour *uniqi*, est l'araméen אזקא, l'arabe ناقة, plur. نوق et انيق. Sur l'expression

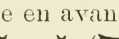
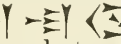
λûdadea, voy. E.S.C., p. 293. La lecture *zinnistu* est assurée par la variante, écrite  *zinistur*, dans W.A.I. II, 32, ligne 20, *c*; elle donne une racine זנש, absolument inconnue ailleurs, et d'une physionomie bien étrange au point de vue sémitique. *Sipat*, "l'enchantement, la vertu d'enchantement," appartient à la racine אשף; c'est le même mot que le *siptu* qui traduit dans Syllab. A, 43, l'ideogramme , accad. **en**, placé comme titre en tête de toutes les incantations magiques. Je ne vois d'analogies dans les autres idiomes semitiques, pour le verbe à signification certaine, dont *rušu* est l'impératif du kal, que l'arabe رسا; cependant on pourrait rattacher cette forme à un verbe ארס, que l'on comparerait à ارز).

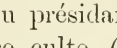
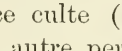
Le ghez ክሳድ : qui est le correspondant exact de l'assyrien *kisadu*, ne désigne pas seulement le cou, mais s'emploie aussi dans le sens de "vertex, occiput." Il ne me paraît pas possible de contester qu'il en ait été de même de *kisadu*, et surtout de l'accadien **tik**. En effet, c'est une maladie de la tête bien plutôt que du cou que notre **sâ-tik** = *labanu sa kisadi*, qui est concomitant avec la folie. Surtout pour **tik**, son application à la tête n'est pas douteuse quand nous voyons (W.A.I. II, 26, ligne 5, *a-b*)  **tik-gal** donné comme synonyme de **śak-gal**, ou bien (W.A.I. II, 26, ligne 57, *c-d*) **tik-gis** comme synonyme  **śak-gis**, les uns et les autres étant traduits  *saqû sa risi* et  *nasû sa resi*, "l'acte d'élever la tête." Dans  , interprété de même (W.A.I. II, 26, ligne 58, *c-d*; 30, ligne 4, *a-b*), nous avons une application pareille du signe initial, sinon du radical **tik**, puisque ce complexe idéographique ne se lisait par **tik-zi**, mais par un mot particulier, **muśub**. (Syllab. F. 6.)

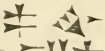
Appliqué à une partie de la tête, **tik** est devenu, dans cette acception particulière une désignation du "front,"  *maḫru* (W.A.I. II, 36, ligne 66, *e-f*). Il devait en

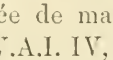
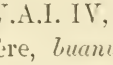
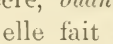
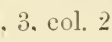
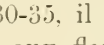
être ainsi avec la signification fondamentale du radical **tik**, "ce qui est en avant, par devant, en face," signification bien nettement déterminée, entre autres preuves, par le composé **ru-tik**, sur lequel voy. Fredr. Delitzsch, A.S., p. 121. Aussi, si ce mot **tik** a pris comme sens le plus habituel celui de "cou," ce n'est pas d'après la position verticale du cou de l'homme, mais d'après celle du cou des animaux, qui se dirige en avant.

(27). Le dieu  *Laban*, un des personnages secondaires adorés dans le temple d'Anou et de Bin à Assour était peut-être un dieu présidant à cette maladie. Il est, en effet, associé dans ce culte (W.A.I. III, 66, recto, col. 2, lignes 6 et 7) à un autre personnage du même caractère,  *Isuv mutalliku*, "Isuv l'errant," celui qui court devant *Dibbara*, le dieu des épidémies dans le beau mythe qu'a fait connaître le regretté G. Smith (Chaldæan Account of Genesis, p. 123 et suiv.). Je lis le nom ce de dernier personnage *Isuv*, et non *Itak*, car W.A.I. II, 18, ligne 47, *a-b*, établit que son appellation est sémitique, et non accadienne, correspondant à un nom accadien , dont la lecture est encore douteuse entre **pa-śagga**, **lu-śagga** et **nuzku-śagga**; il me paraît une personnification du feu brûlant (hébr. אש) de la maladie.

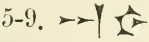
Cependant on pourrait voir aussi avec une certaine vraisemblance, dans le Laban adoré à Assour (Kalah-Scherghât), le "Dieu des briques," dont il est question dans Sarg., Barils, ligne 50:   *ana Laban* (?) *bel usse libitte u Nergal ablu sa Bel lu akki*, "à Laban (?), seigneur des fondations en briques, et à Nergal, fils de Bel, j'ai sacrifié."

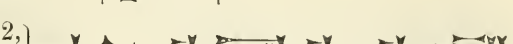
(28). Dans E.S.C., p. 84, j'ai déjà parlé de l'affection appelée  **śaggig** =  *murus qaqqadi*, "la maladie de la tête"; c'était, aux yeux des Chaldéens, une des plus graves de toutes; il y avait un recueil spécial des incantations destinées à la guérir, et la clause finale de la tablette W.A.I. IV, 3 et 4, dit qu'elle était

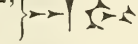
la neuvième de ce recueil. Dans une critique consacrée à mon livre (Literarisches Centralblatt, 10 Mars, 1877, p. 346), M. Friedrich Delitzsch a établi, ce que je n'avais pas su reconnaître, que  *ṭi-u*, qui rend un assez grand nombre de fois *śaggig*, est le nom de la "folie," טירה. Cette excellente observation nous éclaire sur le caractère prédominant de la "maladie de la tête," et nous fait comprendre comment elle est représentée comme un châtiment des dieux pour avoir désobéi à leurs volontés et avoir manqué à leur service (voy. la première incantation de W.A.I. IV, 3). Mais la folie dont nous parlent les formules magiques d'Accad n'est jamais simple, elle est toujours accompagnée de maux extérieurs, d'ulcération du front, comme dans W.A.I. IV, 3, col. 2, lignes 29-30, et 22, 1, de tumeur ou d'ulcère, *buanu*, comme dans W.A.I. IV, 3, col. 1, lignes 7-8; elle fait autour de la tête comme une couronne (W.A.I. IV, 3, col. 2, lignes 31-32); dans W.A.I. IV, 22, 1, recto, lignes 30-35, il est même question d'accidents graves à la poitrine, aux flancs et au cœur, qui en sont la conséquence et qui viennent la compliquer.

Dans la même critique, M. Friedrich Delitzsch a eu également raison de remarquer que *śimmu* n'est pas, comme je l'avais admis (E.S.C., p. 83) avec plusieurs savants de l'école anglaise, un équivalent normal de l'accadien gig et ne signifie pas "maladie pestilentielle." Si dans W.A.I. IV, 29, 4, lignes 43-34, on trouve  gigga =  *śimma*, c'est le résultat d'une véritable faute du scribe assyrien, qui a omis la première partie du mot accadien; celui-ci devait être, en effet, à cet endroit, comme dans les autres parties du même document,  kagig, faisant à l'état de prolongation kagigga. C'est un composé ka-gig, mot-à-mot "la maladie de la face," et l'équivalence de l'assyrien *śimmu*, montre qu'il s'agit de la "cécité," aram. סמיא. On ne peut en douter quand on voit qu'il est question aux lignes 40-41 de "l'œil de l'aveugle,"  si kagigga =  *in śimme*, et à la ligne 35 de "l'œil malade," si gigga.

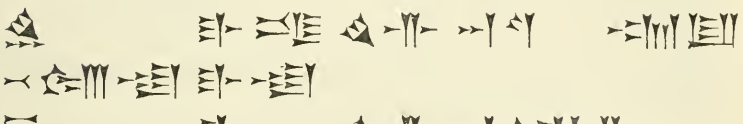
Au reste, à coté de *śimmu* "cécité," l'assyrien posséde aussi le mot homophone, mais bien distinct, orthographié de même, *śimmu*, "poison," correspondant à l'arabe ﺳﻢ, "empoisonner." On en a un exemple certain dans une imprécation que nous voyons se reproduire avec quelques légères variantes et d'intéressantes modifications orthographiques sur trois monuments différents :

Mich. col. 4, lignes 5-9. 

W.A.I. III, 41, col. 2, lignes 29-31. 

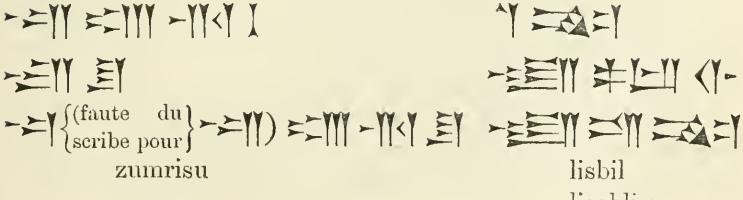
W.A.I. III, 43, col. 4, lignes 15-18. 

gula *Goula,* ummu *mère* gallatu *grande,*

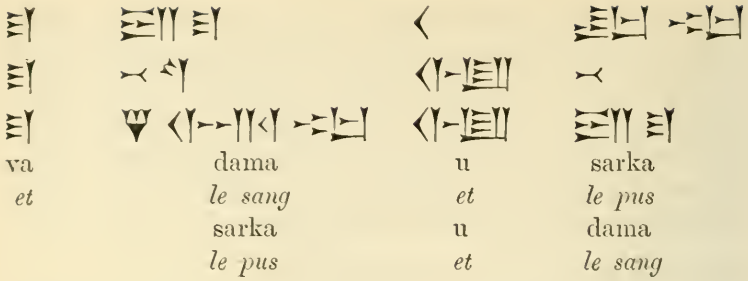


beltu *dame* rabitu *grande,* ḫirat *épouse* samsi *du soleil* adari *de Adar,* sûti *de midi,*

śimma *un poison* la *sans* azza *remède* ina *dans*



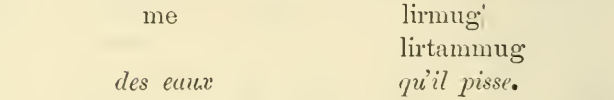
(faute du scribe pour) zumrisu *son corps* lisbil lisabliv *qu'elle fasse couler.*



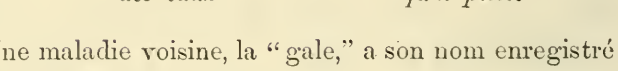
va	dama	u	sarka
et	*le sang*	*et*	*le pus*
	sarka	u	dama
	le pus	*et*	*le sang*

kî	me	lirmug'
kima		lirtammug
comme	*des eaux*	*qu'il pisse.*

(29). Une maladie voisine, la "gale," a son nom enregistré dans W.A.I. II, 44, lignes 13-14. *c-d :*



gig-χab = garabu.



gig-χab = busânu.

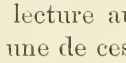
Le composé gig-χab veut dire proprement "la maladie maligne." L'assyrien *garabu* est identique au nom de la gale en hébreu, גרב ; quant au synonyme *busânu*, c'est une autre désignation de la même maladie d'après sa puanteur, באש.

(30). C'est une glose de W.A.I. II, 32, ligne 58, *a*, qui donne la lecture ku pour l'idéogramme de "manger," , que traduit toujours l'assyrien *akalu*, אכל (cf. la variante dans Assourn., col. 1, ligne 53). Sur la formation de ce caractère, voy. E.A.I, 1, p. 45 ; L.P.C., p. 10.

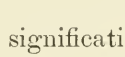
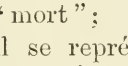
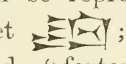
Un k de l'accadien correspond quelquefois à un *ś* ou *s* des langues ongro-finnoises ou turques (ex. taq, "pierre," turc or. تاش, osm. طاش ; tik, "ce qui est en avant, en face, cou, front," turc or. توش, "vis-à-vis, ce qui est en face,

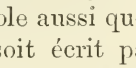
poitrine," yakoute *tyz*, "ce qui est devant"). Je compare donc **ku** "manger," à une série de mots qui ont le même sens :

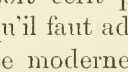
Fin. *sjö-n.* Veys. *sö-n.* Vot. *sö-n.* Esth. *sö-n.* Liv. *sö-ä-d*, *süö-d.* Zyr. *śjuj-a.* Vot. *siv.* Perm. *śoj-ni.* Mordo. *sev-en.* Ost. *tev-em*, *t'iv-em.* Vog. *te-m*, *teχ-em.* Mag. *en-ni* (*ev-ni*). Turc. يمك. Tchouv. *śe.* Yak. *si.* Mandch. *jé.*

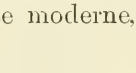
(31). M. Oppert a traduit "la phthisie du poumon," en pensant à l'arabe رِئَة, mais  ne saurait avoir le sens de "poumon."

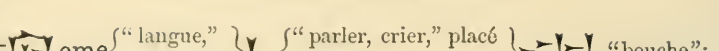
Il importe, du reste, de distinguer les acceptions de cet idéogramme et du radical **bat**; bien que le radical de la langue serve dans beaucoup de cas de lecture au caractère, celui-ci ne représente le mot que dans une de ces acceptions et est certainement aussi, dans certaines occasions, susceptible d'une lecture différente.

Le radical **bat** a d'abord pour signification verbale "mourir," puis comme substantif "mort"; dans cette acception fondamentale et première il se représente indifféremment par les deux signes et  ; ce dernier idéogramme est celui qui, dans le sens de "forteresse," se lit encore **bat** en accadien et *dûru* en assyrien (Syllab. A, 351). Dans quelques rares exemples il semble aussi que **bat**, avec le sens de "mourir" et de "mort," soit écrit par  ; mais dans ce cas il paraît bien positif qu'il faut admettre une faute du scribe assyrien ou du copiste moderne, et que la vraie leçon est  .

En réalité ne représente le mot **bat**, que dans le sens secondaire et dérivé de "poison, venin" (qu'il prend comme désignant une chose funeste et qui tue), acception dans laquelle il a comme traduction assyrienne *imat*, étudié plus haut, dans la note 13. Ceci s'accorde parfaitement avec la formation du caractère, qui place le signe de "mort," dans celui de "bouche,"  . L'idéogramme est un signe complexe et de formation secondaire, lequel rentre dans la même catégorie que :

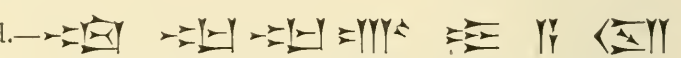
 **ku** {"manger," composé de} {"substance, aliment," placé dans} "bouche";

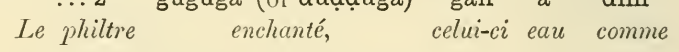
 **nak** {"boire," composé de} "eau," placé dans "bouche";

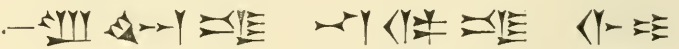


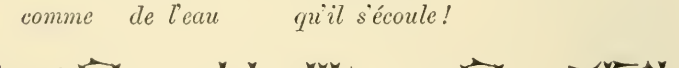
veut dire aussi "le sortilège," en assyrien *kisbu* (*kispu*), de כשף (voy. W.A.I. II, 17, ligne 64, *c-d* : .... χul =), et "le poison, le philtre magique," *ru'tuv*, de la racine רוה, "abreuver, enivrer" (dans W.A.I. II, 17, ligne 64, *c.* : .... **ria** "le philtre qui coule"). Avec ces deux acceptions il se lit par un mot accadien autre que **bat**, mot que nous ne connaissons pas encore, mais que nous savons s'être terminé par un **z**, puisqu'il forme son état de prolongation en **zu**. .

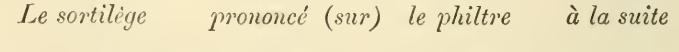
W.A.I. IV, 16, 2, lignes 55-58 :





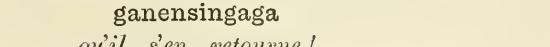






ganensingaga

qu'il s'en retourne !

Assyr.— 

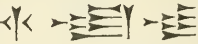
kispi sa ina ru'ti naditi

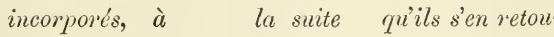
Les sortilèges qui dans le philtre puissant

bullulu ana arkati lituru

sont incorporés, à la suite qu'ils s'en retournent !

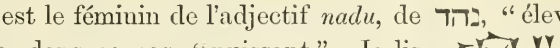
(*nadituv* est le féminin de l'adjectif *nadu*, de נהד, "élevé," et par suite, dans ce cas, "puissant." Je lis **bata,** car le signe dans cet exemple n'est pas susceptible de sa lecture terminée par **z**, puisqu'il forme son état prolongé en **a** et non en **zu.** Dans *bullulu* je reconnais la 3e pers. plur. du permansif du paël passif de בלל).

Pour un exemple du mot à l'état de prolongation traduit par  , voy. W.A.I. II, 17, ligne 64, *c-d.* En voici maintenant un de l'emploi de comme notation allophone de כשף dans un texte assyrien. W.A.I. IV, 56, verso, lignes 18-22 :



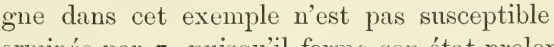
kasipu iksipanni kispi

Le charmeur m'a charmé par le charme,



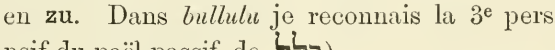
iksipanni kisipsu

m'a charmé par son charme ;



kasiptu taksipanni kispi

la charmeuse m'a charmé par le charme

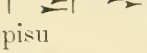


taksipanni kisipsi

m'a charmé par son charme ;

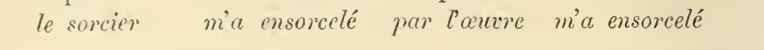
episu ibusanni ipsu ibusanni

le sorcier *m'a ensorcelé* *par l'œuvre* *m'a ensorcelé*



ebuśu

par son œuvre ;

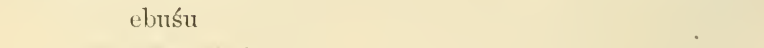


epistu tebusanni ipsu

la sorcière *m'a ensorcelé* *par l'œuvre,*

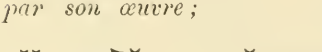
tebusanni ebuśi

m'a ensorcelé *par son œuvre ;*



mustepistu tebusanni ipsu

la magicienne *m'a ensorcelé* *par l'œuvre*

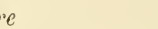


tebusanni ebuśi

m'a ensorcelé *par son œuvre.*

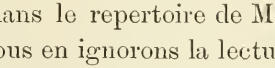
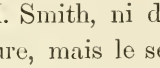
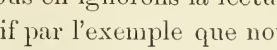
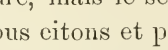
(32). *Badat*, de בדא ; *arsasû*, d'après la manière dont il régit ses attributs adjectifs et les verbes, est à ranger au nombre des substantifs qui sont féminins bien que n'ayant pas la terminaison caractéristique de ce genre.

On voit que la version assyrienne, si elle rend le sens général, ne se pique point de suivre pas à pas le texte accadien.

(33). Sur le radical dim, expliqué par "creer, former." *episu*, "faire," et *basû*, "exister," voy. Syllab. AA, 48, où j'ai imprimé à tort, dans mon édition, kim au lieu de  dim.

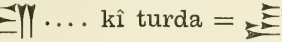
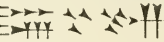
(34). *naruqu*, de רוק "cracher," que nous retrouvons en araméen.

(35). Le genre de *sallat* montre que le phrase incidente se rapporte à la phthisie, qui enchaîne les membres.

(36). W.A.I. II. 47, lignes 5-8, *a-b*, nous fait connaître, pour l'expression de la notion de "roi," un idéogramme jusqu'ici exclusivement propre aux textes accadiens, et qui n'a été compris ni dans le repertoire de M. Smith, ni dans le mien, . Nous en ignorons la lecture, mais le sens en est tout-à-fait positif par l'exemple que nous citons et par les deux suivants, empruntés à la même tablette lexicographique :  .... **kî turda** =  *sar mati sudti*, "roi d'un pays puissant" (mot-à-mot "d'un pays de puissance," de שוד).  .... **ku kinub** =  *sar ana sar yumur*, "un roi envoie (un message) à un roi."

(**Kinub**, 3e p. du 2e indicatif de la conjugaison postpositive du verbe **kin**.—"Envoyer (un message)" est l'acception la plus habituelle en assyrien de la racine אמר, qui dans les autres idiomes sémitiques signifie "dire, ordonner." De là *amiru*, "messager," Khors., ligne 31.)

(37). **Adgaga**, correspondant accadien du sémitique מלך, est un composé qui, comme verbe, opère à la conjugaison une tmèse entre ses deux éléments.

 **ad-banibgaga** =  *imtalik*, "il a tenu conseil" (l'accadien incorpore le pronom régime indirect, "il a tenu conseil avec lui"): W.A.I. IV, col. 1, lignes 57-58.

Le premier élément en est **adu** = *milku* (W.A.I. II, 31, ligne 24, *f-g*) qui s'apocope de même en élidant sa voyelle finale, dans plusieurs autres composés. Voy. un exemple de l'emploi de comme allophone de *milku* dans W.A.I. III, 60, col. 2, ligne 64. Dans d'autres cas, semble être employé comme le nom d'un animal malfaisant, par exemple dans W.A.I. III, 60, col. 2, ligne 115.

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS UPON THE SABÆAN INSCRIPTIONS AT BOMBAY.

By Dr. D. H. Müller.

Read 7th November, 1876.

Ad. II.

I recognize in the name תבי the name זבי in the inscriptions of Palmyra. agreeably to my opinion of the sound of ת (Zeitschrift d. D. M. G., xxix. p. 616–620). Arabic tradition makes this the name of two Amalekite queens. Cf. Himyar. Kaṣîde, ed. A. v. Kremer, v. 113–115, and Neshwân al-Ḥimyarî's Dictionary, Shams-al 'Ulûm I, 276, v. supra, word زبّ :

الزبب طول الشعر وكثرته ومنه اشتقاق الزبّاء الملكة بنت عمرو بن ظرب بن حسّان بن اذينة بن السميدع الملك الذى قتله يوشع بن نون وهو [غَيْر] السميدع بن هوتر بن غريب بن مازن بن لاى بن عميله بن هوتر بن عمليق بن السميدع بن الصوّار من العمالقة لاخرة ملوك الشام من العرب لا من العماليق الاولى ملوك العجم والزبّاء التى قتلت جذيمة الابرش ولبما حديث ويقال رجل ازبّ وبعير ازبّ وعام ازبّ اى خصيب كثير النبات شبه الازبّ كثير الشعر

I here remark that the bracketed غَيْر is wanting in the MS., but is necessarily required. Instead of هوتر the MS. has هوشر and هوثر ; I read هوتر, recognizing therein

the reading ותר, often occurring in the proper nouns of Himyaritic; *ex. gr.*, ותרם and הותרעתת, often in the inscriptions.

Ad. V.

Cf. generally Mordtmann, Zeitschrift d. D. M. G., xxx, p. 21-39.

Ad. VI.

Herewith I give a translation of this inscription, and some short explanations:

"Ilrâm Yaḥm .... and Shaharálî .... servants of the king's, consecrated to their patron Almaḳah the Lord .... this golden statue, out of gratitude, that Almaḳahu had shown him grace, respice his petition for Saba. Whereon Ilrâm, with the tribe of Saba and the Arabs, departed, and were met by Saadîl in *D*u-gadan[m] (alias: Saadlálab placed *D*u-gadan[m] at their head) on the day of their departure for Sirrân. And it pleased Almaḳah to prosper his servant Ilrâm with rich booty in the vicinity of the city Maraymat[m], and he divided the prisoners and the cattle (alias: the camels) wherewith he (Almaḳah) had favoured them, and Ilrâm praised the might and glory of their Lord Almaḳah ......"

Line 4. 𐩨𐩲𐩡𐩱𐩥𐩲𐩡𐩤𐩧𐩥. I do not attempt translating this. One circumstance favours Capt. Prideaux's opinion, that the singular of אועל (Arab. أَوْعَال), ועל, is found in another British Museum inscription, namely, 𐩧𐩱𐩨𐩣𐩽𐩥𐩲𐩡𐩠𐩣𐩥, "Riab," their prince. Though Levy and Prætorius (Zeitschrift d. D. M. G., xxvi, p. 425) read וולהמו, comparing it with Arab. وَالٍ, yet the stone has a very clear 𐩲, *i.e.*, ע.

Line 7. For 𐩣𐩷𐩥, cf. Æth. መጠወ፡ from 𐩠𐩱, see my observations in Zeitschrift d. D. M. G., xxix, p. 615.

Line 11. The word אסם is obscure to me.

Line 12. I read 𐩥𐩤𐩪𐩣, Arab. قسم, for 𐩥𐩲𐩪𐩣 of the inscriptions.

Line 13 is either 𐩣𐩡𐩩𐩣 (=ملاءة), or we may suppose it 𐩳𐩣𐩡𐩩𐩣, the well-known name of the camel; Arab. جَمَل, Heb. גָּמָל.

Ad. VIII, IX, X.

I generally agree with Capt. Prideaux's rendering of these three inscriptions. They are fragments of an inscription, the frontier limit of two neighbouring palm plantations, respectively the properties of Ilazz of Alw (Nakbân), and the other (Naawân) that of Abukarib, son of Basîl^m of Dar The inscription seems to indicate a common well or irrigating canal between the two plantations, the size of which, and other vicinal relations, were engraved on the stone. according to a mutual agreement.

The fragmentary character of the inscription precludes a connected result, yet some single phrases may be clearly made out. That the three fragments are parts of one, is testified by the type, the boustrophedon writing in all three, and partly the subject-matter. Coördinate them by placing IX to the right, X in the middle, and VIII to the left, reading line 1 from right to left.

Lines 1-2. 𐩿 ԿԿԿԿ||| 𐩿 ארבע אמן ושלת שוחט באמת מחצם, "Four cubits and three spans, by the masons' cubit"—a phrase of varied interest. Here we first discover that שוחט is a metral unit, whereof more than three form one cubit; probably corresponding to the Heb. זֶרֶת. We cannot doubt that the marks between the ladder-shaped brackets are cypher-repetitions of the previous literal measures, whence we safely conclude the correctness of our location of the columns. This phrase is further grammatically interesting, exhibiting for the first time the plural of אמה, and its genitive case. We cannot doubt that אמה is of fem. gender (cf. Heb., Æth.), for the masc. numeral always precedes it, *ex. gr.*, סבע וארבעהי אמה (Hal. 199, 1),

סבע עשר אמה (Hal. 199, 2), סדת אמה (Hal. 256, 2), חמס אמה (Hal. 413, 1, and 417, 2). We have here a masc. plural in ין of the fem. אמה, just as in Aramaic, a circumstance of importance, as it may be safely assumed that nouns fem. which have in many Semitic languages a masc. plural, belong to the oldest portions of the Semitic language-fund (cf. שָׁנָה and سَنَة, and their plurals שָׁנִים and سنين). But in another sense the אמה is remarkable. I have long not been able to explain the out-standing ה of this word, instead of the expected ת, fem. I am now convinced that the ה is the weakened fem. ת, which Hebrew and Arabic acquaint us with. In the genitive case the fem. ת reappears as in the Hebrew. It may be surprising to find this occurs in this single Himyaritic word, but which I explain by the mimation having generally hindered the complete reduction of ת to ה; yet here, where the ם had fallen out, for reasons to be detailed in another place,[1] and the exit-vowel (vocal) through constant use had been lost, we first perceive this phenomenon.

Line 2. דקוץ [ו]העקב אלעת אלונין. The name of אלעת אלונין reappears in line 8 of columns I and II, another proof of their correct juxta-position. The following two places will fix the meaning of קוץ: Hal. 527, 1, קניו וברג וקוץ ביתסם מהצר בהגרן ית[ל, "They took possessions, and furnished cattle and wells in their residence Mahḍar, in the city Taʾil"; also Hal. 528, 2, וברג וקוץ ואתם ביתסם, "And he furnished with cattle, with wells, and a מאתמן, their dwelling-place . . . . ." עקב, a difficult Himyaritic radix, though frequently occuring in the inscriptions, I presume for the present connecting it with the main part, as "furnished with a watch-tower"; pretty well corresponding to its other Semitic meaning.

[1] I simply remark, that the loss of the mimation in words denoting measure is in the Himyaritic of smaller and less sure exceptions. Cf. שוחט above, and Hal. 352, 4; סדתי שוחט באמת מהצם, "with the stonecutter's cubit." מהץ is the Himyaritic stonecutter. מהץ בלקם (Hal. 674–678); Hal. 199, 6, ומסקית מהץ דנגד, "and the drinking-troughs which *Du*-Gund has *cut* out"; Hal. 192, 15; Hal. 453, 4. The entire passage resembles the Heb. אמת הבנין, our "builders' cubit."

These remarks will apply to line 4, בחג קיצ . ו ועקבנהו ואותנ, "For that they had furnished with wells, watch-houses, and erected boundary-idols between the two palm-plantations, Naḳbân and Naawân."

Lines 8-9. העדן אותנ אלי בין נהלנהן נעון ונקבן כל עפרם ואיכם, ... "that these (الى) boundary-idols may keep off (Heb. עדה, Aram. עדא, Arab. عد) between the two plantations Naawân and Naḳbân every 'ifar and arak shrub (strauch)."

[These additions and notes refer to a paper by Colonel Prideaux, which will be published in the next Part.—W. H. R.]

NOTES ON CERTAIN CYPRIOTE INSCRIPTIONS.

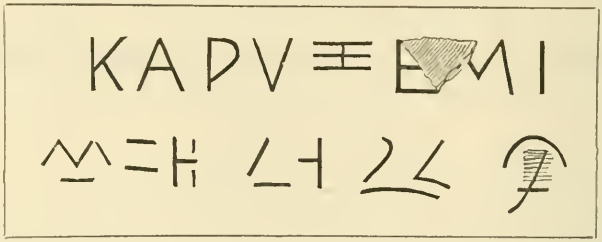
By Isaac H. Hall.

Read 6th November, 1877.

Shortly after publishing (Jour. Amer. Or. Soc., vol. x, 1875) the Cypriote Inscriptions of the Cesnola collection in New York, I visited London, and by the kindness of Dr. Birch was permitted to examine the inscriptions in the British Museum. A few days thereafter I saw at leisure those in the Louvre at Paris, though only through the glass; and, by the courtesy of the gentlemen in charge, was allowed to thoroughly examine those of the De Luynes' collection in the Cabinet des Medailles et Inscriptions, including the coins. I next saw the reputed Cypriote inscription on the Tabula Isiaca at Turin (about whose genuineness I entertain doubts), and then proceeded to Cyprus, where I saw the inscriptions then in possession of General di Cesnola and M. D. Pierides. Since then, in May, 1876, I saw the additional inscriptions collected by Cesnola before leaving Cyprus, as well as other rock inscriptions *in situ*. In thus seeing all the important inscriptions, and, indeed, nearly all that are known, I learned many things with regard to the Cypriote writing which were not to be known from the published copies, and which cannot be reproduced in paper casts. The object of this paper is to correct a few mistakes in the published copies, some of which have misled the decipherers. I trust, however, that I shall not be understood as underrating the labours of any one, for I fully appreciate the difficulty of obtaining correct copies.

I. The Bilingual in the Louvre, De Vogüé, Mel., pl. iii, 1, and thence copied in the various publications.—The Cypriote

portion, same as the Greek, reads *ka . ru . xe . e . mi* (in place of *xe*, read *she*, with Ahrens, if preferred). In the copies, the character for *ka* is represented as that for *ti*, but on the stone the character is a plain *ka*, 𐠀. The horizontal stroke is



Copy of the Bilingual of De Vogüé, in the Louvre at Paris.

quite distinct, the perpendicular stroke is worn almost away, and the top is an unbroken arch in one stroke. The copies omit the lower horizontal stroke, substitute an angle for the curve, and substitute a *scratch* (which is, indeed, on the stone) in place of the whole lower part of the character. Had the copies been correct, this inscription would have been an efficient aid in deciphering, instead of being, as it proved, a hindrance. Had the truth been known, it is scarcely too much to say that the article published in these Transactions, Vol. I, p. 153, would have anticipated the discoveries of Brandis, to say nothing about subsequent workers. I give a copy made by myself as accurately as I could, which shows the true state of the case.

II. The Bronze Tablet.—I thoroughly admire the accuracy of De Luynes' copy, followed by all, which is true even to the false strokes of the engraver, and to the holes and rust spots. There is, however, one minute error to be corrected, though it could not mislead. It is the omission of a division stroke between the words near the end of the third line of the first side or page. The tablet reads ·𐠊𐠊𐠊·𐠌𐠎·, and contains, we may say, three words. The copies omit the division mark, and gather all the characters into one group—thus: ·𐠊𐠊𐠌𐠎·.

III. The Bilingual in the British Museum.—I feel very

sure that the characters for *we . te . i*, *i.e.*, ϝέτει, are to be read in the worn place of the first line of the Cypriote portion, just before the characters become clearly legible. Euting (Sechs Phœn. Inschr.) represents a plain *a* or *i* certainly. I think I read also a *ko*, *i.e.*, γό, in the like portion of the second line. Like many other things on various Cypriote remains, a paper cast could never reproduce these characters. Traces of still another character, just preceding the *ko*, are visible, but I could not make them out. I could not venture to represent these characters without again seeing the stone.

The last group but one in the first line has been read in different ways. The second character in the group was read as *te* by the late lamented George Smith, and as *e* by Deecke and Siegismund; and the transliteration has been accordingly given in two different ways. One is *κατ' Ἠδαλιον*, the other *κὰ Ἐδαλιῶν*. To my vision the character is *te*, as Smith read it; but I would suggest that a better transliteration is *κα τ' Ἐδαλιων*, the *κα τ'* being the same as a reversed *τε και*, which suits the sense perfectly.

IV. The two inscriptions of the artificial grotto in solid rock at Alonia-tou-Episcopou.—I visited them in 1876, and was much surprised to find that while De Vogüé's copies (Mel., pl. iv, 5, 6) represent the true reading quite accurately, they do not so represent the strokes that compose the characters. His plates represent them as composed of *cuneiform strokes*, which is not at all the case. Each stroke is a deep, rectangular cut, cleanly made, without any ornament or addition. Indeed, the cast of a perfect stroke would be a good model of a rectangular parallelopipedon, as a geometrician would say.

These inscriptions, I may remark in this place, cannot be as legible now as when De Vogüé saw them; and furthermore, they have been defaced by some one who has attempted to take a plaster cast, and has chipped away interfering honey-combed portions of the rock, and part of the inscriptions with them. Pieces of plaster were still adhering to the rock, which had to be removed before a paper cast could be taken. This grotto deserves a new description, but that would be out of place here.

I may mention, however, that the plain extending from Alonia-tou-Episcopou to Palaio Castro is full of rock-tombs, of very different models and sizes, upon many of which are remnants of Cypriote inscriptions; but not one line, and scarcely even a character, was legible. One could only see what they had been, and that the inscriptions were of the more ancient type, and probably also, judging from what could be seen, the writing read from left to right.

I should say, before leaving these inscriptions, that an inscription in the Louvre (De Vogüé, Mel., pl. iv, 8), sometimes supposed to have a cuneiform resemblance, has really nothing of the sort. Each linear stroke is tipped with a short cross dash, like the ends of a Roman capital I. The I might as well be described as composed of two perpendicular cuneiform strokes with points meeting in the middle.

A few other inscriptions in the Louvre are not represented with perfect accuracy in the copies, but the inaccuracies do not hinder the reading, while they would hinder considerably the correct tracing of the origin of certain variant characters. Before reproduction again at this day, the originals should be consulted anew.

V. An inscription in the British Museum, not yet, so far as I know, numbered or exhibited.—This has been twice published by Moriz Schmidt, once in Die Insch. von Idal., and again in his Sammlung Kyp. Inschr., differing slightly from each other, but neither quite accurate. The key to the inscription is the division lines between the groups of characters, which Schmidt neglects. Some of the characters he also represents wrongly. For the present I leave it to others to publish an accurate plate, but the reading in Roman syllables is undoubtedly the following. The division marks are kept:—

(1). *ku . po . ro . ko . ra . ti . wo . se . | e . mi . | o . la . o .*
(2). *o . te . | o . mo . i . po . si . se . | o . na . si . ti . mo . se .*
(3). *ti . i . so . ni . ta . se . | ti . pa . se . | e . mi .*

I refrain from giving a Greek translation, as that is hardly within the purpose of this article. I would also suggest that the appearance of the stone (and I think also

the obviously certain portions of the meaning) indicates that the inscription is entire, and that nothing is to be supplied at either end—differently from Dr. Ahrens.

VI. The "Naked Archer" inscription in the British Museum.—This, it appears to me, is inadequately represented in M. Schmidt's Sammlung. Certainly my memory, drawings, and paper casts contain forms and details not shown by Schmidt. This apparently most ancient inscription, with its still unknown characters, not elsewhere occurring, deserves a most accurate publication, a work which no one who has not free access to the stone can be quite able to do.

VII. I wish finally to speak, though with reluctance, of the Cesnola inscriptions in New York, published by myself as above stated, and frequently cited or reproduced, or represented on other authority, in Schmidt's Sammlung. Nothing would be more welcome to me than the correction of an error of mine, and I am grateful for that service always; but I feel bound to state that after re-visiting the collection in New York in 1876, and comparing the originals anew with my own copies and those in Schmidt's Sammlung, I found not one case of real difference, either in the representation of a character or its transliteration into a Roman syllable, where I could conscientiously prefer the work of M. Schmidt to my own. If our differences did not involve differences of *reading*, I would remain silent, but as it is, I feel that the truth should be stated, and that with full appreciation of and profound respect for M. Schmidt's labours. I make this statement general, because it would be rather ungracious to go into particulars, but I have myself examined each particular with care and conscientiousness. I would also say that with regard to the longer inscriptions on my plate iii, I had similar copies to those on which Schmidt relies in his Sammlung, and most likely would have published them, had the stones not arrived and enabled me to publish them correctly.

Just one suggestion in his Sammlung I may here notice. The fourth character in my No. 31 (pl. viii) he suggests is *mi*, and not *u*. That certainly would make the inscription easier; but whatever the character originally was, and it is

still quite plain. *u* is the reading at present, and not *mi*. It may be that the stone-cutter is chargeable with the fault. I do not think that the stroke necessary to make the character a *mi* was ever there.

If I understand rightly the meaning of the citations on the plates of the Sammlung, there are a few mistakes which could be easily corrected in a table of errata. For instance, Taf. xvii, 16, bears a reference to my work, but the figure is not mine. But those matters are not important.

I presume, however, that M. Schmidt will be glad to have his attention called to a passage in the text of his Sammlung, where I am represented in a false light. The words are (p. 5), speaking of myself:—"Derselbe leugnet dort meine Behauptung dass in der Inschrift Verse steckten, weil Z. 4 nicht mit χαῖρε, sondern χαίρετε schliesse," &c. What I said was:—"The inscription is clearly not in hexameters (though the first part of the first line appears to be an elegiac pentameter), and the inscription ends as well as begins with χαιρετε, not χαιρε." The "Behauptung" to which I referred, occurs in Die Inschrift von Idal., &c., p. 8, where, as he says, the inscription "allem Anschein nach eine metrische, in hexametern abgefasste ist. Sie beginnt 𐏂𐏃𐏅𐏆, χαίρετε und schliesst χαῖρε."

NOTES UPON THE ASSYRIAN REPORT TABLETS, WITH TRANSLATIONS.

By Theo. G. Pinches.

Read December 4th, 1877.

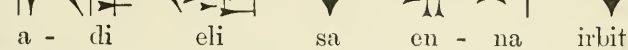
Among the mass of interesting and valuable Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, brought from Assyria by Mr. Layard and Mr. Smith, are many tablets which contain inscriptions of the highest interest, but to which, unfortunately, little attention has been paid. While Assyriologists have been attracted by the splendid and unexpected disclosures of the historical inscriptions, which describe the glorious triumphs of the kings of the mightiest nation of the ancient Eastern world, only made known to us before the discovery of the Assyrian antiquities, from the Holy Scriptures or from the Greek classical authors, the Report Tablets, which would fill out the details of the historical inscriptions, have lain almost neglected. It is now time, as most of the historical inscriptions have been translated, that some attention should be paid to those which are of less general interest. There are yet many doubtful passages to be elucidated in the historical inscriptions, which the Report Tablets, being veritable letters, or copies of letters, bringing us face to face, as it were, with the writers, enabling us to understand their thoughts, their modes of expression, their language, their manners and customs, in a word, the every-day life of the *people* of ancient Assyria, cannot fail to give us great assistance in translating and understanding. It is greatly to be wished that those difficult inscriptions, the Mythological Tablets, could be properly translated, and it is only by finding the correct reading of the easier inscriptions, that this can be done.

The Report Tablets may be divided into two classes, despatches from generals and other officers of the Assyrian army, and letters from astrologers, priests, and civil officials. Of these two classes the despatches are the more interesting and valuable. The scribes who accompanied the army were not, probably, of the really learned class, such as wrote the historical inscriptions. Besides this, the matter to be written was probably dictated to the scribe by an officer of the army, who, being an unlettered man and one of the people, spoke, thought, and acted as such; hence we have grammatical inaccuracies and peculiarities of a most interesting kind. The scribes seem to have written every word exactly as they heard it from the lips of the officer who dictated, with all his favourite expressions and idioms, a greater disregard to case in the nouns, and a greater number of iotacisms (caused probably by a careless or perhaps provincial pronunciation) than is found in the other inscriptions.

It is almost certain that the greater part of the Despatch Tablets are not the original documents, but copies; the originals having been written upon some flexible material, copied afterwards by the court scribes, and then placed in the Record Department of the royal library at Nineveh. Although it could not have been very difficult to carry furnaces, clay, &c., with the army, it must have happened very often that, from lack of dry wood or other material to make a fire, or from want of water (from which the army sometimes suffered) to soften the clay, they could not make use of the clay, which besides, when baked, was liable to be broken in transit. All this would make a flexible material, such as papyrus, preferable.

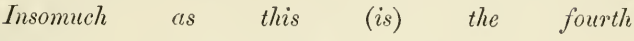
Even the most casual observer must have noticed upon the bas-reliefs in the British Museum representations of scribes—usually two, an Assyrian and an Ethiopian eunuch —registering the number of the heads of the enemy's slain, the one upon some flexible material, and the other upon something looking marvellously like a modern book, but which is probably a tablet in two columns. Clay seals have also been found with the pieces of string attached by which they were affixed to documents, but the documents are lost.

But more conclusive evidence is found in a kind of postscript written upon the side of one of these tablets, the text of which is printed in the fourth volume of the Cuneiform Inscriptions. It may be rendered as follows:—



a - di eli sa en - na irbittu

Insomuch as this (is) the fourth

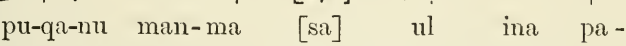


duppu-qa-nu man-ma [sa] ul ina pa - an

papyrus-scroll, any one [who] neither into the presence of

Beli ul ina pa - an sarri be' - [ili - ya

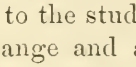
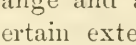
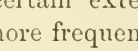
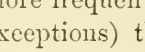
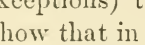
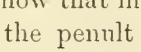
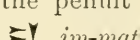
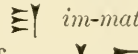
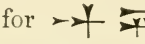
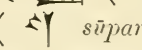
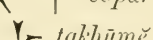
Bel nor into the presence of the king [my lord



i - ba - lu - su ilanu li - ru - ru - su].

shall bring it, may the gods curse him].

The contents of these tablets, as will be seen from the examples given below, are various and interesting. Does the king require an account of the progress of his armies? he sends a messenger, and an answer speedily returns with the details required. Does he wish to know when will be the most favourable time to commence any undertaking he may be contemplating? at his command, the royal astrologers furnish him with the necessary information. If a conquered district revolt, the king sends a letter exhorting them to be faithful. The king is informed (for it might be of consequence for him to know) that certain statues of divinities have been removed safely, and without any incident that might be taken as a bad omen; but certain persons have refused to make the usual offerings; therefore the king must be informed, that he may take measures to compel them. These and many other interesting communications are the subjects of the Report Tablets.

But these tablets give us information of far greater value than that mentioned above—namely, an insight into the language used by the people of ancient Assyria in every-day life—a thing of rare occurrence in ancient literature. The difference in language between these inscriptions and the rest of Assyrian literature lies in method of spelling, grammatical construction, and the use of words probably long discarded at Nineveh as being vulgar, but which are of extreme value to the student of philology. In all Assyrian inscriptions change and assimilation of certain consonants prevail to a certain extent; but in these inscriptions this occurs much more frequently. The accent in Assyrian was (with some exceptions) thrown upon the antepenult; but these tablets show that in some parts of Assyria the tendency was to make the penult the accented syllable. Thus for  *im-matima*, we find  *im-matimma;* for  *anni-ma*,  *annimma;* for  *sélū*,  *sēlū;* for  *súpar*,  *sūpar;* for  *taklúmĕ*, *takhūmĕ*, &c. These show that sometimes it was indicated by the doubling of a consonant; sometimes by lengthening the vowel. As an example of the philological value of these tables, we find in K 14 (see p. 240) the word  *itimali*, which is undoubtedly the Hebrew אֶתְמוֹל ("yesterday"); and examples like this could be easily multiplied. We also find in one of the tablets from a region near Babylonia (see p. 233) the demonstrative pronoun  *agā*, "that," "those." It is found also in other tablets from Babylon; and in one, a letter from Assurbanipal to the Babylonians, the form compounded with *annu* (*aganutĕ*) is found. This demonstrative was long thought to be a Persian production, then either Turanian or late Assyrian, but this shows it to be Babylonian.

In modern days anonymous books have been traced to their authors by some peculiarity either of spelling or phraseology; in like manner, if other means failed, we might, from comparison of style, trace a tablet to its writer, and

consequently be enabled to fix its date. (While one writer is very fond of using 𒁹 𒁹 *vā*, "and," "also"; 𒁹 *ma*, "that," "thus"; and 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 *ina eli*, "over to," "concerning"; another equally delights in saying, whenever he possibly can, 𒀀 𒀀 *kī*, with the various meanings of "when," "thus," "as," "while," &c., &c.; some constantly say 𒀀 𒀀 *enna*, "that," for 𒀀 𒀀 *anna*, &c., like the English pronunciation of "any.") The most casual observer, if the name of the sender were lost, could tell from the first seven lines that the tablets referring to the revolt of Belbasa, were from the same person. Taking the peculiarities of spelling to represent peculiarities of pronunciation, it shows that the language of the provinces differed in some respects from that of Nineveh, the words were pronounced and perhaps accented differently, and Akkadian and other foreign words were not used to so great an extent.

The tablet K 14 is a specimen of a Letter Tablet from one of the more learned class—a priest, evidently, from the nature of the inscription. The tenses of the verbs are quite correct, and the writer is careful, in the words *ittutsiu* and *yumalliu*, to preserve the *e* of the root, usually assimilated with the vowel *u* of the person-termination; having no character, however, to express *tse* and *le*, 𒁹 *tsi* and 𒁹 *li* are substituted. One phrase, namely, "feet to feet," is peculiar; it evidently means "walking in the same path," "with one consent."

W.A.I., Vol. IV, Pl. liv, No. 3.

This tablet is most interesting, on account of its containing summaries of some letters received by Sin-akhi-irba (who seems to have had authority over a large province of Assyria) from the governors and wardens of certain cities, and sent by him to Esarhaddon. The salutation is remarkable:

"To the king my lord, thy servant Sin-akhi-irba. May there be peace to the king my lord; peace to Assyria; peace to the temple of the world; peace to the city: 'Prosperity

of the king,' all. May the heart of the king my lord be for ever good."

It is unusual for the writer in these salutations not to make some mention of the gods, with a wish that they may be propitious to the king. In this salutation the "Temple of the World" is evidently another name for the "Mountain of the World," the name given by the Assyrians to the temple of their national god Assur in the city of Assur. The position of the city, "prosperity of the king," mentioned further on by its abbreviated name of "Prosperity" only, is quite unknown.

Then follow the summaries, all of which seem to refer to the movements of a king of Akkad who reigned at that time, but whose name is not known. The first summary is too mutilated to be given here, therefore I give the sense of it as near as possible. It contains the substance of a letter received from Daie (Dahe), the capital of which was Ukku; the province was therefore called "the country of the Ukkians." The country of the Daie had been captured, and the city sacked some years before by Sennacherib, who had also forced Maniyae, its king, to flee, and the Assyrian king had probably left an Assyrian garrison there. This summary states that the king of the Akkadians had gone, with his army, officers, &c., to complete the destruction of some city or province not named. About half of each of the next seven lines being broken away, the sense of the remainder of the message cannot be gathered very well. It finishes with a formula which is repeated at the end of every summary:—"[This is] the advice from [the Uk]kians."

The second summary is the substance of a despatch received from Assur-ritsua, general of the army operating against the Akkadians. It speaks of the submission of the Akkadians and the destruction of their king.

"Assui-ritsua sends also advice from the country of the Akkadians, that they have submitted, (concerning) which I have sent this, and a despatch thus to him that 'the force in their [the Akkadians'] midst in strength must fight, and throughout his country rest.' Also his officers he commanded and into the midst of his country he goes; and

Risanu his commander-in-chief destroyed moreover the king of the Akkadians in the midst of the country of UAZAUNSŪ; this is the advice from Assur-ritsua."

The third is an extract from a letter of the governor of Khaltsu, "the fortress," concerning an hostile expedition, its defeat, and the revenge taken:—

"Nabu-mudu, the governor of the fortress, over to me sends thus: Concerning the warden of the city of Birazate, whom, concerning the boundaries, and concerning the advice of the king of the Akkadians I had sent (also to the country of Kurir capturing they had gone, with his men (?), to as many as are soldiers, and his three officers besides), their army was slain, and the Despatch one destroyed. To his country I descended, and of his fortress I decreed: Not thou approachest. This is the advice from Nabu-mudu."

The next two items are not summaries of letters; the first is about the "brother and son" probably of the governor of the city Muzaśir, going down to seek alliance with the Akkadians. The messenger of the Khupuskians, who dwelt to the north-east of Assyria, among the mountains of Armenia, went to seek alliance as well.

"(From) the city of the Muzaśirians his brother and son for alliance with the king of the Akkadians go. The messenger of the Khupuskians for alliance with him also goes."

The second item is of importance, as it gives us the means of fixing the date of the document.

"The Warden of the city 'Prosperity' all, (by) whom concerning the boundaries advice safely to myself they had sent, (and concerning) the work of Nabu-mudu, (with) the officer of Nin-abi-sa, from the country of Tabal sent forth, unto the king my lord I have caused to bring."

In a collection of hymns in praise of Esarhaddon, W.A.I. IV, pl. 68, we find at the end of one of them the following: *sa pī D.P. Nin-abi-sa, binat al Arba-ili*, "from the mouth of Nin-abi-sa, a daughter of the city of Arbela." If this Nin-abi-sa be the same person as is mentioned in the text, it fixes the reign of Esarhaddon as the date of the tablet.

W.A.I., Vol. IV, Pl. liv, No. 2, and Pl. liii, No. 3.

In various historical inscriptions we are told of a tribe inhabiting the marshes of Babylonia, called Gambulians, whose capital city was Sapī-Bel. The chief of the Dakkuri, a Chaldean tribe inhabiting the country on the edge of the desert lands west of Babylon, had, during the last years of Sennacherib's reign, plundered the lands belonging to the Babylonians. Sennacherib having died, Esarhaddon took revenge on the Dakkurians by capturing their chief and burning him. On this occasion Bel-basa, king of the Gambulians, made submission to Esarhaddon, who received him favourably. By a treaty Esarhaddon assisted Bel-basa to fortify his capital city Sapī-Bel, Bel-basa agreeing on his part to hold this city against the Elamites, who were always hostile to Assyria.

After this it is not until about the year B.C. 650 that we again hear anything of Bel-basa, when Urtaki, king of Elam, being about to invade Babylonia, he appears as one of his allies. Early in the reign of Assurbanipal there was a famine in Elam, and, in order to escape the drought, many of the Elamite tribes emigrated to Assyria. Assurbanipal treated the fugitives kindly, allowing them to remain in Assyria until the rains recommenced in Elam, and to return in peace to their own country. Urtaki, king of Elam, forgetting the kindness with which his people had been treated during the famine, by the advice of his general, Maruduk-zakir-ibni, determined to invade Babylonia, which was then in the hands of the Assyrians. He drew over to his side Bel-basa, king of Gambulu, and Nabu-zakir-eres, governor of a part of Chaldæa, and, joining his forces with theirs, he broke into Babylonia. Assurbanipal sent an officer to Babylon to inquire if the news of the invasion were really true, and his messenger returned to inform him that the hostile forces had invaded Babylonia, that they were spread over the country like a flight of locusts, that they had established their camp at Babylon, and thence were plundering on every side. On Assurbanipal assembling his army, Urtaki and his allies fled in fear to Elam; but Assurbanipal pursuing him, came up

with and defeated him on the borders of his country. So vexed was Urtaki at this defeat, that he committed suicide within a year, and "Bel-basa of the Gambulians, who did not fear the yoke of the dominion" of Assurbanipal, "in hiding in the jungle placed his life."

Here come in the two Despatch Tablets sent by Nabu-ibassi to Assurbanipal, filling out the details considerably:—

"To the king of nations my lord, thy servant Nabu-ibassi. May Erech and Bit-anna to the king of nations my lord be propitious. Istar of Erech and Nana grant a time of health for the preservation of the life of the king my lord. From the king my lord one sent thus: 'The Khihlanu tribe thou capturest and over to the city Gambulu thou sendest.' The gods of the king my lord have known that ever since Bel-basa from the hands of the king my lord has revolted, Elam he has ravaged, and from the house of my father he has hidden, and from my presence to kill whom my brother has gone."

This shows that Bel-basa frequently came forth from his hiding place in the jungle, and ravaged Elam, then occupied by the Assyrians. This must have continued for a long time, for the fact of the goddess Nana being mentioned in the salutation, and the fact of Bel-basa ravaging Elam, show that Assurbanipal had just finished his third invasion of Elam (about B.C. 630), in which he brought back the image of the goddess Nana, carried away by a king of Elam from Erech 1,635 years before.

The next ten lines are too mutilated to be reproduced here, but they refer to measures for taking the city of Gambulu (Sapī-Bel). The tablet finishes as follows:—"May the king my lord do that according to what he has laboured for, prudently these (things) considering."

The next tablet shows that the Assyrians did not allow Bel-basa, with his son Udahgub, to remain long in his hiding place unmolested, for after the salutation invoking upon the king the blessings of the goddess Istar and Nana, which is the same as that of the former tablet, it says:—

"Udahgub, son of Bel-basa, in the upper country . . . . . from his house to the country of Elam he and his father

went forth, from Elam to Akkad they had gone, he and his father. When they had gone, all who over in Elam were wicked into Assyria then pressed on; (but as for) Bel-basa, his father, in Elam he was killed; and he in the midst of Ur, without corresponding, to my presence and to the presence of my [officer], the governor, then was brought (?) [and he gave him] into the hands of Dāru[-śarru]."

From the invasion and defeat of Urtaki therefore, Bel-basa and his son had plundered and ravaged Elam, and probably Assyria and Babylonia as well, receiving help from the Gambulians. Assurbanipal sent a portion of his army to capture Bel-basa and his son. They pursued them from Elam to Akkad, thence, it would seem, to Elam again, where Bel-basa died, and Udahgub was given up to the Assyrians.

The next twenty-seven lines are too mutilated to enable one to gather the sense properly, but it appears from what remains, that Udahgub, while in captivity, sent letters to Assurbanipal, evidently to pray for his life. But letters having been found upon him, from which it appeared that he had been fomenting rebellion, it was resolved to try him according to the laws of Assyria. The remainder of the inscription refers to the sending of the "letters of sedition" to the king, and praises the intelligence of the messenger, Dāru-śarru.

"May those letters of sedition, the amount written, to the king my lord speak. Whenever those letters which through the midst of the enemy and by the hands of Dāru-śarru we caused to bring; the king my lord the intelligence of Dāru-śarru, the . . . . . the king my lord shows. To the king my lord I send; the king, the lord, going in power."

From Assurbanipal's Annals we learn that the Assyrians, as soon as they had settled affairs in Elam after Assurbanipal's second invasion, punished the Gambulians for their revolt by completely destroying Sapī-Bel, the capital, and carrying off a vast number of prisoners and much spoil. Among the prisoners were Dananu, the new king, whom the Gambulians had elected, Samgunu his brother, and some royal Babylonian refugees.

K 14.

I now give a specimen of a letter tablet. It refers to the removal of certain statues of the god Assur and the goddess Beltis from the city of Assur to a new shrine. The reason of an account being sent to the king, is probably to assure the king that there was not the slightest flaw in the arrangements or accident of any kind. The Assyrians being a very superstitious race, the slightest accident would have been construed into a bad omen. The part of the tablet referring to this is as follows :—

"To the king my lord, thy servant Nabu-zir-lanu. May there be peace to the king my lord. May Nabu and Marduku to the king my lord be propitious. Yesterday (being) the third day, Assur and Beltis in peace went forth, (into) their dwellings they have descended. The divinities all I saw, from Assur they had gone forth; in peace, in their bands they marched" (?).

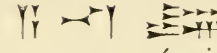
The tablet is very mutilated here, and when it again becomes perfect, the subject of the writing is an account of the refusal of certain persons, whose names are lost, to send the usual offering to the temple. The removal of the gods to the new shrine evidently had something to do with this:—

". . . . . for the king they did fill, the sum wanting they fixed. [But concerning that] of which to the king my lord I have sent this: the king my lord he has not asked (but) the sum for the month Tasrit, no wine, no jugs of barley-wine for Assur he has filled; without the master of the wine, without his assistant, without his scribe. With one consent a want they make. May the king my lord have peace."

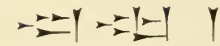
Thus I have attempted, very imperfectly, to give an idea of what might be gained from these most interesting tablets, many, many more of which still lie hidden beneath the ruins of Assyria's ancient palaces. It is almost needless to say that future excavations may bring to light tablets of this class referring to events which would interest us far more than these. It is to be hoped that some more capable pen than mine will take in hand these hitherto-neglected, but most interesting documents.

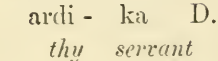
W.A.I. IV.

1.
a - na śarri be'- ili - ya
To the king my lord,

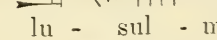
2. 
ardi - ka D.P. D.P. Sin - akhi - irba
thy servant *Sin-akhi-irba* (*Sennacherib*).

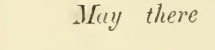
3.
lu - sul - mu a - na śarri be'- ili - ya
May there be peace to the king my lord,

4. 
sul - mu a - na mat Assuri D.S.
peace to Assyria,

5. 
sul - mu a - na Bit - mata - te
peace to the temple of the world

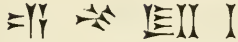
6.
sul - mu a - na ali Kas- rat - sa - śarri gab - bu
peace to the city "Prosperity of the king" all,

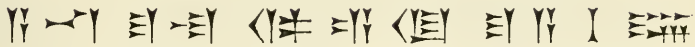
7. 
lib - bu sa śarri beli- ya a-dan-nis lu - dhub
may the heart of the king my lord for ever be good.

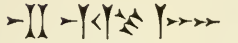
8. 
mat Uk - ka - ai ina eli - ya iś - śa -par
(*From*) *the country of the Ukkians to me one sends*

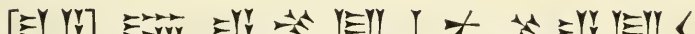
9.
ma-a śar mat Akkad - ai a - na ga - mir
that the king of the Akkadians for the completing of

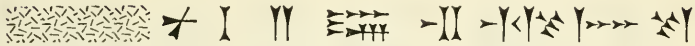
10.
kas - id il - lik - u - ni - va - a D.P.
the capturing had gone, also


E - mu - qi - su
his army,

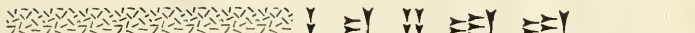
1. 
a - na ma - la di - e - ki va - a su D.P.
to as many as are fighting men, and he,


pikhati - su
his governors

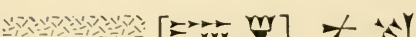
12. 
[va - a] D.P. E - mu - lu - su - nu se - e - lu - u
[and] their men (?) they caused to go up.

13. 
..... un - su sane D.P. pikha - te
.....*his*..... *two* *governors*

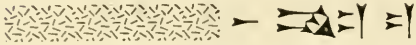
14.
..... it - tal - ka
..... *he goes to*

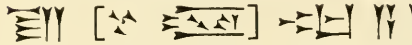
15. 
..... its - tsa - ad - ad
..... *he is turned aside*

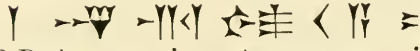
16.
..... ai il - lik - an - ni
..... *he went from me*

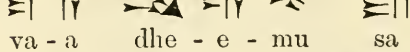
17. 
..... [D.P. sa] - nu - te sa mati - su
..... *the prefects of his country*

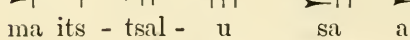
18.
..... is - sak - nu - u - ni
..... *they had been placed*

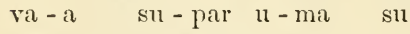
19. 
..... dhe - e - mu
[this is] the advice

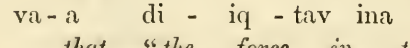
20. 
sa [mat Uk] - ka - ai
from [the Uk]kians.

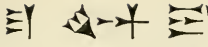
21. 
D.P. Assur - ri - tsu - u - a i - śa - ap - ra
Assur-ritsūā *sends*

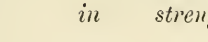
22. 
va - a dhe - e - mu sa mat Akkad - ai
also advice from the country of the Akkadians.

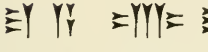
23. 
ma its - tsal - u sa as - pur an - ni
that it had submitted, (concerning) which I have sent this.

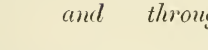
24. 
va - a su - par u - ma su - u
and a despatch thus to him

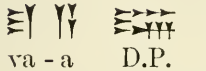
25. 
va - a di - iq - tav ina lib - bi - su - nu
that "the force in their midst,

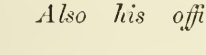
26. 
ma - h - da di - e - ka - at
in strength must fight

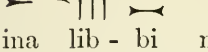
27. 
va - a sam - ma - a mat - śu ni - kha - at
and throughout his country rest."

28. 
va - a D.P. Rabuti - su ya - mu - ut
Also his officers he commanded (and)

29. 
ina lib - bi mati - su it - ta - lak
in the midst of his country he goes.

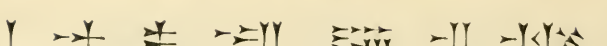
30. 
va - a D.P. Ris - a - nu D.P. Tur - ta - nu - su
And Risanu his Tartan

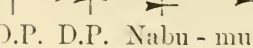
31. 
ha - bi - id - va - a śar mat Akkad - ai
destroyed also the king of the Akkadians

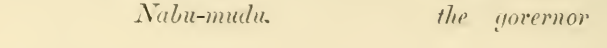
32. 
ina lib mat U - a - za - un - su - u
in the midst of the country Uaza'unsū;

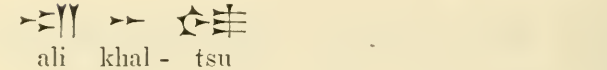
33.
an - ni - u dhe - e - mu sa D.P.
this is the advice from

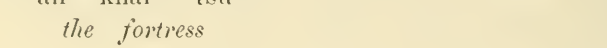
Assur - ri - tsu - u - a
Assur-ritsūa.

34. 
D.P. D.P. Nabu - mudu D.P. pikhatu sa
Nabu-mudu. *the governor of*

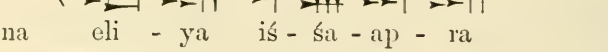

ali khal - tsu
the fortress

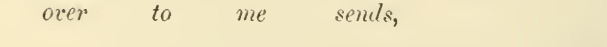
35. 
ina eli - ya iś - śa - ap - ra
over to me sends,

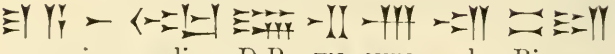
36. 
ma-a ina eli D.P. EN-NUN al Bi - ra - za-te
thus: Concerning the warden of the city of Birazate

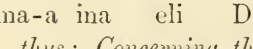
37. 
sa ina eli ta - khu - u - me ina eli
whom concerning the boundaries (and) concerning

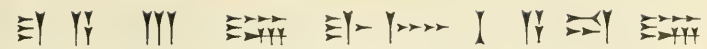
dhe - e - mu
the advice

38. 
sa śar mat Akkad - ai a - śa - ap - ra
of the king of the Akkadians I sent

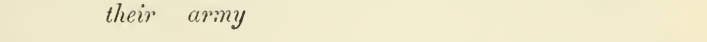
39. 
va-a mat Kur - ir kas - id il - lik - u - ni
also (to) the country of Kurir capturing they had gone,

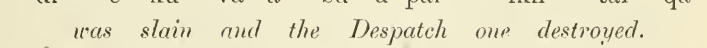
40. 
va - a D.P. E - mu - lu - e - su a - na ma - la
(*with his men* (?) *to as many*

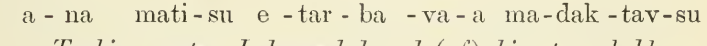

di - e - ka
as are soldiers

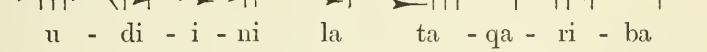
41. 
va - a salsatu D.P. rabuti -su a - du D.P.
and his three officers besides),

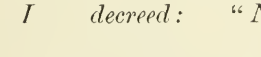
e - mu - qi -su-nu
their army

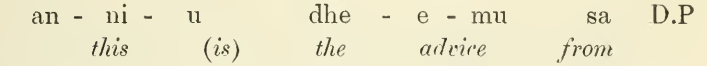
42. 
di - e -ku va - a su - u-par ikh - tal - qa
was slain and the Despatch one destroyed.

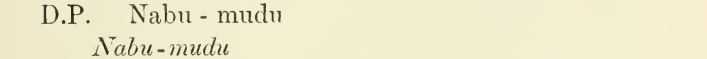
43. 
a - na mati - su e - tar - ba - va - a ma-dak - tav-su
To his country I descended and (*of*) *his stronghold*

44. 
u - di - i - ni la ta - qa - ri - ba
I decreed: "Not thou approachest";

45. 
an - ni - u dhe - e - mu sa D.P
this (*is*) *the advice from*


D.P. Nabu - mudu
Nabu-mudu

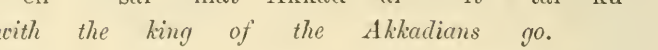
46. 
al Mu - za - śir - ai akhi - su
(*From*) *the city of the Muzaśirians his brother* (*and*)

47. 
abli - su a - na sul - me
his son for alliance

48.

ina eli śar mat Akkad - ai it - tal - ku

with the king of the Akkadians go.

49. 

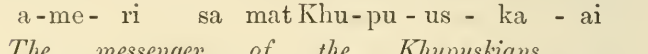
D.P. a - me - ri sa mat Khu - pu - us - ka - ai

The messenger of the Khupuskians

50.

a - na sul - me ina eli - su - va

for alliance with him also

51. 

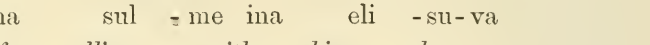
it - ta - la - ak

goes

52.

D.P. EN - NUN ali Kas - rat gab - bu

The warden of the city "Prosperity" all

53. 

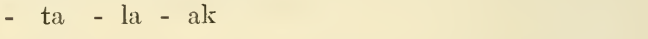
sa ina eli ta - khu - me dhe - e - mu

by whom concerning the boundaries advice

54.

a - ki an - ni - im - ma i - śa - par - u - ni

safely (to) myself they had sent (also about)

55. 

e pis tav sa D.P. D.P. Nabu - mudu

the work of Nabu-mudu;

56.

D.P. Rab - u sa D.P. Nin - abi - sa

(*with*) *the officer of Nin-abi-sa,*

57.

ultu mat Ta - bal na - tsu - u- ni

from the country of Tabal sent forth,

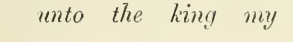
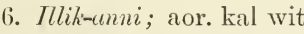
58.

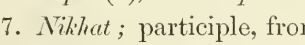
ina eli śarri beli - ya uś - śi - bi - la

unto the king my lord I have caused to bring.

Notes.

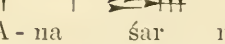
LINE.

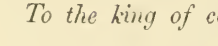
8. *Iśśapar*, for *istapar;* aor. iphteal of *saparu.*
15. *Itstsadad;* pres. niphal of *tsadadu;* Heb. צָדַד.
16. *Illik-anni;* aor. kal with pronoun suffix, from *halaku.*
21.  *D.P. Assur-ritsūā;* proper name, meaning "Assur my helper."
21. *Iśapra*, for *iśśappara*, for *istappara;* the final *a* is the augment of motion.
23. *Itstsalu;* pluperf. niphal of *tsalu'u.*
24. *Supar*(*u*), from *saparu.*
27. *Nikhat;* participle, from *na'akhu;* Heb. נוּחַ.
42. *Ikhtalqa* for *ikhtaliqa;* aor. iphteal; Heb. חָלַק.
44. *Udīni;* aor. pael, from *da'anu*, "to judge." *Taqariba*, for *taqarriba;* pres. kal of *qarabu* or *karabu;* Heb. קָרַב.
54. *Aki;* evidently "safely"; compare Bellino Cylinder, line 2,  *alik tabbut akī*, "going the path of safety"; the form in this text is written with a short *i*.[1]
57. *Natsūni;* permansive niphal of *atsu*, "to go forth."
58. *Uśśibila*, for *ustebila;* aorist istaphal of *abalu.*

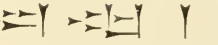
Compare also the Akkadian  *aka*, which is rendered by the Assyrian *madadu*, "to measure," and *maḥaru*, "to urge on"; in this case it would imply a well-kept road, upon which one could go speedily and safely.

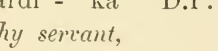
W.A.I., Vol. IV, Plate liv, No. 2.

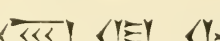
1.
A - na śar matati be`- ili - ya
To the king of countries, my lord,

2. 
ardi - ka D.P. D.P. Nabu - ibas - si
thy servant, *Nābu-ibassi.*

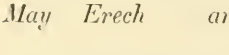
3. 
Lab - ki û Bit - An - na
May Erech and Bit-Anna

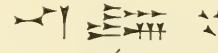
4. 
a - na śar matati be`- ili - ya lik - ru - bu
to the king of countries, my lord, be propitious.

5. 
yu - mu uś - śu D.P. Istar Lab - ki
A day of health *Istar of Erech*

6. 
û D.P. Na - na - a a - na baladh napisti
and *Nana* *for the preservation of the life*

7.
sa śarri beli - ya yu - tsal - lu sa śarri bel - a
of the king my lord, grant. *From the king my lord*

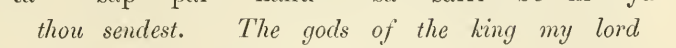
8. 
is - pu - ra um - ma D.P. Khi - h - la - a - nu
one sent thus : *The Khihlanu tribe*

9. 
tu - sa - ats - bat - va a - na eli ali Gam - bu - lu
thou capturest and over to the city Gambulu

10.

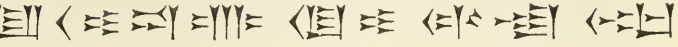
ta - sap -par ilanu sa śarri be'- ili - ya

thou sendest. The gods of the king my lord

11. 

lu - u - i - du - u ki - i ul - tu eli

have known that ever

12. 

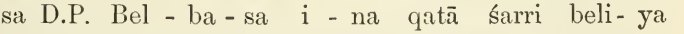
sa D.P. Bel - ba - sa i - na qatā śarri beli - ya

since Bel-basa from the hands of the king my lord

13.

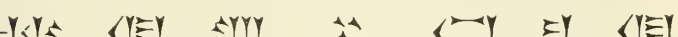
ik - ki - ru mat Elami D.S.

had revolted, Elam



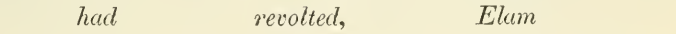
il - du - da - av - va

he has ravaged and

14. 

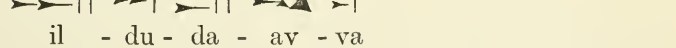
bit abi - ya ikh - bu - u û

(*from*) *the house of my father he has hidden, and*



i - na pa - ni

from my presence

15. 

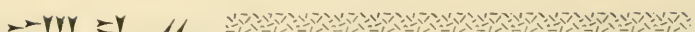
da - a - ku sa akhi - ya il - li - ku

to kill whom my brother has gone.

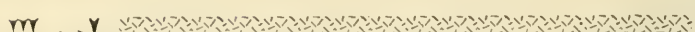
16.

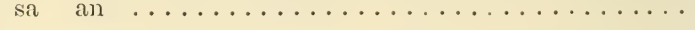
yu - mu uś - su .... su - u .....

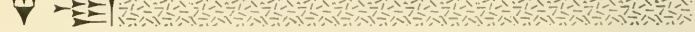
A day of health .... he .....

17. 
um -ma śar .....
thus the king .....

18.
sa an .....

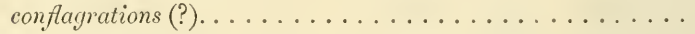
19. 
sa - tu .....
to drink .....

20. 
tuq - te e - .....
conflagrations (?) .....

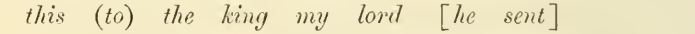
21. 
en - na - a śarri bel - a is - [pu - ra]
this (to) the king my lord [he sent]

22.
a - tal - lip û na - as - tav .....
I destroy and we have drunk .....

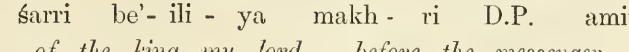
23.
sa śarri beli - ya u - sal - u .....
of the king my lord I will pray .....

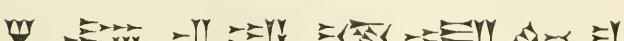
24. 
im - ma - tim - ma lib - bu - u a - ga - [a]
if at all amidst those (people)

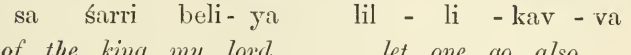
25.
mē i - na ali Gam - bu - lu
waters into the city Gambulu

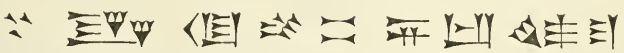
26. 
ul i - ba - lu ki - i ima pa - ni
they do not bring. While by the authority

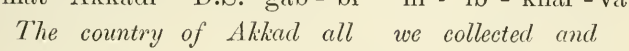
27.
śarri be'- ili - ya makh - ri D.P. amiri
of the king my lord before the messenger

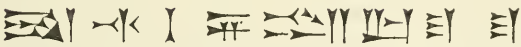
28. 
sa śarri beli - ya lil - li - kav - va
of the king my lord let one go also.

29. 
mat Akkadi D.S. gab - bi ni - ib - khar - va
The country of Akkad all we collected and

30. 
it - ti su ni - il - lik - va ma-a- ti
with him we went and (from) the country

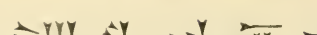
31. 
nu - tir - ra - av - va a - na śarri beli - ya
we returned and to the king my lord

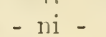
32. 
ni - id - din a - na śarri be' - ili - ya
we gave (the account); to the king my lord

33. 
al - tap - ra śarru be' - ili sa
I send. May the king, my lord, that

34.
ki - i sa i - la - h - u
according to what he has laboured for

35.
li - bu - us
do.

36. 
e - rum -tav an - ni - tu
prudently these (*things*)

37. 
uś - tal
considering (?).

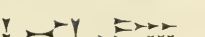
Notes.

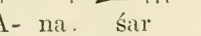
LINE

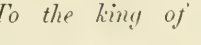
2. *Nabu-ibassi*, lit., "The god Nabu (= the prophet) is"; *ibassi* is pres. kal of *basu'u*, "to be": comp. Ethiop. *bisi*, "men."
10. *Tasappar;* 2nd pers. sing. masc. pres. of *saparu*.
11. *Lu idū; idū* is 3rd masc. plur. past tense of *idu'u*, "to know"; *lu* a verbal prefix of past time, which is generally used with the weak verbs to fix the tense; *idū*, signifying "they knew," "they know," "they will know."
13. *Ikkiru;* 3rd sing. masc. pluperf. of *nakaru; ildudavva* (for *isdudavva*), past indef. of *sadadu*, with enclitic conjunction "and."
14. *Ikhbū;* past indef. kal of *khabu'u*, "to hide."
22. *Atallip;* pres. kal of *talapu;* Heb. תָּלַף.
23. *Usalu;* future pael of sa'alu.
26. *Ibalu;* pres. kal of *abalu*, "to bring."
28. *Lillika;* 3rd masc. sing. precative kal of *halaku*, with augment of motion.
29. *Nibkhar;* 1st plur. aor. kal of *bakharu;* Heb. בָּחַר.
31. *Nutirra;* 1st plur. aor. aphel of *ta'aru*, with *r* doubled to show that the accent falls on the preceding vowel, and augment of motion.
32. *Niddin;* 1st plur. aor. kal of *nadanu*.
33. *Altapra* (for *astapira*); 1st sing. aor. iphteal of *saparu*, with augment of motion.
34. *Ilahu;* also written *ilihu* and *ila'ui;* Heb. לָאָה.
35. *Lipus;* precative kal of *episu*.
36. *Eruntav;* adverb in *ā;* Heb. עָרַם.

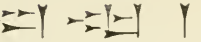
W.A.I. IV, Plate liii, No. 3.

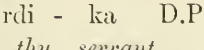
1.
A- na. śar matati be'- ili - ya
To the king of countries, my lord.

2. 
ardi - ka D.P. Nabu - ibas - si
thy servant, Nabu-ibas-si.

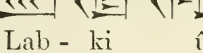
3. 
Lab - ki û Bit - An - na a - na śar
May Erech and Bit-Anna to the king

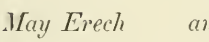

matati
of countries

4. 
be'- ili - ya lik - ru - bu yumu uś - śu
my lord, be propitious. A healthy day

5. 
Istar Lab - ki û D.P. Na - na - a
Istar of Erech and Nanâ

6.
a - na baladh napisti sa śarri be'- ili - ya
for the preservation of the life of the king my lord

7. 
yu - tsal - li D.P. Ud - ah - gub ablu sa
grant. Udahgub, son of


D.P. Bel - basa
Bel-basa

8.

ina mati eliti ul -tav
in the upper country *from (his)*

[1]

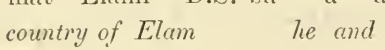
biti a - na
house *to*

9.

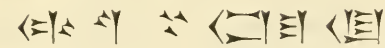
mat Elami D.S. su - u u a - bi - su yu - tsu -u
the country of Elam *he and his father went forth,*

10.

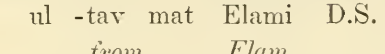
ul -tav mat Elami D.S. a - na mat Akkadi D.S.
from *Elam* *to* *Akkad*

11. 

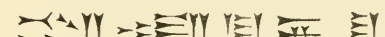
il - li - ku - ni su - u û a - bi - su
they had gone, *he* *and* *his father.*

12. 

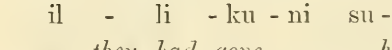
ki - i il - li - ku - ni nin sa a - na
When *they had gone* *all* *who* *over*

13. 

eli mat Assuri D.S. bi - i - su ina Lab - ki
in *Assyria* *were wicked into Erech*

14. 

ki - i ikh - khi - śu D.P. Bel - basa a - bu - su
then pressed on, (but as for) *Bel-basa* *his father*

15. 

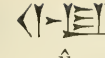
i - na mat Elami D.S. mi - i - tu
in *Elam* *he was killed;*

Prof. Sayce conjectures "In the country of Anu and Sin-atā and Ultav-bit."

16.

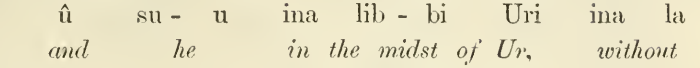
û su - u ina lib - bi Uri ina la

and he in the midst of Ur, without



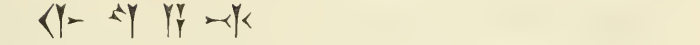
si - par - e - ti

corresponding

17. 

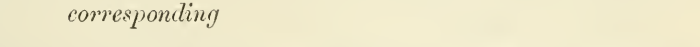
a - na pa - ni - ya û a - na pa - ni .... a

to my presence and to the presence of my [officer (?)]

18. 

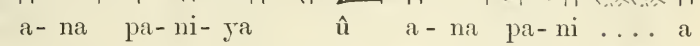
D.P. pikhatu ki - i is - sa - h - .....

the governor, then was brought (?), [and]

19. 

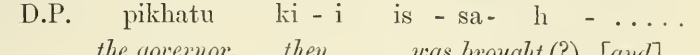
..... - h ina qata D.P. Da - a - ru - [śarru]

[he gave (?)] (him) into the hands of Dāru-śarru.

20. 

..... bu - tu .....

[Lines 21 to 34 entirely lost.]

35. 

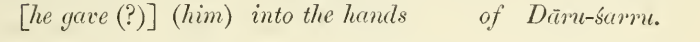
..... en - na D.P. Bel - nisi - su ba (?) - sa ....

..... *this Bel-nisi-su* .....

36.

it - ti - su a - na Lab - ki il - ta - [qi]

with him to Erech took

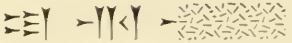
37. 

man - di - e - va a - na śarri beli - ya i - ga ...

knowledge also to the king my lord he sent (?)

38.

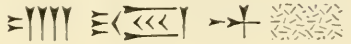
um - ma ul - tu mat Elami D.S.
thus *from* *Elam*



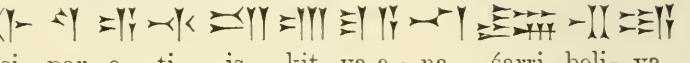
at - tal - [lik (?)]
I went (?)

39.

śarru bel - a la i - gab - su ul - tu
the king *my lord* *he honours* (?) *not, from*



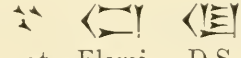
Bit - Lab .....
Bit-Erech .....

40. 

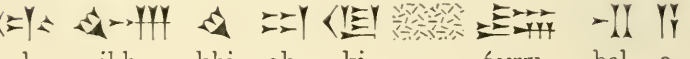
si - par- e - ti is - kit - va a - na śarri beli- ya
letters *he wrote* (?) *and to the* *king* *my lord*

41.

nu-se- bi - la a - ki sa na - śal - tav a - na
we caused to bring (them) safely. *By the rocky path to*



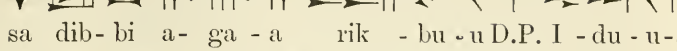
mat Elami D.S.
Elam

42. 

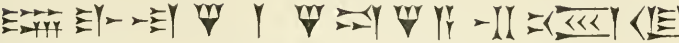
ul ikh - khi ab - ki ..... śarru bel - a
he travels (?) *not* ..... *the king* *my lord*

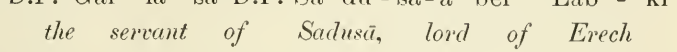
kha - i - ri - tsu
knows (?)

43.
sa dib-bi a-ga-a rik-bu-u D.P. I-du-u-a
from those tablets despatched (by) Idūa,

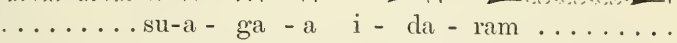
44. 
D.P. Gal-la sa D.P. Sa-du-sa-a bel Lab-ki
the servant of Sadusā, lord of Erech

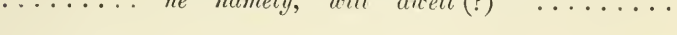
45.
.....su-a-ga-a i-da-ram .....
..... *he namely, will dwell* (?) .....

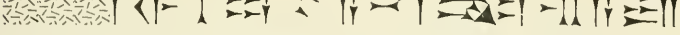
46. 
..... pani-su nap-sat a-na dhe-en-a-ta
..... *before him alive to judgment*

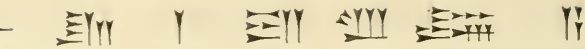
47. 
.....su-nu-ti-va si-par-e-ti
..... *them and those*

48.
a-ga-a sa sa-ra-a-ti ki-ba sadh-ra
letters of sedition the amount written

49. 
a-na śarri beli-ya liq-bu-u ki-i
to the king my lord may they speak. Whenever

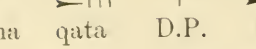
50. 
sa si-par-e-ti a-ga-a sa ina lib
those letters which through the midst of


nakiri va
the enemy and

51. 

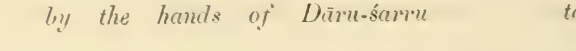
ina qata D.P. Dā - ru - śarru a - na

by the hands of Dāru-śarru to the



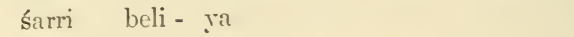
śarri beli - ya

king my lord

52. 

nu - se - bi - la śarru bel - a su - kha - aś - śu

we caused to bring. The king my lord the intelligence (of)

53. 

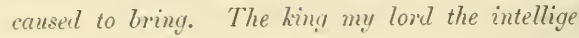
D.P. Dā - ru - śarru D.P. ..... gar - bu - tu

Dāru-śarru, the ....

54.

śarru bel - a yud- h - al a - na śarri beli - ya

the king my lord shows, to the king my lord

55. 

al - tap - ra śarru belu ha - lik i - di

I send. the king the lord, going (in) power.

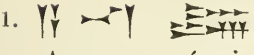
Notes.

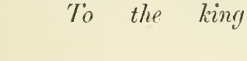
LINE

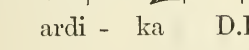
4. *Yumu uśśu;* lit., "a strong day," *i.e.*, "a healthy life." *Uśśu* or *iśśu* = strong.
7. *Yutsalli;* future pael of *tsalu'u*, the form ending in *u* (plural) or *a* (dual) would be expected here.
9. *Yutsu;* aor. pael of *atsu'u;* Heb. יָצָא.
11. *Illikuni;* pluperf. kal of *halaku.*
13. *Bīsu;* 3rd pers. plur. masc. permansive pael. Chal. בְּאֵשׁ, "to be evil"; Aram. בִּישׁ, "wicked."

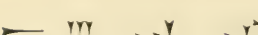
14. *Ikhkhiśu;* aor. kal of *nakhaśu;* Heb. נָחַשׁ.
15. *Mītu;* participle pael of *ma'atu,* "to die."
16. *Siparēti,* a noun from *saparu;* Heb. שָׁפַר, "to send."
37. *Mandē* (for *maddē*); lit., "knowledge," a pael participle noun from *idu,* "to know."
41. *Nusebila;* aor. shaphel of *abalu,* with augment of motion. *Naśaltav;* niphael noun from Heb. סָלָא, "to lift up"; in Assyrian, "to raise a mound"; cf. *śalte,* "heaps."
43. *Rikbū;* past participle from *rakabu,* "to ride."
46. *Dhenta;* abstract noun from Heb. טַעַם.
48. *Kiba;* "amount," "mass," "weight." *Sadhra,* past participle from *sadharu,* "to write."
49. *Liqbū;* 3rd pers. plur. masc. precative kal of *qabu'u,* "to speak."
52. *Sukhaśśu;* shaphael noun from *khaśaśu,* "to be intelligent," "to determine."
54. *Yud'hal;* pres. pael of *dahalu;* Arab. دَلَّ.
55. *Halik;* participle kal of *halaku. Idi,* hand = power Heb. יָד.

K 14.

1. 
A - na śarri be'- ili - ya
To the king my lord,

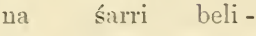
2. 
ardi - ka D.P. Nabu - zir - la - nu
thy servant, Nabu-zir-lanu.

3. 
lu - u - sul - mu a - na ṣarri
May (there be) peace to the king

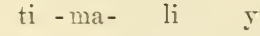
4. 
be'-ili-ya D.P. Nabu u D.P. Marduku
my lord, may Nabu and Merodach

5.
a-na śarri beli-ya lik-ru-bu
to the king my lord be propitious.

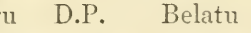
6.
i-ti-ma- li yumu salsatu
Yesterday (being) the third day.

7. 
Assuru D.P. Belatu ina sul-me
Assur (and) Beltis in peace

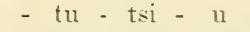
8.
it-tu-tsi-u ina sa-li-in-ti
went forth, into (their) dwellings

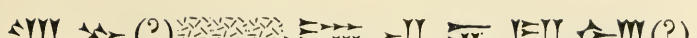
9. 
e-tar-bu-u-ni
they have descended.

10.
ila -ni gab-bu am-mar
The divinities all I saw.

11. 
ultu Assuri yu-tsu-u-ni
from Assur they had gone forth

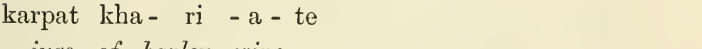
12.
ina sul-me ina tsup-ti-su-nu
in peace; in their hands

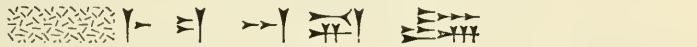
13. 
it -khu -us -bu
they marched (?)

14. 
lib - bu (?) ..... śarru belu ni - qi - il
amidst (?) ..... *the king, the lord, completing* (?)

15.
ina ..... mē s - an - na mē
in ..... *hundred years, a hundred*

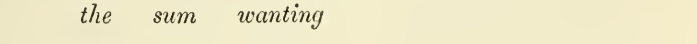
[Three lines illegible.]

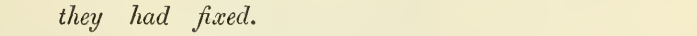
19. 
karpat kha - ri - a - te
jugs of barley wine

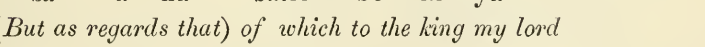
20. 
..... me - ez . . . . śarra
.... (*for*) *the king*

21.
yu - ma - al - lu - u - ni
they had filled,

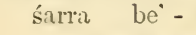
22.
sam - ma - a ba - adh - lu
the sum wanting

23. 
is - ka - nu - u - ni
they had fixed.

24. 
sa a - na śarri be' - ili - ya
(*But as regards that*) *of which to the king my lord*

25. 
as - pu - ra an - n
I have sent this

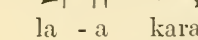
26.
śarra be'-ili la-a is-'al
the king my lord he asked not, (but)

27. 
sam-ma-a sa arakhi Tasriti
the sum for the month Tasrit

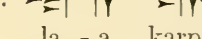
28.
la-a karani tsu-ra-ri
no wine

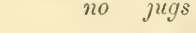
29.
la-a karpat kha-ri-a-te
no jugs of barley wine

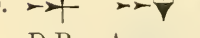
30.
D.P. Assura yu-ma-al-li-u
for Assur he has filled;

31. 
la-a D.P. rabut karani la-a
without the Master of the wine, without

32.
D.P. san-u-su la-a D.P. DUP-KA-su
his assistant, without his scribe

33. 
sepā ana sepa ba-adh-lu
feet to feet a want

34. 
i-sa-ka-nu
they establish.

35. 
sarru be'-ili lu-u-sallim
May the king my lord have peace.

Notes.

LINE

6. *Itimali;* Heb. אֶתְמוֹל, "yesterday," "formerly."
8. *Ittutsiu;* aor. ittaphal of *utsu'u*, another form of *atsu'u*. Verbs ל״ע sometimes retain the ע before the *u* of the termination of the 3rd plur. masc.; having no character, however, to express *tse*, 𒋤 *tsi* is substituted.

   Salinti, a shaphael noun from *la'anu*, "to lodge," "dwell."
9. *Etarbūni;* pluperf. iphteal, from *eribu*.
10. *Ammar;* aor., kal from *namaru*.
19. *Khariate;* Heb. חֹרִי.
21. *Yumalluni;* pluperf. pael of *malu'u*.
22. *Badhlu;* Heb. בָּטַל.
26. *Is'al;* aor. kal of *sa'alu* or *sahalu*, "to ask."
28. *Tsurari;* from Heb. צָרַר, "to compress." Being preceded by the determinative for a climbing plant (vine), the compressed (fruit of) the vine is evidently intended, *i.e.*, "wine."
30. *Yumalliu;* here the termination of the 3rd pers. *sing. pluperf.* is preceded by the *i* of the root (see note to line 8).
35. *Lusallim;* precative pael of a verb from *salamu*, "peace."

VICEROY JOSEPH'S OFFICIAL DESPATCHES. IS BIBLE POETRY ACROSTIC?

By S. M. Drach, Esq.

Read 8th January, 1878.

When the diplomatic verbosity anent Abraham's Sepulchre-purchase (Gen. xxiii) and the pleading of queen Esther (vii. 3), is compared with the commanding terseness of Gen. xlv. 9. giving the message of Joseph to his aged father Jacob, the contrast is indeed striking; and it curiously aids a long cherished idea of mine, that whereas trivial events and puns for naming infants swarm in the Hebrew Scriptures, possibly acrostic cryptograms might likewise have been then regarded as very clever writing, and thus account for the many redundant and hard grammatical phrases, especially in the poetical books. Thus the above message is decomposable to this shape vertically.

ת	א	א	ר	מ	ל	ל	א	ש	י	ב	א	נ
עמ	—	ל	ד	צרי	נ	אדו	לחי	מנ	וס	נ	מ	—
ד	ל	י	ה	מ	ל	נ	מ	י	פ	נ	ר	ה

The complete entire message reads—

"Thus—said—thy son—Joseph—placed me has—Elohim—as lord—to all—Egypt—come down (*paragogic* ה)—to me—don't—stand" (*i.e.* fail not).

The top line of *initial* letters means "My sorrow (or as my father?)—who asked—to fear me (for a marvel?)—has come." Reversed, "The Tau of Syria, without gifts is thy coming."

The second line, of *medial* letters means, "Refuge He appointed for me (Divine ה)—his calamity when straitened

was power—of the people." Notice the absence of ו in last word.

The third line of *final* letters means, "The tender-mouthed was appointed—to what (or wherefore)—was this one born?" Reverse of whole—"Tears will not weary the glory of their Acceptor: for all did wave my sheaf: for nought was moved my party-coloured coat, when the mighty One smote Nob."

As probably the message was written down by Joseph himself, so that the brothers' *verbal* interpretation might neither be misconstrued nor forgotten, and possibly in the hieroglyphic vertical calligraphy, it is not singular that much pains should have been taken to educe a foreign office secret cypher despatch, in case it fell into the hands of hostile folks adverse to the stranger Hebrew's domination in Egypt.

As regards the hallowing effect of the letter ה (Hé) in patriarchal names, as AbraHm, SaraH, we may adduce the case of Psalms lxxxi, 5, of J'Hoseph יהוסף: "A testimony in J'Hoseph (He put, *or* His name) when he went forth *over* (על) the land of Egypt." "A language I did not know I will hear."

On studying the Red Sea Te Deum of Exodus xv, for a similar find, and arranging the initials and finals of the words as in the annexed page, we marvellously arrive at this generally connected double burst of triumph, omitting the Divine י–ה in the wording.

Initials.—I go forth. Gog turns in his crookedness (to the chestnut, לז?). Alas, yesternight, O Moph! withered were the best things of Set. The ETERNAL is in thee, isle of Nob, the Lord comes (Tau of Life). Can Gath (winepress) ק keep thee alive? and ON He appointed, established my destiny (קצבי) . . . . אאאא. I will now put my dread, O Nob, for the Pure One comes extinguishing them. Like Nob, there faded the beauty of Tau. Nob, mighty robber, listen to groaning (חאיפ). How eloquent can I be on thy abjects (Ps. xxxv, 15), who wander as thy despised עי עי עי. Armour's (use) shalt thou comprehend now. אלפמא for the Eternal is for him!

Ex. xv.	א ימו יאההלו ז רהי לתהתהו			15.	א מ	מכב(י) יהמ(ה)	מ י
1.	ל ר	אלכגג ההיהה	ס ס	16.	כנב הרש		נתע אתה
2.	ורב והמ		עו(י)ול ית(ה)יי	17.	פ א	ניתא תכוצ	נ ת
3.	ל ה	זאו היו	א י	18.	בעזג כמות		נבאנ תכלה
4.	או יו	(י)אמ(י) (ה)שמ(ה)		19.	ק כ	שעי ומן	ח ל
5.	ש ו	מפויב תהוהמ	ו ר	20.	איפ זית		אנא זוי
6.	שטבס וומפ		תייבכ תוותו	21.	א מ	אמיר יבוד	נ ו
7.	א נ	י(י)נב כ(ה)יח	י כ	22.	כיכ לינ		תעא למה
8.	(י)תא (ה)צב		וגת בכס	23.	ו ד	בזיכ לכונ	ע ד
9.	ק כ	תהיכ הכוש	ו ח	24.	יע(י) רכ(ה)		עיעז דרמו
10.	אנמ כומ		נכנ ו וד	25.	ק ת	תובנ וורכ	מ נ
11.	נ מ	קתבי ותבמ	א ר	26.	לפ(י) כת(ה)		מאכ ני ו
12.	אאא בפג		אשת קלו	27.	י כ	(י)ילו (ה)כמד	כ י
13.	נ י	אחתי קיוי	נ ת	28.	בספבוב אסהוומ		ויעאמ ב(ה)מתי
14.	בכי כומ		צכב ותמ	29.	ה מ	ויהבב ילוהכ	ה מ

Finals.—Aha! JAH says Hush! He will make them deviate. *They have been* (הָיוּ) . . . . They made this lamb go astray; rebelled at His miracles. Those erect marks (or Necho's fish-hook) when stood on the standard (כֵּס, Exod. xvii, 16) the power of Cush, its wise men, and the likeness among them of the master PG (Phtah?) they slighted. I have hoped in Thee, and death came from their waters. O Jah! to the poor thou comest, כוצת. As death thou exterminatest them. As cumin-seed to the olive their splendour perishes; wail: "Why, establish the poor on the road to Death's home (or Hadramaut). The tender one thou smotest. So did He measure out for his lamb (Israel?).

If the possible deviations and omissions of our present MSS. from the original one in the time of Moses be considered, perhaps a *complete* intelligible paragraph is not now attainable, though the finals, "when stood . . . . slighted," run on without intermission.

The last song of Moses (Deut. xxxii) indicates many traces of similar acrostics: *ex. gr.*:—

1. And what is my counsel; will my lament fructify?	ומה עצי יפר יללי
3. when he bore the captive heap—	כש[1]א הגל
4. when the timbrel was silent . . . as He commanded	התפ כבדם צוה
5. He despoiled (know this—)	שלל במדעו ותמלאמ
6. and thou shall fill them	
7–8. Bear prosperity, with organ-music He cometh, touches my heart	שאו זול בעגב בא יגע לבי
9. He will have mercy	יחנ
10. and His foe complains	וצרו לנ
13. and regard the Eagle	ושע נשר
13–14. Silence, ye byssus-mitred ..	ודמו מצח בוץ

[1] The super-pointed וְאַהֲרֹן of Numb. iii, 39, numbers (2)262. As the Rab. A.M. of the Exodus is 2270, did nine years elapse before the 40 spy-caused retardation of the conquest of Palestine (Numb. xiv, 33), producing a jubilee period for this transit? Comp. לוּלֵא (Psalm xxvii, 13), value (3)067

18. to bear *in* the desert	לשא ציה
19. when sickness hastens on ..	הל כא(ה)צ
20. and her woeful countenance ..	ואפמ אמ אב דתה
20–1. He refused them, who are the gods(?)	מאנם מי אלים
21–2. shall I then curse the son ..	בנ אב אקב
24. Bitter is Hamite learning the dead-absolving Sun	מרור בינת חם מתיר מת חמה
25. What deceit—when arose their lamb (or Moses at the sea)	מרמה קמשהימ
30. And he shewed thee penury: ended their sweetness	וירא לכ צמ הכלך צופ
32. He stored it—it expired my dread (or the Hittite) groaned	כמס גוע אמל חתי
33. Beware	שמר
38*i*. Those who lay hold of wine	אחזי יין
38*f*. they increased, they said from the West (Sea)	רבוו ונמ ומי מה
41. I will repay my debt in the waters of the Sea (or the West)	אשב חובי במי ימ

I respectfully submit these perhaps crude notions, which may be collaterally verified in Egyptian prosody.

One of the Mishnah ingredients of Jewish incense was Tseporan צפרן, used, Deut. xxi, 12, as paring her NAILS, and in Jeremiah xvii, 1, as NAIL of a diamond. I suggest this was akin to the red "henna" of the Orient, and that Jeremiah states Judah's sin is written with an *iron stylus* and *red henna* grape—*i.e.*, in blood and iron; and I suggest for Ex. xv, 11, "who is like the Smiter (בְּמַכֶּה) among the gods (mighty) Jehovah"? *cf.* Isaiah xxvii, 7. Is 2 Sam. xxii, 6, "The ties (intrigues) of Saul encompassed me"?

ON SOME FURTHER DESIRED AIDS TO THE STUDY OF ASSYRIAN.

By Rev. W. Houghton, M.A., F.L.S.

Read 5th June, 1877.

Although there are already several useful works to help the student of the Assyrian language, a few *desiderata* strike me as still remaining. Let us first glance at some of the existing aids. Smith's *Assurbanipal* must be especially mentioned; the student who has fully mastered that work will be in a fair way to read other historical documents of a similar nature; the value of the book, however, would have been considerably enhanced had the late deeply lamented author added *notes* as explanatory of the different words. Prof. Sayce's *Syllabary* has superseded that of Mr. G. Smith, while his excellent *Assyrian Grammar* contains everything necessary. The Reading Lessons and Explanatory Notes are most excellent helps; one can only wish for more of them. Much may be done in the way of progress in Assyrian by the study of the various papers in the different volumes of this Society's *Transactions*. On the Continent, the student is largely indebted to the admirable works of the learned M. Lenormant. In the three volumes of Norris's *Assyrian Dictionary*, though unfinished, there is a great deal of material for study, containing as they do copious extracts from the monuments and cylinders in the Cuneiform characters, with the transliteration and translation of the same; nor must I forget to mention the dissertations in Dr. F. Delitzsch's *Assyrische Studien*, together with the Assyrian and Accadian Glossaries. And now let me mention the *desiderata*.

I. There is, so far as I know, no published list of Assyrian verbs; here is an "hiatus valida deflendus" at present. The late Edwin Norris, in his Dictionary, frequently refers to "verbs," and I believe he had completed in manuscript a catalogue, but his death prevented its publication, as well as stopped further volumes of his dictionary. It is a pity that what he accomplished should not be available for the student. With a view of supplying this want, I have myself drawn out a list, arranged according to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, of about 450 verbs. In the first column I have placed the transliterated form of the verb in the infinitive mood; in the second, the cuneiform; in the third, the Hebrew or other Semitic analogue; in the fourth column, the various meanings in English, and in the fifth I have given an example of the occurrence of the verb with reference. This catalogue is at present imperfect and incomplete, but it may form a basis for future operations in the same line, and I shall be happy to place it at the disposal of the Society. If it were printed in a separate form, the list could receive fresh additions, both of verbs and their meanings, supplied by teachers or learners, from time to time, as they met with them. Thus in time, by a distribution of labour, we should, I hope, be able to have ready for reference a pretty full and complete list.

II. Another desired aid is one which chiefly applies to students living at a distance from London, who are consequently unable to attend the Assyrian classes under Mr. Boscawen, or to study the tablets and cylinders in the British Museum. It is one thing to be able to decipher the very excellent and clear type in the lithographed volumes of Rawlinson's *Western Asiatic Inscriptions*, and another to make out the often very minute and crowded characters impressed on the clay tablets. Facsimiles of some of the most perfect of the originals would form most valuable aids, and in the possession of the student could be worked at at any time. I even venture to suggest that it might be desirable to produce facsimiles of some of the best-preserved cylinders themselves, so that one could have before one a specimen of these curious works of ancient glyptic art. Of course if

there is any real danger to the precious originals of damage by the process of producing facsimiles, this suggestion must fall to the ground; but I apprehend that in the well-practised hands of Mr. Ready no such danger need be feared.

III. A work similar to Smith's *Assurbanipal*, but in addition to the text, transliteration and translation, one *containing copious notes, similar to those in Mr. Sayce's Reading Lessons*, would be a most useful aid. This we shall hope to see soon realized by the publication of Mr. Boscawen's *Inscriptions of Esarhaddon*.

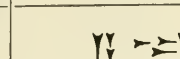
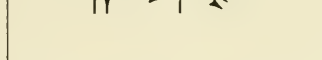
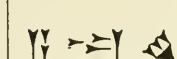
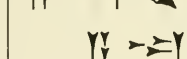
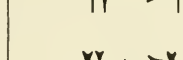
IV. The Accadian language is so mixed up with and necessary to the study of Assyrian, that it would be desirable to have a dictionary of all known Accadian words, alphabetically arranged, as a ready handbook for reference. And this requirement has been partly met by the publication of M. Lenormant's work, *Étude sur quelques parties des Syllabaires Cunéiformes*, 1877, which contains a glossary of Accadian words, and which might, perhaps, serve as a basis for an English manual on the same subject. A grammar Mr. Sayce will, I believe, supply, and the greater portion is, I hear, already written. But the Assyrian verbs appear to me to possess the first claim to our consideration, and in this matter I shall be glad to do what little I can for the Society. Mr. Sayce, with his usual kindness, has promised to look through my list, so that as far as I have gone at present we shall be able to ensure accuracy; and I hope that with his valuable aid, and with that of others interested in the promotion and extension of Assyrian studies amongst Englishmen, we may ere long see this desideratum supplied. I should be very thankful for any suggestions on this subject.

V. Lastly, and not the least important, I suggest the publication of a condensed vocabulary or glossary of the Assyrian language, a kind of tentative dictionary, till such time as the labours of our present Assyriologists shall have enabled them to produce a complete lexicon of the Assyrian tongue.

Postscript.

Since the above was written, I have received a letter from Mr. W. R. Cooper, the Secretary of our Society, and the originator of these classes, and from him I learn that one of the desired aids alluded to above had already received his attention. Mr. Cooper writes to me: "The preparation of casts from Assyrian tablets, to illustrate the variations of script, was an old idea of mine, and Mr. Ready agreed to make a selection of twelve typical examples at 3*s.* 6*d.* each, and Messrs. Bagster were to publish a fair copy of the same in expanded characters at 6*d.* a sheet. The students approved of the plan, but my illness interrupted all. Now, however, if you will take it up, I will (D.V.) urge the matter through. Mr. Sayce has returned home, and will no doubt select twelve typical examples for the students. The classes have been a great success again."

I append a specimen page of my proposed Index of Assyrian verbs.

TRANS-LITERATION.	CUNEIFORM.	HEBREW OR OTHER SEMITIC ANALOGUE.	MEANING.	EXAMPLES OR REFERENCES.
a-ba-bu		אָבַב "to sprout," "be fresh." *Lenor.* but better fr. יָפָה "to be bright." *Sayce.*	to be pure, bright, beautiful	*cima sizbi litabbilu*, "may it be pure like ambrosia." (*W.A.I.* IV, 4, col. 3, line 39.) 3 p. s. prec. Iphtaal; *see also* *W.A.I.* IV, 13. col. 1, lines 52, 55.
a-ba-hu		אָבָה	to desire, long for	
a-ba-lu		יָבַל, אָבַל "to flow," "bring"	to bring, bring down, drop	*tamarta su cabittu usebala*, "his numerous presents he sent." (Smith, *Assurb.* p. 116.) 3 p. s. Shaph. with aug. of motion, passim.
a-ba-tu		אָבַד	to destroy	
a-ga-gu		אָגַג, أَجَّ, Arab.	to burn with anger	
a-gu-u		אָגָא = أَجَا, Arab. "to flee"	to hasten, to flee	*ana cu-um-mu-su a-gu-u*, "to his palace I flee." (*W.A.I.* IV, 49, col. 4, line 45.)
a-ha-bu		אָהַב	to love	
a-za-lu		אָזַל "to roll off," "depart," "fail"	to depart, to fail	
a-za-ru		אָזַר	to gird, fasten round	
a-kha-zu		אָחַז	to possess, to hold, take care of	*a-khu-uz nimiki Nabu*, "I held in possession the deep wisdom of Nebo." (Smith, *Assurb.*, p. 6.)

Referring to the Postscript, Mr. Houghton's paper on Aids to Assyrian, it may not be out of place for me to recall the opinion of the late excellent George Smith in a conversation which I had with him, prior to his second expedition to the East. Speaking from memory it was: "When I am gone, there will be a regular rush to study Assyrian, but the students will never get on unless they do as I have done for fifteen years, copy, copy, copy, every day from the tablets themselves; it is no use attempting to become an Assyriologist from the study of the printed texts. One must get acquainted with the way in which the Assyrians wrote, and the wretched style of their script. The words look so different on the tablets to what they do in the books that one can hardly make them out to be the same. Half of those who write about Assyriology can't read a single line of the clay; even a stamping won't do, as you want to catch the light on the wedges in a peculiar way." I suggested that Mr. Ready might make casts of a few of the tablets. "That would be all very well in its way, but the question is, would it pay? besides, the cast would have to be of the same colour as the originals to be of use. There is no getting out of it, one must handle the tablets, and copy, copy, copy, that's all I have got to say. A good photograph is safer even than a copied text if you know what to look for. (A) and (B) work chiefly from photographs, but for real work there's no getting out of the copying part of the business. By and by when the varieties of Assyrian script are as well known as the Greek inscriptions are, if that ever comes to pass, students may trust to transliteration, and do without copying, *if they can*."

This conversation really applied to what may be termed the second stage of Assyrian study. The language and characters, and a few easy texts, such as Prof. Sayce gives in his *Grammar*, and further promises to prepare in his *Reading Book*, must come first, for just as no schoolboy could read lapidary Greek before he took up his grammar and delectus, so every Assyrian beginner must know what to look for before he can reasonably hope to find it. It might be of good service if the student would do as one of our

friends has talked about doing—viz., note down on the margin of his Gesenius every Assyrian word which resembled a Hebrew one? assuming of course that the radicals were analogous.

We must take heart however, while there are young men to labour in Assyriology, and older sages to direct their studies, it shall yet come to pass that the Archaic languages will be as much a *sine quâ non* in the education of a biblical or historical scholar as Greek, Latin, Hebrew are now, and Sanscrit is beginning to be reckoned.

W. R. COOPER.

I think that Mr. Smith's words are unduly despondent. Few Greek scholars, however able, are skilled in epigraphy, and I believe that accurate casts, not photographs, would do quite as well as the originals. Of course the originals would have to be studied and copied also, but the practice needed for this purpose would best be acquired by a previous study of casts. All good luck to the enterprise.

A. H. SAYCE.

Suggested further desiderata to help the students in Assyriology.

I. Though valuable as it is, Mr. G. Smith's Syllabary does not contain all the signs of M. Ménant's list; Professor Sayce's Syllabary was a great step forward, because it not only contains many more new signs, but gives as well all the known ideographic values of them. But Professor Sayce has left out a great many of the groups of Mr. G. Smith's list. However, Professor Sayce's is the best syllabary students can refer to. It can be improved and completed, thanks to the new discoveries. This labour is beyond the means of one; I found it impossible to complete it for my Grammaire Assyrienne, which is to be published in Paris, and find myself compelled to give only the principal signs. I would then suggest to do with the syllabary what the

Rev. W. Houghton proposed for the list of verbs: to draw up a list as complete as possible of all the signs and groups, and place this list at the disposal of the Society in order to receive the addenda of teachers, learners, and independent scholars.

II. It is much to be regretted that there is no regular alphabet for the transcription of Assyrian. Though all scholars follow the Hebrew alphabet, they differ in their transcription of it. A uniform manner of transcription could be easily settled once for all, and proposed at the next meeting of the Congress of Orientalists in Italy.

III. A glossary of great use could be published at a trifling cost in solely Roman characters.

IV. A really complete list of the signs, which would be of great help to young students, should be divided into two parts; the first taking as a model and also containing all the signs in M. Ménant's list—that is, classifying the signs according to their phonetic values, and giving all the variants of different countries and times more completely than M. Ménant, and giving beside, as suggested by Dr. Birch, the cursive forms of the signs as found in small tablets. Beside the syllabic meaning, the ideographic meaning, as completely, and more if possible, as in Professor Sayce's Grammar, must be given. The other part would contain all the signs arranged methodically, as in Mr. Smith's and Professor Sayce's Syllabaries, with numbers referring merely to the first syllabic list. In this manner all the necessary repetition and the omission or confusion of Professor Sayce's list, would be avoided, where signs sometimes are not given at their proper places.

M. Ménant's work has been published in "Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions *présentés* par divers savants."

G. BERTIN.

BIBLICAL SITES

(*Summary of Paper*).

By Rev. Canon Ridgway, M.A., F.S.A.

Read 1*st May*, 1877.

The Sites of Chorazin, Bethsaida, Capernaum.

1. *Physical Features.*—From the precipitous nature of the banks of the Sea of Galilee, all towns on its coast must have been on its north-western banks, where alone there is a beach with a landing-place. This portion is not more than three miles long by one mile broad at its widest parts, and lies between Mejdel (Magdala) and Tell Hum.

2. *Relative Position.*—Both in the Gospels and by travellers in various ages, they are mentioned in the same order, viz. :—

(*a.*) Starting from the south—Capernaum, Bethsaida, Chorazin.

(*b.*) All seem from both records to have been "on the sea."

(*c.*) Bethsaida and Capernaum appear to have been so closely adjacent as to be almost identical; *e.g.*, our Lord went out of the synagogue (in Capernaum), and entered into St. Peter's house (Bethsaida). The return from the feeding of the five thousand is differently stated by Evangelists to be to "Capernaum" and to "Bethsaida."

3. *Bethsaida* seems to be the only certain site, fixed by the hot springs, which attract fish to it. (Hence there are two of the same name with same peculiarity.) It is at Ain-et-Tabigheh, just under the promontory of Arameh, by Khan Minyeh.

Chorazin.—This city saw many mighty works of Christ, and is classed with Bethsaida in a common curse in consequence. As no mention is made of Christ's visit to it, the presumption is that they were contiguous. The testimony of earliest travellers corroborates this.

Our Lord compares these two to Tyre and Sidon—two famous ports on the Mediterranean sea-coast—which would lead us to expect Chorazin and Bethsaida were similarly situated. The only sites answering to this description are Tell Hum and Tabigheh.

Objection.—Kiraza, a village upland, one hour from the sea, bears a similar name; but no antiquities have been found there. It lies on no thoroughfare, never could have been a considerable place, and the ruins are comparatively modern.

Capernaum.—Gospel accounts lead us to look for it *near* the sea; but though it was the residence of Christ for three years and scene of most of His Galilæan teaching, not a single illustration is taken by him from the sea or its pursuits, but they are mostly taken from a rich plain and commerce. Therefore near Gennesareth, the only rich plain.

It seems to have been on a line of great public traffic, and between the two tribes of Zabulon and Naphthali (St. Matthew). The Khan Minyeh is on the junction of all the great lines of traffic through Palestine to the Western Sea (Damascus, Arabia, Egypt, &c.), and at the very boundary of the two tribes.

Hence it is maintained :—

1. That though *by* the sea it had no landing-place,
2. It was closely adjoining Bethsaida, but to the south, adjacent to the plain of Gennesareth,
3. Within a day's walk of Nain, Tabor, Cana, Nazareth;
4. The seat of Roman government, and mainly inhabited by Gentiles.
5. It was on the boundary of two tribes, and scene of great commercial traffic.

The apostrophe to Capernaum suggests an elevated position. Its comparison to Sodom seems to convey a warning of a similar fate, with all which Arameh accords;

while the name of the adjacent Khan M'nieh seems, when its etymology is historically traced, to bear traces of the original Neah and Naum.

But the "Sermon on the Plain" was so evidently delivered to an audience of Gentile traders on the plain of Gennesareth, and yet in very close proximity to Capernaum, that its details appear conclusively to fix the site of that city. To this must be added the figures and allusions in the other discourses in that locality, which all point to the conclusion that the same plain was always in view; and, last of all, the exact description of the return of the disciples after the feeding of the five thousand, variously stated to be "Bethsaida," "Capernaum," and the "land of Gennesareth," which, on the above supposition, would be almost identical.

The testimony of Josephus in no way contradicts this view, as he speaks not of a *city* but of a *fountain*, called Kaphar-naoum, which may have given its name to the adjacent city, though Josephus calls the latter Kapharnome.

Those who would transfer it to Tell Hum rest mainly on two suppositions, viz., that "Hum" is the relic of the name "Capernaum," and that a recently-discovered building was "the synagogue."

REVISED CHRONOLOGY OF THE LATEST BABYLONIAN KINGS.

By Dr. Julius Oppert.

Read 8th January, 1878.

The scientific testament of the lamented George Smith is contained in the instructive dates of the two thousand commercial tablets which he sent over to the British Museum. A considerable portion of these contract inscriptions have been examined by Mr. Boscawen, in a highly interesting paper published at the expense of the munificent Mæcenas of Assyriological researches, Mr. Bosanquet.

These tablets contain a great many chronological hints, which all confirm the authenticity of the famous Canon of Ptolemy. But as these dates have not been understood in the right manner, I shall endeavour to lay before the Society of Biblical Archæology some points which present themselves to my mind with an undeniable and mathematical certainty.

It is well known that the so-called Nabonassarian era commences on *Wednesday*, *February* 26, Julian, 747 (9,254). The years are leap years of 365 days, and the months are expressed by the Egyptian names; each month has 30 days, and 5 epagomenæ are added. Every four years, consequently, the commencement of the year, the first Thoth, will be behind the Julian or Gregorian calendar one day.

All chronological authorities maintain, and, I think, with a high probability, that the real accession of an Asiatic king of the Ptolemaic list, agreeing with all other calculations of this kind, took place in the course of their *first* Nabonassarian year, or in other words, that the *first day of the Nabonassarian*

year is previous to their actual accession to the throne.[1] This is the true principle, the application of which shows itself to be consistent with the dates of the tablets.

The greater part of the royal reigns commence with tablet dates starting from the *accession year* of the monarch, named *sanat subat* (KU), "the year of the sitting" on the throne. Besides this, we have the *first*, the *second* year, and so on. Several persons believe, among whom, I think, is Mr. Boscawen, that the first and subsequent years run from Nisan to Adar; and that the last year of the preceding king, and the accession year of the following one formed together one year, interrupted only by the death of the former.

On the contrary, we are enabled to prove definitively that—

1°. *The year of accession is merely the first portion of the first year.*

2°. *The years of the reigns are in Babylon,* as in all other countries in ancient and modern times, calculated *from the date of the accession.*

We shall prove these assertions by the *apagogic* demonstration, that is, by the impossibility of the contrary. These are the proofs :

1°. Among the eleven tablets of the reign of Evil-Merodach, the earliest is that of his *accession*, Tisri 21. The first year of Evil-Merodach commences in the Canon at 561 (9,440), January 10th. The 21st Tisri would therefore coincide with October, 561.

But there is another tablet, Tisri 21, first year. This would be, if we admit the hypothesis of my learned colleagues, in October, 560. The Tisri of the *second* year would be October, 559. But in the *second* year of Evil-Merodach we have a tablet dated Sebat 5. This Sebat ought to be, in maintaining

[1] There can only be a discussion in the cases of a documented anticipated regency, or of a double reckoning of the accession. The first is the case with Nebuchadnezzar the Great, who was associated with his father during the lifetime of the latter, and who counted his reign before January 22, 604 (9, 397) ; the second must be applied to Darius I, who reigned at Babylon only two years after his election in Persia.

this hypothesis, the February of 558 (9,443). Evil-Merodach would have reigned at least two years and a half, if we suppose that we possess just the two tablets marking the beginning and the end of his reign. But this supposition, in itself very improbable, is shown to be inadmissible. The error can be proved by the fact, that the first date of Neriglissar is the 25th of Marchesvan and that of his accession. For Marchesvan is the eighth and Sebat the eleventh month.

As the year of the "sitting on the throne" is always counted from the day of his reign to the last month, Adar, it is evident that, according to the contradicted system, the king reached at least to *Nisan* of his third year, and reigned more than two years and a half. He ought then to have been murdered after April, 558 (9,443), and Neriglissar ought to have been made king after April, 558 (9,443). But this is impossible, as the canon places his reign fifteen months before that epoch.

2°. In maintaining this idea, we ought to date the first tablet of Neriglissar, November, 558 (9,443), and his fourth year would have commenced therefore in April, 554. His reign must have continued at least until August of the same year, that is, almost four years complete. His son, *Labasi-Marduk*,[1] reigned nine months, and we have no text of the year of his accession, but *of the commencement of the royalty*, of Iyar 14. This would be May, 553 (9,448). Neriglissar and his son would have reigned together *five* years instead of four, which the Ptolemaic Canon allows to the father and son together, as likewise Cambyses' reign encloses also that of Pseudo-Smerdis.

We should find here already an excess of *two* years within an interval of *six* years!

3°. Nabonidus came to the throne at the commencement of the lunar year. I fixed this date before having any knowledge of the Smith tablets. A highly important document, and, as far as I am aware, not mentioned by Mr. Boscawen, bears two dates; the one of the signature of the deed, the second of the *quittance* of the debt. The first date is Nabonidus

[1] The king which Mr. Boscawen has not recognized, in the list which I have at hand, is the *Labosardach* of the ancients.

year 1, Tammuz 22; and the second, in the same year, Nisan 1. I concluded, as the Nisan 1 is posterior to Tammuz 22, that Nabonidus must have commenced his rule between Nisan and Tammuz 22. This opinion is quite confirmed by the new tablets; indeed, the earliest tablet of Nabonidus' reign is dated *accession*, Tammuz 5.

Now, as we have the 14 Iyar of Labasi-Marduk, son of Neriglissar, and as this Labasi-Marduk reigned only nine months, this 14th Iyar must have fallen in the same year as the Tammuz 5, and only fifty days before Nabonidus, Tammuz 5. It could not be the Iyar 14 of the preceding year 554 (9,447), because by this supposition the reign of Nabonidus would have commenced already, 553 (9,448), in February, Sebat, and the accessional year of this king would only have three months, Sebat, Adar, and Veadar, and would not commence with Tammuz.

Further, in inaugurating Nabonidus' rule with Tammuz, and in separating the accessional and the first years, extending together to *six hundred and fifty days* after the actual accession of Nabonidus, we should have, as there are two tablets of year 1, Veadar 25 and 26, at least *twenty-two* months quoted as appertaining to the *first* year.

4°. The seventeenth year of Nabonidus affords two dates at the end of the seventeen years, Nisan 14 and Iyar 4. These dates ought to be April and May, 536 (9,465). But at that time Cyrus had been on the throne for at least two years.

5°. Cyrus Ptolemaic epoch commences January 5, 538, (9,463). The supposed calculation postpones the conquest of Babylon until autumn, 9,465, and as the latest date is Tammuz 7, Cambyses would have succeeded his father as late as summer 527 (9,474).

But the most inexplicable difficulties connected with the refuted reckoning arise in the reign of Cambyses.

6°. The reign of the cruel son of Cyrus is well known, and we are by no means confined to mere cuneiform statements. Herodotus (III, 66) says expressly that he reigned seven years and five months; and if we add the seven months of the Pseudo-Smerdis, the two reigned together eight years. We have a most valuable collection of these dates in the

Behistun inscription, which we shall examine shortly, and which afford to us the certainty that Cambyses ruled, and had began his rule, in April.

We have in the contract tablets:—

Cambyses'	Accession,	Elul 16.
	Year 1,	Elul 15.
	Year 7,	Tisri—
and finally	Year 8,	Nisan 23.

We are therefore forced to the following conclusions:—

(*a*). Cambyses' year 7, Tisri must descend until 520 (9,481).

(*b*). As of course the 25th of Nisan of the eighth year is posterior to the month of Tisri in the seventh year, the reign of Cambyes would have lasted more than eight years, and would have ended only in April, 519.

All this is in contradiction to ancient testimonies, even to hieroglyphic documents and to the Almagest of Ptolemy.

7°. The reign of the Magian Gomates affords us two documents of Elul 20 and Tisri 1, *first year* (*sic*). It is stated that hitherto no accessional date of his reign has been met with. But if there were to be found tablets of the year of the beginning, it would be certainly the case of this king, who reigned *only seven months*. Now, as the Magian commenced his reign in the Persian month of Garmapada or August, the 20th of Elul would be, in the attacked supposition, the Elul of the year following the death of Cambyses, and in spite of all unanimous traditions, the impostor would have reigned twenty months instead of seven or eight.

Nobody can possibly deny that in the *two* tablets of the Pseudo-Smerdis, the *first* year can only be the *accessional* year.

8°. The reign of Darius, according to the canon, commences January 1, 521 (9,480); it would be postponed until 517, as there is the reign of Nidintabel, which we are obliged to insert between the Magian's and Darius' reigns. But here we should simply come into collision with the astronomical

facts, consisting of three lunar eclipses mentioned by Ptolemy, and one solar eclipse referred to by Herodotus (IX, 10); we should occasion a conflict with the Greek chronology, as the date of the battle of Salamis would be 476 B.C., instead of 480 B.C., when it really occurred.

These eight points entirely explode the opinion which establishes a difference between the accessional year and the first one.

The truth is as follows:—

1°. The year of the accession is the year which is filled up by the interval between the date of the accession and the end of Adar, or respectively Veadar.

2°. The time from Nisan until the first anniversary date of the accession is the end of the first year.

3°. The first year never extends beyond the first anniversary day after the accession.

4°. A date ascribed to the first year is always in the real first year; therefore, if the first year is mentioned with a month included in the part of the year between the accession and Adar, the first year is in this instance identical with the accessional year.

5°. Consequently the months do not strictly succeed in their calendary order, but are cut into two parts:

First part, *from the date of the accession to the end of Adar;*

Second part, *from Nisan to the date of accession.*

6°. In order to know the exact sequence of the monthly date it is necessary to be sure of the date of the accession.

There will be of course a great many dates which may be uncertain for one year; but are we obliged to know all, and are we not compelled to confess our ignorance when we cannot make out the truth?

We will now apply these principles to the statements.

Reign of Evil-Merodach.

All dates posterior to Tisri 21 *at least*, are to be ascribed to the first part of the year. The two tablets, Tisri 21, *accession* and *first year*, were issued on the same day.

It is therefore certain that the date Sebat 5, second year, is previous to Nisan 26, Iyar 21, and perhaps to Ab 4, of the same year.

We may already therefore conclude provisionally:—

Evil-Merodach was already king, 561 (9,440) October.

Evil-Merodach was not king, 559 (9,442), November.

Evil-Merodach released Joachim of Judah, 560 (9,441),[1] April.

But we shall be obliged to anticipate the accession of Evil-Merodach.

Reign of Neriglissar.

This king's reign is to be fixed by that of his son, Labasi-Marduk, who was still on the throne, Iyar 14 (May 555); but had ceased to reign in the month of Tammuz. It is therefore certain that Neriglissar, fourth year Nisan, and Iyar, fell in the spring, and also Ab 5 in the summer of 556 (9,445); and, consequently, as there exists the date, fourth year Nisan 2, it is evident that the accession of Nergalsarusur took place the *first Nisan* 559.

Therefore the three dates:

First year, Iyar 9, Sivan 21, Ab 3, are previous to all known dates bearing the year of the accession.

Neriglissar commenced to reign March–April 559 (9,442).

Neriglissar ceased to reign August 556 (9,445).

Labasi-Marduk, his son, reigned until May 555 (9,446).

These results compel us to put Evil-Merodach's reign some months earlier, and to admit his death in April 559, instead of November.

Reign of Nabonidus.

We have shown that in 555 (9,446), Iyar 14, Nabonidus did not yet reign, but that he was certainly on the throne already fifty days afterwards, Tammuz 5. The dates Tisri and Veadar 25-26 might have been expressed as comprehended in the year of his accession; but only one date, first year Nisan 6, is of the latter part of the year.

[1] See my *Salomon et ses Successeurs*, page 73, where the date 560 must be definitively admitted..

Moreover, Nabonidus, Elul 5, year 17, is certainly 539 (9,462), as also Tammuz 7. But Nabonidus, Nisan 14 and Iyar 4, year 17, are surely to be placed in 538 (9,463).

And as the first date of Cyrus' accession is Kislev 16, it is certain that Nabonidus had ceased to reign some time before the month of November 538 (9,463). But we can make out almost the exact date of the capture of Babylon by the Persians. The following discussion will prove that Nabonidus was superseded long before November, and that if he ever finished his seventeenth year, he did not go far on in his eighteenth.

We follow here the method of restricting and limiting the former evidences by those who have transmitted to us an account of the later monarchs. The exact fixing of an epoch is only possible, if we are happy enough to be able to avail ourselves of a single independent statement of undeniable authority. This indication is afforded by the Behistun inscription referring to the beginning of the reign and to the death of Cambyses.

Reign of Cyrus.

Cyrus reigned nine years. The Ptolemaic canon commences his rule with January 5, 538 (9,463), and commences his successor's reign January 3, 529 (9,472). We shall prove that Cambyses ascended the throne before the 23rd of Nisan, that is, between the 1st and 22nd of this month, April, 529.

On the other hand, Nabonidus was surely on the throne Iyar 4, 538 (9,463), in May; therefore Cyrus did not reign in Babylon nine years complete; he did not enter into his tenth year, and, indeed, no tablets dated in the tenth year of this monarch have yet been discovered.

In consequence, all dates of year *nine*, posterior to Nisan 23 at least, cannot be placed in 529, but must be put in 530 (9,471). We must therefore explain thus the following dates:—

Iyar 22, 530 (9,471) May;
Sivan 2, „ June (May);
Tammuz 7, July (June);
Nisan 3, 529 (9,472), March.

As a further consequence—

Iyar 22,
Sivan 2,
Tammuz 7, of the first year of Cyrus, must fall in the year 538 (9,463).

We have therefore the certainty that—

Nabonidus reigned still .. Iyar 4, 538 (9,463),
Cyrus reigned already .. Iyar 22, 538 (9,463);

consequently, *the capture of Babylon by Cyrus is enclosed in the eighteen days between the fourth and the twenty-second day of Iyar (May) of the year* 538 (9,463).

As the commencement of Cyrus' reign coincides with the same date, the division of the Cyrus years will be as follows:—

First part, from Iyar 22, *maximum*, to end of Adar;
Second part, from Nisan to Iyar 4, *minimum*.

The tablets should be arranged in the following chronological order:—

Cyrus, first year, acc., Kislev 16, Tebet 6, year 1, Adar 2, acc., Adar 23, year 1, Nisan 7.
Cyrus, ninth year, Iyar 22, Sivan 2, Tammuz 7, Nisan 3.

This *date of the third of Nisan* 529 (9,472), *is previous to Cambyses' reign only by a few days.*

Reign of Cambyses.

The reign of Cambyses is the best ascertained of all Babylonian monarchs; in this instance we have the three dates of the Behistun inscription combined with the valuable and confirmed information of Herodotus and Ctesias. The Father of History (III, 66) says plainly, that Cambyses died after a reign of seven years and five months, and (III, 67) he adds that the Magian governed seven months, "which filled up the eight years of Cambyses." He adds further that in the eighth month after the death of the son of Cyrus, the fraud of the impostor was discovered (III, 68).

Herodotus states further, that during the sojourn of Cambyses in Egypt, a Magian arose (ἐπανέστη) in Persia,

that Cambyses, to prevent this danger, came in haste from Egypt, and died in Syria. The Behistun text says that Gomates "arose" (*udapatatā*) in Pasargadae the 14th of Viyakhna (Adar), that he was king the 9th of Garmapada (Ab), and that he was killed in Bagayadis (Nisan).

All these different dates are marvellously consistent one with another; they are moreover corroborated by the Canon of Ptolemy, which attributes to Cambyses the eight years from January 3, 529 (9,472), until January 1, 521 (9,480) (first day of Darius).

In the meantime, this reckoning is confirmed by a statement in the Almagest, founded on Babylonian tablets, that in the seventh year of Cambyses, Nabonassar era 223, on the night of the 17th to the 16th Phamenoth, a lunar eclipse was observed at Babylon, of a grandeur of six inches and somewhat more on the south side (Ptol. Math. Syntax. v, 14). The Babylonian tablet contained surely, the 14th day of Ab in the seventh year of Cambyses, 523. The eclipse took place on Wednesday, July 16th Julian, July 10 Gregorian, at nine o'clock, Babylonian time. This eclipse is connected with two others which happened during the reign of Darius.

No doubt whatever is possible. These statements are further strengthened by the contract dates themselves, the number of which amount to almost fifty documents.

There can therefore exist no uncertainty about the reign of Cambyses, whose earliest document is dated Orchoe (Warka), Iyar 10 (May).

Cambyses came to the throne..	529 (9,472)	April.
The Magian revolted	522 (9,479)	March.
Cambyses lost his crown ..	522 (9,479)	August.

I must, nevertheless, mention one difficulty, although it can be readily cleared up by other documents. Mr. Bosanquet quotes in the Transactions of the Society, Vol. I, p. 217, and elsewhere, the *eighth year* of Cambyses, Sebat 28. The tablet is dated from Orchoe.

Now, according to the Babylonian reckoning, preserved in the so-called and so wrongly-called Egibi tablets, there was no 28th Sebat of the eighth year of Cambyses, who

was then (February, 521,) undoubtedly dead. I feel always reluctant to admit a fault in a document, and exceedingly averse to any pretension of knowing more about Babylonian matters than the original inscriptions. If therefore the number *eight* is not an error, which after all is possible, we must admit the alternative:

Either, at Orchoe there was another embolismal system, as at Babylon, and in the accession year of Cambyses there was an interval of two months to be compensated by the Second Elul and the Second Adar. This is highly probable, for in the two following years we see the anomaly of two intercalary Eluls inserted in two *years succeeding one another*, and actually Nisan, 529, at Babylon must have fallen two months earlier.

In this case the date at Orchoe is February, 522.

Or, the Orchoenians did not acknowledge the Magian's government, and still counted the years after Cambyses.

This would lead us to the year 521 (9,480).

I should prefer the former explanation, on account of the demonstrated irregularity of the Babylonian embolism, and further by the consideration that under Darius I. there existed *necessarily two* different modes of reckoning in Babylon and in Orchoe.

Reign of Gomates, the Pseudo-Smerdis.

Darius I, in the Behistun text, gives us, as we mentioned, also the two limits of the impostor's reign. The Smith tablets afford us the valuable indication that he actually usurped the very name of Smerdis—*Bardiya* in Persian, *Barziya* in Assyrian, according to the Zend form.

The two tablets which Mr. Boscawen mentions are dated at ten days' interval, the 21st of Elul and the 1st of Tisri. They are dated from the *first* year of Barziya, and these facts are highly important, as *they show the absolute undeniable identity of the two expressions* in this case—accession Elul 20, and first year Elul 20.

We need not to add that the Pseudo-Smerdis reigned from August–September, 522 (9,472), until April, 521 (9,470).

Reign of Nidintabel, Nebuchadnezzar III.

It is a very meritorious fact that Mr. Boscawen, and perhaps the late George Smith, assigned to Nebuchadnezzar III, son of Nabonidus, the tablets dated from the accessional year with the name of Nebuchadnezzar. We have in Paris one tablet dated in the first year of the same king, in the month of Ab; we may therefore control and corroborate Darius' record of the so-called impostor Nidintabel, who assumed the government of Babylon immediately after Darius ascended the throne. I have proved by the explanation of the dates alone of the Behistun text (see Records of the Past, vol. vii, p. 94 *ff*), that Darius left Babylon more than three years after his accession, and more than two years after the Battle of Zazana on the Euphrates, where he first defeated Nidintabel on the 26th of Athriyadiya (Kislev), and six days after fought the battle of the Tigris, the 2nd of Anamaka (Tebet). Darius adds that he took Babylon, and killed Nidintabel, whom he found there.

If Herodotus is right in assigning more than nineteen months to the siege of Babylon, this capital was not taken before Tammuz, 519 (9,482). We must confess that there is no reason whatever to doubt his veracity, although some considerations would rather authenticate an earlier date, which we shall examine when we come to the reign of Darius.

Reign of Arakha, Nebuchadnezzar IV.

The two tablets dated Nebuchadnezzar, year 1 (month lost), Elul 15, seem to belong to the second pretended Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus, the Armenian Arakha, son of Haldita. The witness is the same as in the sixth and the eighth year of Darius, and as there are no dated tablets from *Babylon*,[1] of the *seventh* year of Darius, it may be that the gap must be filled up by the documents dated from the reign of this rebel. In the Darius tablets there is a break of

[1] Other dates of the seventh year, of course, occur, but from other cities.

seventeen months at least, and of thirty at the utmost; the shorter interval is the more probable one.

Darius took the town on the 22nd of Margazana, which cannot be assimilated, the Babylonian version of the Behistun passage having been lost. This revolt, which took place in his *seventh* year, after the Babylonian computation, may bring us down to the year 513 (9.488).

Reign of Darius I.

The reign of Darius is one of the most difficult to make out, as there are certainly two modes of calculating its beginning. All the nations not included in the Babylonian wall-square, remained unsubjected to the mere obsidional power of Nidintabel, and they counted from the real accession of Darius—April, 521 (9.480). So did also the source of Ptolemy, if he did not reduce the annual number to his canon-figure, when he recollected the two eclipses of the 15th of Nisan of the twentieth year, and that of the 15th of Marchesvan of the thirty-first year of Darius. But at Babylon a later epoch marked the reign of Darius I, the capture of the city, after the reign of Nidintabel.

The passage of Herodotus, as quoted, gives for that epoch Tammuz, 519 (9.482). The latest date, Darius 35, Tammuz 15, would already fall down to 485 (9.516), although the epoch of Xerxes had commenced since the 25th of December, 486 (9.515). This might be possible, but scarcely probable.

The first document bears the date of Adar 14, year 1. There is no indication of a locality; but the document written Iyar 2 of the second year could after our reckoning only be 518 (9.483). At any rate, the ordinary calculation would lead us to 520 (9.481), and probably no document in Babylon was dated from the besieger's reign.

In this case we must confess that for a sound chronological examination the case is very puzzling, and too difficult to be decided without further information.

We would not have troubled ourselves with Belshazzar, who was a son of Nabonidus, if we had not to correct also at this place a former opinion of ours. If we may lay any stress on the historical value of the Book of Daniel (and many reasons might determine all serious scholars not to rely too much upon it), we can only say that Darius the Mede could not be Darius son of Hystaspes, but must have been a satrap of Cyrus, who took by assault a stronghold of Chaldæa during the reign of Nabonidus in one part of this country, which was not Babylon, and which Belsarussur,[1] son of Nabonidus, governed at this epoch under his father's suzerainty.

Let us now follow the exact chronology, as it results from the Smith tablets. In chronology, as in all other sciences, we are only allowed to stand upon a sound original basis. We must merely examine the documents and look to what they teach. In substituting our "private" chronology for that of the only authenticated authorities, we shall undoubtedly obtain one result, that everybody will take our ideas for private fancy and personal imagination, and that nobody will either believe or follow us. Nobody, I hope, and I am sure, will accuse me of having done so, for I have examined the fact coolly and soberly, without any apologetic, religious, or political pre-occupation.

[1] This is the only admissible way to place Belshazzar and Darius the Mede. For a long time I have abandoned my first idea, contradicted even by the Book of Daniel, of identifying Darius the Mede with Darius I of Persia, and of placing a third capture of Babylon and a Belshazzar in B.C. 490, the sixty-second year of the age of Darius. At the present time, the Smith Tablets establish without doubt, that Darius reigned at Babylon without interruption from the seventh year to the end of his reign. Mr. Bosanquet has ventured to assert that from 518 to 506 there were no traces of Darius's rule at Babylon (Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. I, p. 221); the contrary is the case, as we know at least fifty tablets dated from this period. There is no room whatever for admitting the imaginary second Cyrus and Nabonidochus, quite unknown to almost sixty Greek and Roman authorities; my learned friend is, I think, wrong in treating them with that scornful neglect, which might have been reserved merely for the acknowledged forgery of Annius of Viterbo. We have not to write history suited to our own theories, but history as yielded to us by the authors, whose writings are completely and splendidly corroborated by contemporaneous documents. All this quite arbitrary destruction of history and chronology appears to have originated in a desire to obtain for the capture of Babylon under Belshazzar the date of 493 B.C., 490 years, or seventy weeks (?) before the Nativity.

CANON.

9,440	....	561, June[1]	Death of Nebuchadnezzar. Accession of Evil-Merodach.
9,441	....	560, March	Release of Jechonia of Juda.
9,442	....	559, April	Reign of Neriglissar.
9,445	....	556, August....	Accession of Labasi-Marduk, his son.
9,446	....	555, June	Murder of Labasi-Marduk, and reign of Nabonidus.
9,463	....	538, May	Capture of Babylon (between Iyar 4th and 22nd). Reign of Cyrus.
9,472	....	529, April	Cambyses succeeds to Cyrus (middle of Nisan).
9,479	...	522, March	Revolt of the Pseudo-Smerdis.
9,479	....	522, August....	Death of Cambyses. The Magian reigns.
9,480	....	521, April	Darius reigns after the murder of Gomates, Nidintabel king of Babylon.
9,480	....	521, November	Commencement of the siege of Babylon.
9,482	....	519, June	Capture of Babylon.
9,488	....	513	Revolt at Babylon under Arakha.
9,516	....	485	Death of Darius.

[1] The dates in the first column afford, I think, the most practical means of preventing the two series of converging and diverging numbers; the system consists merely in the augmentation of the Christian era by adding 10,000. It has thus the advantage of not changing the years after Christ, which are modified by all other computations.

Paris, November, 1877.

ON SOME EARLY BABYLONIAN OR AKKADIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

PART I.

By W. St. Chad Boscawen.

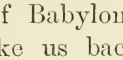
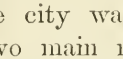
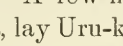
Read 4th December, 1877.

In my paper this evening, I shall endeavour to explain to the members of this Society the legends inscribed on the two "Records of the Past" which were exhibited at the last meeting of this Society. I refer to the inscribed cone and brick which have been presented to the Society by one of our most industrious members, Colonel Prideaux, Her Majesty's Resident at Bushire, on the Persian Gulf. I am sure that in Colonel Prideaux many of Her Majesty's Consuls have a very good example to induce them to further the study of the archæology around their stations, and I hope that this Society may soon reckon among its members many more of these gentlemen, and may thus have correspondents in all parts of the earth. There is an old saying that the sun never sets on the British Flag; I hope that we may say the same of the members of this Society, and I for one believe we may soon do so.

In my endeavour to explain to you the legends on the various monuments from early Babylonia, I shall not confine myself solely to the two which I have just mentioned, but shall bring before you several more, which have been procured from the same site as these of Colonel Prideaux. But I feared that if I confined myself to the mere translation of the inscriptions on these monuments, I should fail very considerably to interest you in the subject, so I shall endeavour to give you some insight into the state of civilization in vogue at the time these inscriptions were written.

The first point to be considered, before entering into the examination of the inscriptions themselves, is the site from which they come, and the city whose ruins they mark.

During the early part of the year 1875, a number of antiquities were discovered by the Arabs on the banks of the river "Shat-el-Hie," in southern Babylonia. These were taken to Baghdad, and many of them have found their way to the British Museum, and will form part of my paper this evening. The Shat-el-Hie, or River of Hie, is a stream which joins the Tigris and Euphrates, and forms a natural boundary between the marshes of the lower delta and the rich alluvial of the Irak, the province around Warka and south of Hillah. The Shat-el-Hie is evidently one of the old Babylonian canals, which has, unlike its numerous fellows, remained navigable, and is still used by some traders as a short route between the two rivers. It leaves the Tigris at the village of Kut Amarah, about 241 miles above the junction point of the two rivers at Kurna. It wends its way as far as the Kut-el-Hie through extensive marshes, until it reaches the ruins of Nashayet, which mark the ruins of some ancient town. Here the stream divides into two branches, the northern one of which is navigable, and bears the name of the *Bu-ji-Hurat;* after a circuitous course it joins the southern one near Tel Tendujah. The remainder of the course is in a south-easterly direction, and is direct until the tombs of Hamrah are reached; here the river divides into two mouths to enter the Euphrates. The northern one is navigable, and bears the name of the Argaf mouth. The junction with the Euphrates is about ninety miles above Kurnah, which forms the apex of a triangle of which the three rivers form the three sides. The Shat-el-Hie is about fourteen miles in length. Thus we have a district of some 630 square miles included between these three rivers. This was the ancient province of Bit Dakkuri, as I shall show. The mounds of Nashyet and the adjacent ones are known to the Arab traders by the name of the mounds of Zerghoul, and in them we have a wonderful preservation of the old name of the city whose ruins they mark. The bricks and other monuments obtained from these sites bear on them the titles of

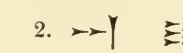
a series of rulers or viceroys of the city of Zir-gul-la, a name which is evidently preserved in the modern Arabic Zerghoul; so that we find these records are from the ancient city of Zirgul. Zergul was one of the most ancient cities of Babylonia, and the records now under notice must take us back beyond the second millenium. Situated as the city was, on the important loop canal between the two main rivers of Babylonia, it was an important town. A few miles to the west, on the east bank of the Euphrates, lay Uru-ki or Erech, the site of which is now marked by the ruins of Warka. On the west bank of the Euphrates, and almost opposite the mouth of the Shat-el-Hie, lay Uru or Ur, the primitive capital of Babylonia, now represented by the mounds of Mughier, Babylon and Nipur. The Calneh of Genesis were situated a few miles to the north of this group. Zergul derives its name from an ancient shrine situated within its precincts. We are told in a list of Babylonian temples found in the royal library at Nineveh, that the great temple at Zergul was called  , "the house of the great light of heaven." In the syllabaries we find the first element in the name of this city, which, like many early Babylonian names, is composed of a noun and a qualifying adjective. We have this sign,  *zir*, explained by *nu-ru*, "a light"; but the form of this character reveals at once its hieroglyphic origin, and shows that it is not the ordinary solar light which is meant. The Chaldean signet seals are frequently dedicated by persons who were probably agriculturalists, and have for their patron deity the air-god Rimmon. On the gems thus dedicated, there is very frequently a figure of a divinity holding in his hand an object of peculiar form, which evidently represents the thunderbolt or lightning, the chief weapon of the Jupiter Tonans of the Babylonian pantheon. It is very evident that the first ideographic expression in the name of Zir-gul has its origin in this sign , which the Semites rendered by  *nu-u-ru*, "light" or "fire," the equivalent of the Chaldæan נור, "fire" (Dan. iii, 27), lightning being one of the fires of the gods, and the

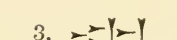
earliest source of fire to the inhabitants of earth. We now come to the second element in the name of this city, the group *gul-la*, which consists of an adjective *gul*, with the phonetic prolongation for the emphatic case. The adjective *gul* or *gula* is explained in the syllabaries by the Semitic word *surpretu*, "brilliant," a derivative from the root שרף, "to burn," and especially an attribute of the sun-goddess who bore the name of Gula. So that the name of Zirgul denotes "the city of the great or brilliant light," and evidently derived its name from the temple dedicated to the great light, apparently the lightning.

We will now examine one of the inscriptions from the site, namely, the cone presented to the Society by Colonel Prideaux, from which we shall gain much information regarding the nature of this great temple at Zirgul, and the reason of its curious dedication.

The cone inscription is as follows:—

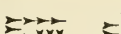
1.
D.P. Nin - giz zi - da
To the Lord of the wood of life

2. 
Dimme - ra - ni
His god

3. 
Gude - a
Gudea

4.
Pa - te - si
Viceroy

5.
Zir - gul - a - ki
of Zergul

6. 
gum .....
who the temple

7. [1]
Nin .....
The Lord of .....

8.
in - ru - a
he has built

9. [1]
E .....
The Temple .....

10.
mu - na - ru
it is built.

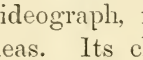
Having shown how the city from which these relics came derived its name, and the nature of its chief temple, I now proceed to show that this name and temple were due to the existence of a curious and primitive custom in Babylonia.

Among most primitive people, fire is found to be in use, and to be kindled in various ways. The first fire kindled on earth was, no doubt, due to volcanic or electric agency. There were in existence among the tribes of the Pacific Islands, not many years ago, peoples who had never seen and could not comprehend, the nature of fire; and when, by contact with its flame, they were burnt, they attributed it to the stinging of some savage beast, who fed on their houses and woods. But sooner or later, man must have become acquainted with fire and its utility. No doubt the first heaven-kindled fires were carefully preserved, and handed on from family to family, hence the origin of the early worship of fire. But the earliest mode of producing fire was by

[1] Too much obliterated to read.

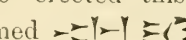
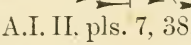
the friction of two pieces of wood, or by what is commonly known as the "fire-stick." This custom, as Mr. Tylor and others have shown, is in vogue in almost every savage race, and among as primitive a race as the Akkadians or early Babylonians, we might expect to find such a custom in existence.

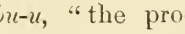
The primitive language of Babylonia is now almost universally admitted by Assyriologists, to be called the Akkadian, from the Akkadians, one of the early non-Semitic tribes inhabiting Babylonia. This language is extremely primitive in its structure, and resembles the Chinese in the fertility of its ideographic expression of ideas, and in what may be called practical word building. Possessed, like Chinese, of a certain number of keys, or root-forms of characters, by combination under systematic paleographic rules, it was enabled to express most varied phases of speech.

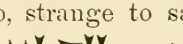
But to return to the subject of the "fire myth": we have three ideographs expressive of this element in nature, they are: . The first of these is a compound ideograph, composed of the determinative of a wooden object, or a thing produced from wood, and shows that fire was evidently connected with wood. But it is the second that I will first treat of. This ideograph, the representative of fire, was by the Akkadians pronounced *ne*, and was a simple ideograph, round which were associated several kindred ideas. Its chief and allied values were *kararu*, "to revolve," "to circle," from the root כרר; another value was "to kindle," "to dawn," which was expressed by the Semitic *napiḫu*, "to kindle," a form which occurs especially in hymns to the fire-god; the third value is *isatu*, "fire," the Hebrew אש, "fire." Here we have the three ideas of "revolving," "kindling," and "flame" associated. We now pass on to one most marked application of this sign to the making of a fire. The fifth month of the Akkadian calendar bore the name of *Ne-ne-gar*, "fire fire makes"; and this month was under the patronage of a deity named  *Nin-gis-zi-da*, "Lord of the wood of life." Those who have examined the Aryan myth

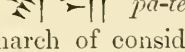
of the fire-gift to man—the Greek Prometheus—will know that fire was one of the earliest objects worshipped, and that when the fire was to be produced, the fire-god had to be allured forth from his abode by the turning of the fire-stick. Consequently, the idea of the fire being self-producing, expressed by the phrase "fire fire makes," and the dedication to the wood of life, points very strongly to the custom of producing the fire in Babylonia being similar to the Aryan one. The ideograph , with the determinative of wood, certainly appears to contain the elements of the primitive fire-stick. When we consider the close similarity between the production of fire and the production of life, and how many religions regard the spirit or soul as a flame in the body—the vital spark, as we say even at this day—revealed at our birth, extinguished at our death. But the connection between the fire-god and the production and protection of life among the Akkadians was very close indeed, and this is very clearly shown in some of the hymns to him, and it was his special duty to protect the unborn children and to drive away all evil spirits and phantoms.

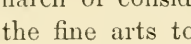
But besides the fire of earth, the primitive Akkadian knew of another realm of fire—the fire of heaven. To him heaven was but a perfected earth; in heaven were houses, fields, palaces, and temples; the gods feasted and drank wine, they wept and rejoiced, and were "men like unto themselves." The fire of heaven was twofold: the sun, the source of all fire and heat, especially the rising sun, the god Merodach; but even this fire had to be brought to light by the great heavenly fire-stick, the lightning, whose Akkadian name was "the point," or "piercer of heaven," , which pierced the dark clouds of night and released the fire, or the source of fire buried in the clouds and darkness. From the facts gathered from the inscriptions and from the monuments, it would appear most probably that we may conclude that there was the same mode of kindling fire in use among the primitive Babylonians or Akkadians as among the early Aryan tribes. This cone, presented to the Society by Colonel Prideaux, has therefore been the means of revealing the existence of this primitive custom in Babylonia.

We now leave the realm of mythology, and return to the regions of historical research. We find that the monarch who erected this temple at Zergul to the fire-god, was named  , which, by means of the gloss in W.A.I. II. pls. 7, 38, we are told was to be read *Gudea*, and was explained by the Semitic lexicographers by  *na-bu-u*, "the proclaimer," or "prophet." This monarch, who, strange to say, does not style himself king, but only *pa-te-śi*, "viceroy," appears to have been a monarch of considerable power, and to have been a patron of the fine arts to a considerable extent, as shown by the monuments which have come down to us. Monuments of this king have been found both at Warka or Erech, among the ruins of the Bowaireh mound, an inscription from that site being printed in W.A.I. I, 5. This inscription reads as follows:—

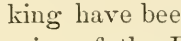
1. 
— NIN
To

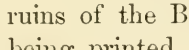
2. 
UNGAL - ENU
the lordly king

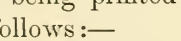
3. 
UNGAL - A - NI
his king

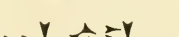
4. 
GUDEA - A
Gudea

5.
PA - TE - ŞI
Viceroy

6. 
ZIR - GUL - LA - KIT
of Zergul

7. 
E - A - NI
his house

8. 
MU NA - RU
I built it

The title of *pa-te-si* or viceroy, which Gudea bears, would incline us to regard this legend, which is from a cone found on the Bowaireh mound at Warka, as only a votive offering by a dependent vassal at the capital of his lord and master. This title was the one borne by the early rulers of Assyria, and we find them styling themselves 

pa-te-śi-a-usar, "viceroys of Assur," and the Semitic lexicographers of the court of Assurbanipal rendered its sense of dependence very accurately by using the word *issakan*, for *ni-sak-nu*, the 3rd sing. masc. aorist niphal of the root שכן, "to establish," meaning, therefore, "he (who is) established as dependent on another."

UN CONTRAT DE MARIAGE.

(*No.* 2433 *du Louvre.*)

Par E. Revillout.

Read 2nd April, 1878.

Personne n'a jusqu'ici signalé de contrats de mariage Egyptiens. Je crois donc utile de donner un de ceux qui me sont tombés sous la main :—

"L'an 33, *Χοιαχ*, du roi Ptolémée,[1] fils de Ptolémée le dieu, étant Aetus, fils d'Apollonius, prêtre d'Alexandre et des dieux frères,[2] étant Démétria, fille de Dionysios, canéphore devant Arsinöé Philadelphe, le pastophore d'Ammon api de la région occidentale de Thèbes, Patma, fils de Pchelchons, dont la mère est Tahet, dit à femme Ta-outem (?), fille de Relou, dont la mère est Tanetem : Je t'ai acceptée pour femme. Je t'ai donné un argenteus, en sekels 5, un argenteus en tout,[3] pour ton don de femme.[4] Que je te donne : 6 obolos, leur moitié est trois, aujourd'hui 6, par mois 3, par double mois 6, 36 pour une année,[5] équivalent à un argenteus et un cinquième, en sekels 6, un argenteus et un cinquième en tout, pour ta toilette d'une année ; plus un dixième d'argenteus, en sekels un demi, en argenteus un dixième pour ton argent de poche par mois, ce qui fait un argenteus et un cinquième, en sekels 6, un argenteus et un cinquième, pour

[1] Philadelphe ou Ptolemée II.

[2] Voir dans la Revue Archéologique, (Novembre, 1877), ma note sur les honneurs divins accordés aux Ptolémées et leur chronologie.

[3] Voir dans ma Chrestomathie démotique, p. 63, l'exposé des monnaies égyptiennes.

[4] Ton don nuptial, ton douaire.

[5] C'est la ⲣⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲩⲛ, *année de nourriture*, des contrats de mariage coptes. (Voir Journal Asiatique, Août, 1877, p. 271.)

UN CONTRAT DE MARIAGE.

(No. 2433 du Louvre)

ton argent de poche d'une année. Ton argent de poche d'une année est un dehors de ton argent du toilette. Que je te le donne chaque année. A toi il appartient d'exiger le paiement de ton argent de toilette et de ton argent de poche, qui doivent être à ma charge. Que je te donne cela. Ton fils aîné, mon fils aîné, sera l'heritier de tous mes biens présents et à venir. Je t'établirai comme femme.[1] Que je te méprise, que je prenne une autre femme que toi, je te donnerai 20 argenteus, en sekels 100, 20 argenteus en tout.[2] La totalité des biens quelconques qui sont à moi et que je posséderai est en garantie (ⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ) de toutes les paroles ci-dessus, jusqu'à ce que je les accomplisse selon leur teneur.[3] Je n'ai plus à alléguer pièce quelconque, parole quelconque . . . . avec toi. Les écrits[4] que m'a faits la femme Tahet, fille de Teos, ma mère, sur la moitié de la totalité des biens qui appartenaient à Pchelchons, fils de Pana, mon père, et le reste des contrats provenant d'elle et qui sont en ma main, t'appartiennent ainsi que les droits en resultant. A toi tout cela ainsi que ce dont je justifierai en leur nom. Fils, fille, provenant de moi, qui viendrait t'inquiéter à ce sujet, te donnera vingt argenteus, en sekels 100, vingt argenteus en tout. Il te les abandonnera totalement sans aucune opposition. A écrit . . . le prêtre d'Ammon, Horpneter, fils de Nesmin."

Nota.

Dans la plus part des autres contrats du mariage, on voit, outre les dons offerts par le mari à la femme, la description et l'estimation des objets de son trousseau, de sa dot, bref de tout ce qu'elle avait apporté. La fiancée de notre papyrus ne semble avoir, elle, rien apporté, et cependant, par suite de

[1] Voir, pour cet *établissement* définitif comme femme, mon article dans le numero d'Août 1877, du Journal asiatique.

[2] La même précaution est prise dans tous les autres contrats de mariage.

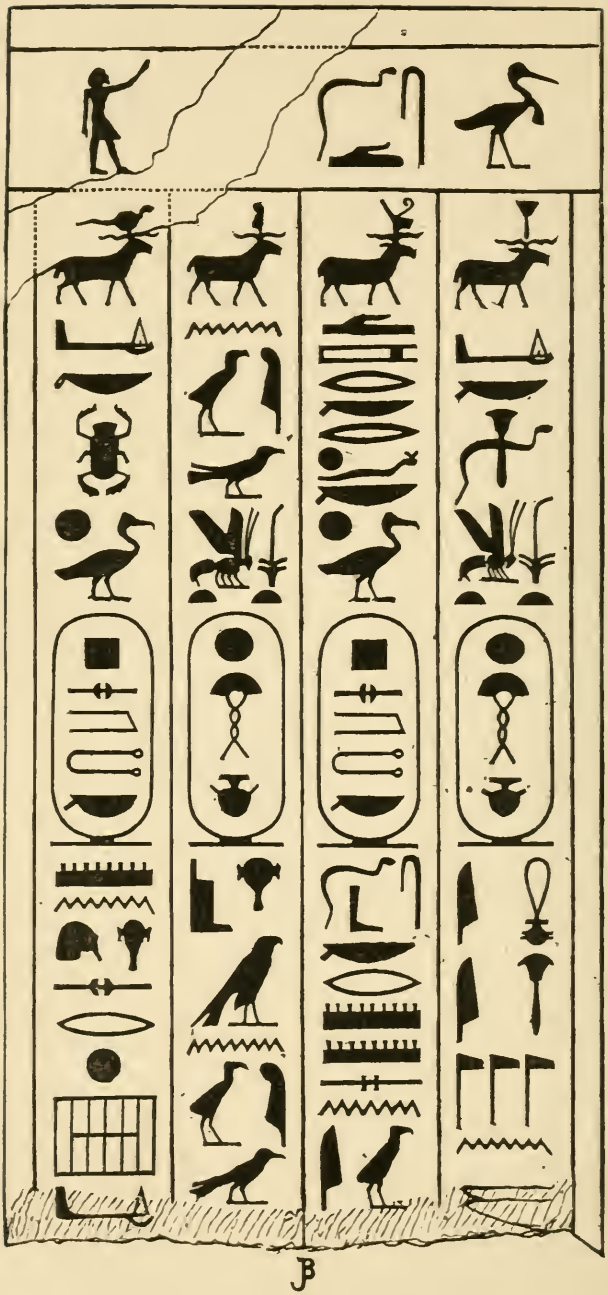
[3] C'est tout-à-fait *l'hypothèque légale* de la femme, dans la loi française. Voir sur l'hypothèque (ⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ) ma Chrestomathie démotique, p. 70, et suivantes.

[4] Les contrats en ma faveur.

la pension promise et des differents dons de son époux, elle se trouvait avoir, quelques années après, en l'an 39, une créance si forte sur celui-ci qu'elle pouvait le déposséder de tous ses biens, en vertu de son hypothèque, ainsi que le prouve le papyrus 2443 du Louvre.[1] Ces biens elle les céda elle même à un neveu, l'an 4 d'Evergète 1er, (voir le Papyrus 2431). C'est à cause de cette éventualité, qui exposait l'heritage patrimonial, que dans d'autres contrats de mariage les parents du fiancé interviennent pour autoriser et corroborer son dire.[2]

Voir, dans le dernier chapitre de ma Chrestomathie démotique, tous les actes qui précédent et suivent notre contrat du mariage ; car, par une heureuse fortune, nous avons au Louvre la totalité des contrats concernant cette famille, depuis le règne du dernier Darius jusqu'à la 20 année d'Evergète 1er.

[2] Cf. Buxtorf, Grammat. Chald. et Syriac, 1685, part III. "A Jewish Marriage Contract," A.D. 1494.—S. M. D.



Inscription of Psametik I.

ON A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF PSAMETIK I, IN THE MUSEUM OF PALERMO.

By Miss Gertrude Austin.

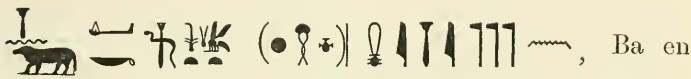
Read 2nd April, 1878.

This interesting inscription is engraved upon the base of the upper portion of a sitting figure, possibly of the monarch himself; the remainder of the statue is lost, and the sense of the text is therefore incomplete. The copy from which my translation is taken was made in 1876 by M. le Baron de Cosson, who was, however, unable to ascertain any further particulars as to the acquisition of the fragment The material is black basalt.

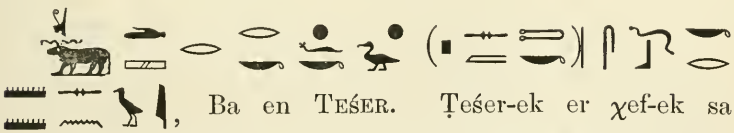
Translation.

Ba seťet, *Oh! makes to say, the soul.*

Col. I.

 , Ba en Uat. Ṭu-k uaťsuten χeb Rā uaḥ ȧb mȧ uaťneteru (en), *The Ram of the goddess Uat. Grant thou prosperity to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Apries, like the blessing of the gods.*

Col II.

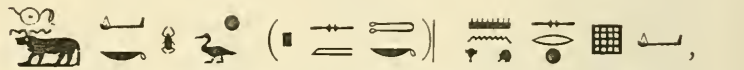
 , Ba en Teśer. Ṭeśer-ek er χef-ek sa Rā Psametik śťeb-ek er men-men sen uȧ, *The Ram of the*

goddess Nit[1] (or *Seb*). *Terrible art thou by thine exploit, son of the Sun, Psammetichus. Thou art active against the Men-men who transgress thy frontier* (?)[1]

Col. III.

Ba en Su, ȧn śu suten χeb Rā uaḥ ȧb ḥer ȧs Hor ȧn śu, *The Ram of the god Shu, without defect, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Apries, in the place of Horus without defect.*

Col. IV.



Ba en Ra. Ṭu-k χeper sa Rā Psametik men ḥer āpe sreχ (ṭu), *The Ram of the god Rā. Grant thou to be in the type of son of the Sun, Psammetichus, to set up* (or, *place on high*) *the standard . . .*

Note.—These rams were the four Great Rams of Mendes.

[1] Obscure text.

THE DEFENCE OF A MAGISTRATE FALSELY ACCUSED.

FROM A TABLET IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Translated by H. F. Talbot, F.R.S.

Read June 5th, 1877.

This tablet, marked K 31, is preserved in the British Museum, and has been published in the fourth volume of Inscriptions of Western Asia, plate 53. It is very different both in style and subject from anything that has been hitherto translated. It is a letter to the King from a magistrate named Nebo-balatzu-ikbi protesting his entire innocence of the charges brought against him. He seems in great trouble, the letter passes from one subject to another almost without warning; the diction is rapid and passionate, and there can be little doubt, I think, that we have here the original letter and not a copy made from it afterwards.

The chief charges against him appear to have been two. First, disloyalty to the King (perhaps treason): and secondly, complicity in the carrying off a young lady of noble birth: which crime he utterly denies all knowledge of, and professes his readiness, if the King is not satisfied, to submit to any judicial investigation that the King may desire.

Translation of the Tablet.

LINE

1. To the King my lord
2. thy servant Nebo-balatzu-ikbi [sends greeting]
3. May Nebo and Marduk to the King my lord be propitious!
4. and may the god..... who is the head of heaven and earth

LINE

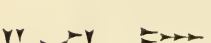
5. prolong thy life! Have I not once and twice
6. besought the King my lord? yet no one has sent to me
7. news from Babylonia. Is the countenance of the King turned away from me?
8. and have I committed some crime against the King my lord?
9. No! I have not committed any crime against the King my lord.
10. When trustworthy witnesses had assembled together
11. and I had declared my fidelity to the King before a Public Notary,
12. a certain man, my accuser, entered the Palace
13. boldly: a criminal charge against me he raised: fetters
14. on my hands he placed, and said:
15. "In the presence of all these people who are here assembled
16. as prisoner of my lord the King I arrest you!" All that day
17. I lay flat on my face upon my bed.
18. The soldiers who passed by my bed
19. out of ill-will no one gave me food for my mouth
20. hunger and emptiness fell upon me.
21. When evening came, I rose up, and I muffled my fetters,
22. and I passed by in front of the guard
23. whom the King my lord had set in that place to guard it.
24. How I was liberated I will now tell the King.
25. Some soldiers, strangers to me, came in thither,
26. who broke off from me the King's fetters,
27. and with idle words against the King
28. spoke: (the King will understand me).
29. For two days, for money, to sustain my life
30. they brought me of their food, for my portion, and for my nourishment
31. and they spoke words of disrespect
32. against the King my lord, that are not decorous that the King my lord should know them
33. their full speech I conceal, for it were not meet for the eyes of the King.
34. (Sarludaru will tell me the will of the King).

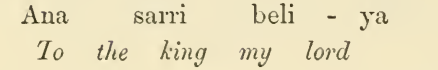
LINE
35. Moreover, a certain villain of the land of Sumir, who never
36. broke my bread,[1] this man seduced the daughter of Babilai
37. who is the son of one of the priests of the Sun.
38. To the King my lord I wrote word of the crime, and, one at a time,
39. The *sukkal* (or expert) and the *martinu* (or law-officer) took it by turns to adjudicate,
40. for, the King on purpose had mingled them so, to judge my household:
41. they sent writings in multitudes, letter after letter.
42. When Sarludaru to the office of High Treasurer
43. had been appointed, the *martinu* demanded judgment,
44. and having thrown the men of my household into prison
45. he gave them to Sarludaru. When he came
46. to judge, he said: "Fear not, my man!"
47. "In vain thou fearest." And I till the time of the evening meal
48. continued talking with him. Meanwhile, the girl
49. had been carried off; but how she left the house
50. I saw not; I heard not; and I knew not who
51. carried her off, not in the least! for in the crowd of servants
52. of the King my lord, with whom she had been talking she had remained behind.
53. O Marduk! whoever has concealed her flight, I have as yet obtained no news of him,
54. but, O lord of kings! I will urge with haste the search for her present dwelling-place.
55. The *Martinu* (or prosecutor) has annulled the criminal accusation
56. but that the King [himself] should judge all my family
57. from my heart I desire!

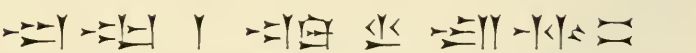
I will now add the cuneiform text of the tablet.

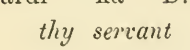
[1] *i.e.*, was my guest or friend.

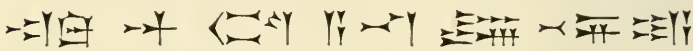
W.A.I., Vol. IV, Pl. 53, No. 2.

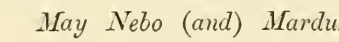
1. 
Ana sarri beli - ya
To the king my lord

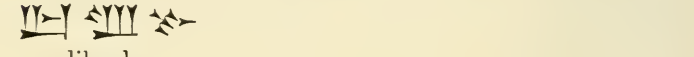
2. 
ardi - ka D.P. Nabu -balat- zu - igbi
thy servant Nebo-balat-zu-igbi [*sends greeting*]

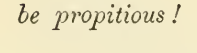
3. 
Nabu D.P. Marduku ana sarri beli - ya
May Nebo (*and*) *Marduk to the king my lord*

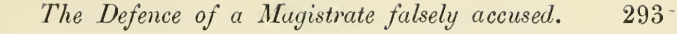

likrubu
be propitious!

4. 
makhir
and may the god . . . . . who is the head


same u irzitiv
of heaven and earth

5. 
lisalbiru palu - ka ammini
prolong thy life! Have I not


estin su sane su
once (*and*) *twice*

6. 

sarra bel - a amkhar - ma manma ul

the king my lord besought? yet no one

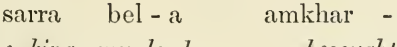
is'hal - anni

has sent to me

7.

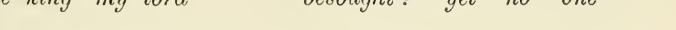
kīmu sa mat Akkadi D.S. ina pan sarri

news from Babylonia. Is the countenance of the king



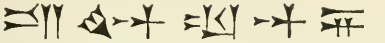
bel-ya la banū

my lord turned away from me?

8. 

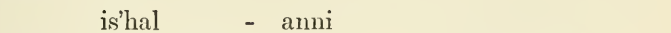
û khith ana sarri beli ya

and some crime against the king my lord



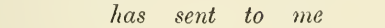
akhthū

have I committed?

9. 

anaku khith ana sarri beli - ya

No! I a crime against the king my lord



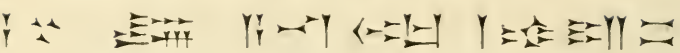
ul akhthi

have not committed.

10.

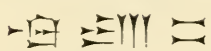
adi ila khalti ki allika

When witnesses trustworthy had assembled together

11. 

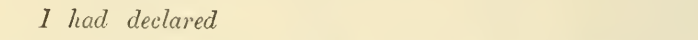
amat sarri ana eli Arrabi

(and my) fidelity to the king before a public notary



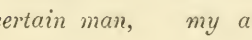
aqtabi

I had declared

12. 

umma dibbi - ya ana hekali

a certain man, my accuser, into the palace



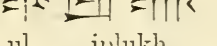
ibassī

entered

13.

ul iplukh garrit ya ittasi

he feared not: a criminal charge against me he raised:



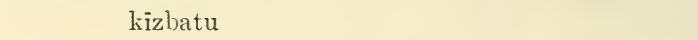
kīzbatu

fetters

14.

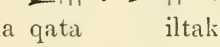
ina qata iltakna - anni û enna

on my hands he placed, and said:

15. 

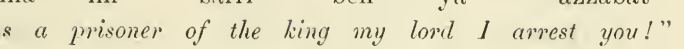
ina panat nisi gabbi kī

"*In the presence of all these people who are*



allika

here assembled

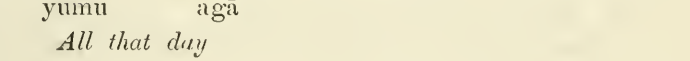
16. 

ina nir sarri beli - ya azzabat

as a prisoner of the king my lord I arrest you!"

yumu agā

All that day

17. 

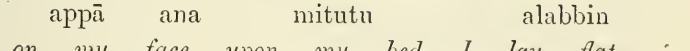
appā ana mitutu alabbin

on my face upon my bed I lay flat.

18.

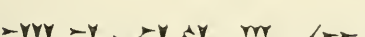
ummanatav sa mitu - ma paskhu

The soldiers who my bed passed by

19. 

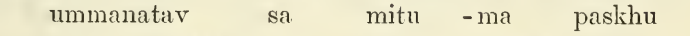
ultu maddagis manma akali sa pi - ya

out of ill-will no one food for my mouth



ul inamdina

gave me

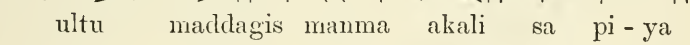
20. 

bubutu û tsummū

hunger and emptiness

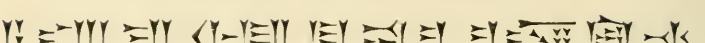
eli - a indakhaz

upon me fell.

21. 

allak -va ina eli buru amis alatti nira - a

When came moreover the evening, I rose up, I muffled my fetters.

22. 

amussi ū kuduma mazzarti

I passed by also in front of the guard

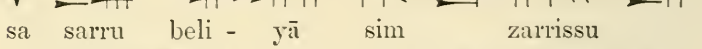
23.

sa sarru beli - yā sim zarrissu

whom the king my lord in that place to guard it

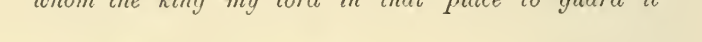
ina libbi izzu

in the midst had placed.

24. 

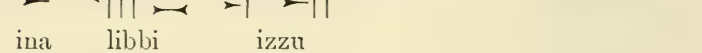
kī asthuru ana sarri beli - ya

How I was liberated to the king my lord



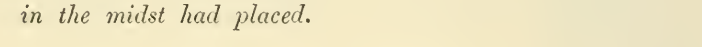
altapar

I will now tell.

25. 

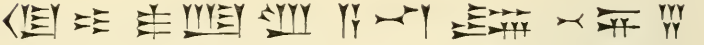
umma zabi zihranie - a

Some soldiers, strangers to me,



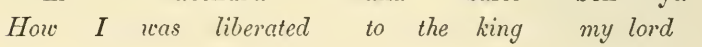
aganna

thither

26. 

ibassi kīsala sarri

came in, the fetters of the king



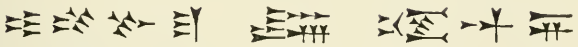
itamqū - inni

they broke off from me

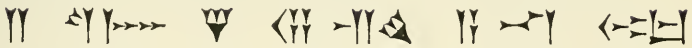
27.

û	kī	amat	abilti
and	*with*	*idle*	*words*

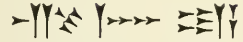
ina	pan	sarri
against		*the king*

28. 

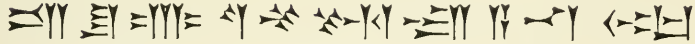
igabbu	-ma	sarru	bian	- ni
spoke:		(*the king*	*will understand me*).	

29. 

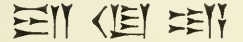
sane	immi	sa	khurazi	ana	eli
For	*two days,*	*for*	*money,*	*to*	*sustain*



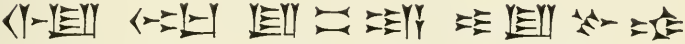
napisti	- ya
my	*life*

30. 

issū	tammussu	ana	eli
they brought me of their food,		*for*	*my portion,*



daki	- ya
and for my nourishment	

31. 

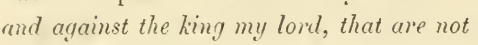
û	eli	dibbi - ya	idibbub
and	*against*	*my accuser*	*they spoke*

ki	amat	abiltav
then	*words*	*of disrespect*

32.

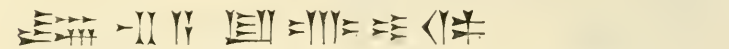
adi pan sarri beli-ya ul taksiduni

and against the king my lord, that are not decorous that



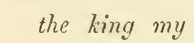
sarri bel-a lū - idi

the king my lord should know

33. 

ata amat kallat sa ina eni sarri beli-ya

I conceal their full speech, because, for the eyes of the king



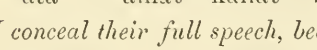
la dāba

it were not meet.

34.

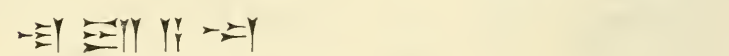
Sarru - lūdāru iteḫus

(*Sar-ludaru will tell me*



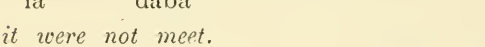
amat sarri sī

the will of the king.)

35. 

summa manma khubtu sa mat Akkadi

Moreover, a certain villain of the land of Sumir,



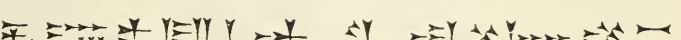
D.S. sa lanū -a

who my bread

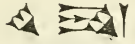
36.

la isappar sū binussu sa
never broke, this man the daughter of

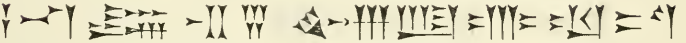
Babīlai
Babilai,

37. 

abil rea D.P. Samsi .....
who is the son of one of the priests of the Sun, ...



khith
seduced.

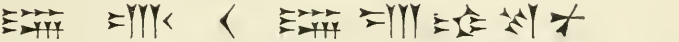
38. 

ana sarri beli-ya ikhthū altappar
To the king my lord of the crime I wrote word,

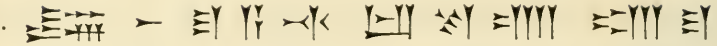
u estin alib
and, one at a time,

39.

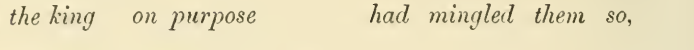
kī utirru iddanut - assu
they took by turns to adjudicate it,



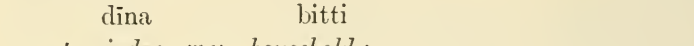
D.P. sukkalu u D.P. martenu
the sukkal and the martinu,

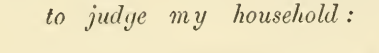
40. 
sarru ina māti iptebit umma
for the king on purpose had mingled them so,

dīna bitti
to judge my household:

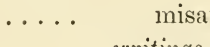
41. 
..... misari ina mati yadīna
..... *writings in multitudes they sent,*

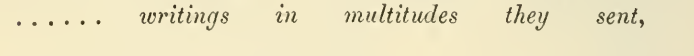
dippi ana dippi
letter after letter.

42. 
..... ma Sarru - lūdāru
..... *When Sar-ludaru*


ana khazanutu
to the office of High Treasurer

43.
ippakidu martenu dinā
had been appointed, the martinu judgment


iptaras
demanded,

44. 
avilutti sa bit abi-ya qata tsibitti
and the men of the house of my father into prison

ki utsabbita
he having thrown

45.

iddanni Sarru - lūdāru

he gave them to Sar-ludaru.

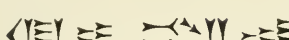
kī illika

When he came

46.

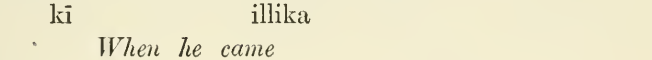
dinā ul tapallakh enna

to judge: "Fear not," he said,



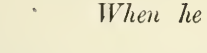
avilutta - a

"my man!"

47. 

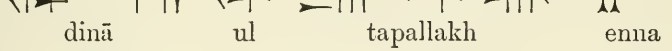
rīqu tapallakh û anaku

"in vain thou fearest." And I



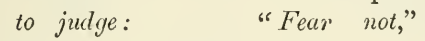
ina tsumi

till the time of the evening meal

48. 

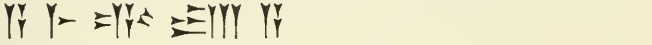
sāmis amātu itti - su

talking continued with him.



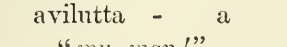
alubub - ma sinnis

Meanwhile, the girl

49. 

ikkāta sa ultu biti

had been carried off; but how from the house



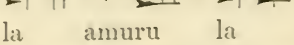
atā anaku

she went forth I

50.

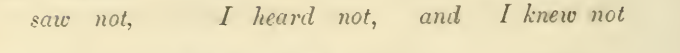
la amuru la asmū u la idū

saw not, I heard not, and I knew not



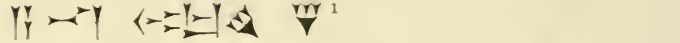
ana eli sa

who

51. 

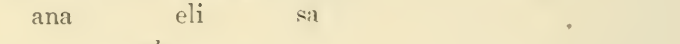
inassuk - sa appi itti ina

carried her off, not in the least! for in



pukhuri sa ardani

the crowd of the servants

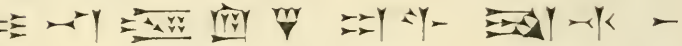
52. 

sa sarri beli - ya itti sa

of the king my lord, with whom

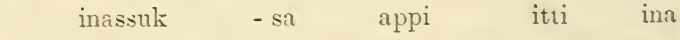
itibbubu - ma iturra

she had been talking she had remained behind.

53. 

Marduk sa birsu abubu - si

O Marduk! whoever has concealed her flight,



massu adgilnū

his news I have not yet obtained,

[1] The lithographed text has here.

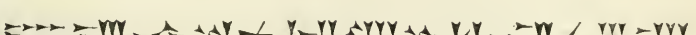
54.

attasū bel sarrani saru

but I will urge with haste, O lord of kings! the search for

kī - sa

her present dwelling place.

55. 

Martenu iprussū garrit

The martinu has annulled the criminal accusation,

56.

sa bit abi - ya kal dinu - ma sarru

but that the house of my father all the king should judge

57.

ina libbi lukulukh

from my heart I desire!

Notes.

LINE

3. *Likribu*, "may they be propitious"; from *karabu*, "to approach." Always used in these salutations in the sense of "to be propitious."

5. *Lisalbiru* means literally "may they cause to grow old," being the S conjugation of *labaru*, "to grow old." From this word being in the plural, it is probable that the first part of line 4 should be translated, "may the lord of the reed-tablets and the god . . . . ," &c.

Palu, "life." In the Black Obelisk inscription this word is used in the sense of "year."

11. *Amat*, "faith," "fealty," "duty"; it is also used in the sense of "command." This word occurs frequently, especially in tablets of this class.

LINE

12. *Dibbi*, "accuser"; from Heb. דָּבַב, "to slander."
Ibassi, perhaps from Heb. בּוּשׁ.

13. *Garrit*, "accusation"; from Heb. גָּרָה, "to be rough"; in hithpael, "to be irritated," "angry"; hence in Assy. "to accuse."
Ittasi, T conjugation of *nasu*, "to raise."

19. *Inamdina*, "he gave"; from *nadanu*, "to give"; *md* being written for *dd*.

20. *Bubutu*, "hunger," or "famine"; a very frequent word. *Tsummū*, "emptiness," "thirst." *Qaqqaru tsummu*, "arid (*i.e.*, thirsty) ground."
Indakhaz, "it fell"; T conjugation of *makhazu*. After *m* the inserted *t* frequently becomes *d*; this also has caused a further change of *n* for *m*.

21. *Alatti*, "I muffled"; from לָאַט, "to wrap round," "to muffle."

28. *Bian*, "he will understand"; from Heb. בִּין, "to discern," "to perceive."

31. *Idibbub*, "they spoke," or "devised"; *dababu*, to "devise."

43. *Ippakidu*, "had been appointed"; from Heb. פָּקַד, "to visit," "place over."

49. *Atā*, "she went forth"; from the Hebrew אָתָה. A very frequent word in the inscriptions.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. VI. JANUARY, 1879. PART 2.

NOTES ON THE ḤIMYARITIC INSCRIPTIONS

CONTAINED IN THE

MUSEUM OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL W. F. PRIDEAUX, F.R.G.S.,

Fellow of the University of Bombay.

Read 7th November, 1876.

OF the following inscriptions, Nos. I, II, and III were obtained from Mârib by the late Dr. Mackell of the Bombay Medical Service, and were presented to the Museum by Dr. Smyttan. No. IV was found at Aden, at a depth of about twenty feet below the level of the soil, by some workmen engaged in laying out a new road, and was forwarded to Bombay by Captain Haines of the Indian Navy. Very accurate copies of these inscriptions were published in No. VIII (October, 1844) of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The remaining inscriptions were purchased by the Society in 1872, and reduced copies from estampages made

by Mr. E. Rehatsek, M.C.E., were given in No. XXIX of the Journal for 1873–74.[1]

Shortly after the publication of these last inscriptions, I was favoured by the Honorary Secretary, Dr. Codrington, with impressions of the inscriptions included in the older series (Nos. I–IV), and during a subsequent visit to Bombay, I made a careful examination and took copies of the whole collection. A few errors in Mr. Rehatsek's transcriptions have been discovered, which have naturally arisen from the facsimiles having been made from squeezes of the stones, and not from the stones themselves.

I have classed the inscriptions according to the subject-matter contained in them. Nos. I to IV are commemorative of certain distinguished individuals; Nos. V to VII are of the common *ex voto* character; and Nos. VIII to X are apparently title-deeds connected with the transfer or ownership of land or other immoveable property. In addition to the above, the Museum contains a broken fragment of a very fine tablet (No. XI), which probably records the completion of a public building; two mutilated slabs engraved in bas-relief, which are too defaced to admit of translation; and three bronze tablets, which are plainly forgeries of the nature described by Dr. Praetorius at page 417 of vol. xxvi of the *Zeitschrift d. D. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft.* In the following notes I shall only attempt to indicate novelties of translation or construction.

I.

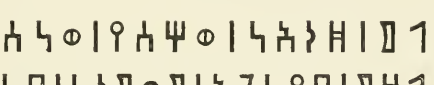
In Arabic, صور وذاب, *Representation of Wadd-äb.* On the meaning of the name Wadd-äb, see *Transactions*, vol. v, p. 418.

[1] Since this paper was written, Dr. D. H. Müller has elaborately criticized in the *Zeitschrift d. D. Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (vol. xxx, pp. 13–23), the inscriptions published by Mr. Rehatsek. Reference should also be made to the *Notes and Illustrations* on page 198 of the present volume of Transactions.

II.

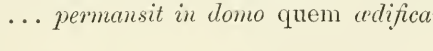
אוסאל, *Donum Il;* cf. Arab. آسَ, *Donavit;* أُوسٌ, *Donum.* The name תבי is doubtless, as Dr. Müller suggests, the equivalent of the Palmyrene זבי and the Arabic الزبا.

III.



This inscription has never been satisfactorily translated, and I am unable to state with any approach to certainty the meaning of the third and fourth words. The sculptured bust above the inscription doubtless represents the votary, who bears the common name of סהלם (Os. 24), and has the epithet of דראן (cf. Hal., 353, 5). לדם is probably the Arabic لَذَمَ, *commoratus, affixus fuit* loco; *permansit* in eo. בינשא מעמרן may be for במעמרן דיבשא, but there are difficulties attending this solution of the passage. אשנן for פעשנן[1] is written in two lines in smaller characters on the side of the stone The following translation must be considered quite provisional:—*Sahl*[um] *Dhu-Rän et ..... et ..... permansit in domo* quem *ædificavit in terrâ planâ ejus.*

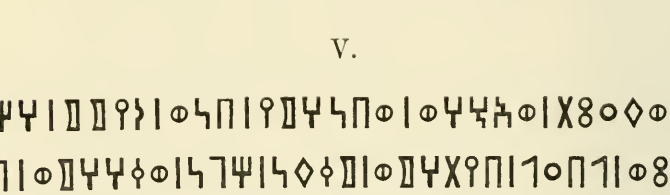
IV.



[1] ברת may be either بَرْثٌ, *terra plana et mollis,* or it may be compared with ابراز and signify "ausziehen zum Kampfe" (Müller, *der status constructus im Himjarischen, Zeitschrift d. D. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft,* xxx, 119).

This inscription is not engraved on a sculptured pedestal, as thought by Lenormant (*C. R. de l'Acad. des Inscrip.*, 1867, p. 284) and Halévy (*Journal Asiatique*, Dec., 1874), and there is no indication that it appertained to a statue. It is incised on the face of a circular marble slab with a raised edge, and it may have originally been inserted in the wall of a temple or other public building. The fifth word does not read as רבקם (Halévy), but as רבק, and I translate the whole inscription as follows:—*Nashä-Karib. son of Rabbâb*^{im} *Halîl*^{im}*; and whoso shall steal it is placed in bonds.*

V.



The translation of this inscription presents no difficulties. מקף is thought by Halévy (*Journal Asiatique*, Dec., 1874, Inscription 73) to signify a statue or votive stone; but it more probably means the enclosure where the larger animals were sacrificed; cf. Heb. נָקַף, Chald. נְקַף, *percussit, cecîdit;* Arab. نَقَفَ, *fregit* caput.[1]

יזפנהמו, cf. Heb. יָסַף, Sam. יוף, and Aph. אוסף, הוסף, *addidit, auxit, largius dedit.* For interchange of ם and ז, especially amongst the Arabs, cf. Gesenius *Thesaurus*, p. 400. Compare also מזנד with Arab. سَنَدَ. In this passage the verb is in the 3rd pers. sing. of the subjunctive mood.

[1] Mordtmann (*Zeitschrift d. D. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, xxx, p. 34) refers מקף to the roots נקף, قوف, and قيف, and renders it "der geweihte Ort." Müller (*ibid.*, p. 690) generally adopts Mordtmann's opinion, and translates it "Weihstein."

Translation.

Hawaf'atht and his brother and their sons (*dual*) Benû Riyâm[im],[1] have renovated for the lord of their house this place of sacrifice, because he has granted the prayer addressed to him for their safety, and the safety of their possessions; and in order that he might augment the favour shown to them.

VI.

(*Last line quite illegible. Both sides perfect, but fracture on left-hand corner.*)

[1] For רים, cf. Mordtmann (*l. c.*, pp. 36 *et seq.*).

I shall only indicate a few of the more important points in this inscription. The name of the votary is אלרם, (cf. Heb. יְהוֹרָם, יוֹרָם, and the Phœnician name בעלרם on the bilingual inscription of Dali, and on one of the inscriptions from Citium, published by the Count de Vogüé) quem *Il sustulit.* His surname is יחמד, and the dedication is probably made in his own name and in that of some of his relatives; but the fractured state of the stone does not permit this to be determined with certainty. The family is אדם מלכן, that is, feudatory to the king (מלכן = مَلِكَانُ, *royal*). The offering is made to Il-Maḳah, who appears here with a new attribute as "Lord of the chiefs of Ṣirwâh" (𐩱𐩥𐩲𐩡, plur. of 𐩥𐩲𐩡, وَعْلٌ, *nobilis, eminens, princeps*).[1]

We have only two letters מן to indicate the offering, but it is easy to supply צלמן, both from the following inscription, as well as from one in the possession of Lieut.-Colonel Miles, where we find the same expression as in this. צלם is the Heb. and Chald. צֶלֶם, Arab. صَنَمٌ *imago, idolum.*

חמר appears to be identical with the more usual form וקה, *audivit, obedivit.* The remainder of the text is obscure, but it evidently refers to some warlike operations in which Ilrâm was engaged on the part of Sabâ, and in which booty (הדג) was captured and prisoners (סבים) made in the neighbourhood of the town of *Μαριαμα* (Ptol.). The leader of the opposing party was apparently named Sa'ad-Tälab, *Prosperity of Tälab*, a deity who frequently figures in the inscriptions (cf. Mordtmann, *Zeitschrift d. D. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft.* xxx, pp. 25. 37).

[1] Müller (*Zeitschrift d. D. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, xxx, p. 686) reads from an estampage the common formula בעל | אום | לצרו, but this is untenable in face of the careful examination which I made of the stone itself. The leg of the 𐩢 in 𐩢𐩥𐩧𐩱 is plainly visible, and also a portion of one of the upper branches. Ṣirwâh, the Σαροῦον of Ptolemy, is known from other inscriptions.

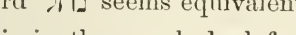
VII.

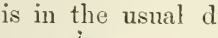
The general meaning of this inscription is clear. Some of the Benû Taẓiḥ endowed their tutelary god, Tälab Rayyâm, in his temple of Tar'at, with an image because he justified the confidence placed in him by Nashä-Karib, one of the number, that he would continue (Arab. نَمَى) to restore to life and health Karib-'atht, another of the family, from the disease which had attacked the house, and thus enable him to acquire possession of the image and to offer a sacrifice; and for this Nashä-Karib offered praise to the patron divinity.

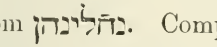
VIII, IX, X.

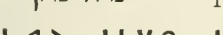
(Rehatsek, IV, V, I).

The mutilated condition of these three inscriptions renders a continuous translation impossible, and we can only judge of the general meaning from a few isolated passages. We twice find the expression בין נחלנהן, "between the two palm-plantations," and this leads to the conclusion that the tablets record a sale or other transfer of immoveables. The word נחל seems equivalent to the Arabic نَخْل, *a palm-tree.* t is in the usual dual form, which is perhaps contracted rom נחלינהן. Compare:—

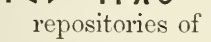
 (Os. IV, 12), these two repositories of the offerings of 'Athtor and Shamas.

 (Os. XIV, 4), between these two seasons.

 (Os. XXXI, 2), these four-and-twenty (images).

 (Fr. XL, 2), these two houses of Hirrân and No'mân.

(Abyan, XII), these two houses of the Abyanites (*i.e.*, of Yetha' and 'Athtor).

 (Hal. XLIX, 9), in the two enclosed fields of Mashar and Maṣaiḥ^{im}, etc.

One of these properties apparently was called נעמן, Na'wân; and the other נקבן, Naḳabân. The proprietor of the latter was אלעת, Il-izz[1] (cf. Heb. עֻזִּיאֵל, etc.), who has the surname of אלונין, which seems to be a gentile noun of a like formation to מעינין, סבאין. The name of the owner of the other property is stated to be Abu-Karib, the son of Basil^{im}, who has also the gentile appellation of דרין. (Read IX, 3, with X, 3.) In No. VIII the length of one of the properties (probably Nakabân) is given as four Aman and three Shauḥâṭ, and the figures at the commencement of No. X doubtless denote the manner in which these mea-

[1] This is probably the correct form of the name Eleazus, mentioned by the author of the *Periplus* as the king of the country whose chief town was Sabbatha.

sures of length were shortly expressed. The word אותֿנן occurs several times in the inscriptions, once in conjunction with ימהֿרן, and can scarcely be translated as "gods," "gotterbilder" (cf. Müller, *Zeitschrift, d. D. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, xxix, p. 598). I believe the word is equivalent to the Æthiopic ወሰን : *terminus, limes*, and that it should generally be translated "boundaries," or "boundary-marks"; cf. Hal., 352, where King Kariba-ïl Bayyân is recorded to have "enlarged Nashḳ^{am} as far as these boundary-pillars sixty Shauḥâṯ." Perhaps the boundary-stone was surmounted by the head of a divinity, like the Roman Terminus, and thence the Arabic وَثْنٌ. No. IX, lines 4–5, should therefore be translated, "the boundaries between these two palm-plantations of Naḳabân and Na'wân," and line 7, "the boundaries of the reservoir" (cf. Arab. نَضَحَ, *aquâ conspersit*; نَضِيحٌ, *receptaculum aquæ*). The agreement (No. IX, 9), which was probably ratified and confirmed (מתֿבת) in the year of Halak-ämir, the son of Tobba-Karib (No. VIII, 9–10), apparently includes within its stipulations the valuable trees and plants upon the two estates, and of these two are specified by name, the *'afâr* and the *arâk*, the former of which was in extensive use among the Arabs of the desert for producing fire, whilst the latter furnished a serviceable provender for camels (*vide* Lane, *sub vocibus*). The *arâk* is mentioned in an inscription which is now in the British Museum (Transactions, Vol. II, p. 19; Müller, *ḥimjarische Inschriften. Zeitschrift d. D. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, xxix, 599). Wellsted[1] says of this useful tree:

"Arák trees were very numerous [in the Wádí Meïfah], but taller, larger, and of a different species to those found on the sea-coast.[2] The camels ate greedily of those we found here, though they never feed on the latter unless pressed by hunger. This tree, common to Arabia, Abyssinia, and Nubia, is found in many places along the shores of the Red Sea,

[1] *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i, p. 416.

[2] "The former is the *Salvadora Persica*, well described by Forskâll as the *Cissus Arborea*; the latter is the *Avicennia nitida*. Delille, *Voy. en Arabie de Léon la Borde*."

and the southern coast of Socotra abounds with it. Its foliage is of a lively green, which sends forth a most fragrant odour at certain seasons. The Arabs make tooth-brushes of the smaller branches, which they dispose of at Mecca and other parts of the East."

XI.

This fragment, which is correctly copied by Mr. Rehatsek, probably commemorates the completion of a temple or other building. For מטוח, cf. Heb. טוּחַ, *oblevit;* Arab. طاخ, طيخ, (*a camel*) *smeared with tar*.

To have carefully deciphered the two inscriptions in relief would have required more time than I had at my disposal. I can, however, endorse Mr. Rehatsek's reading of the names of Ḥadhramaut and Yemenat in No. III, whilst in No. II the word סתיפע is legible in the last line.

ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN PASHT, THE MOON, AND THE CAT, IN EGYPT.

By Hyde Clarke.

Read 4th December, 1877.

The mummies of cats, which Herodotus saw at Bubastis, attested then as they now do, to the dedication of the cat to Pasht, the moon, and the veneration of the Egyptians for this animal.

Latterly a controversy has been carried on by Professor Mahaffy and others, as to the knowledge of the cat as a domestic animal among the Greeks, the weasel being domesticated among them. The almost absence of reference to the cat among the Hebrews is also matter of comment.

With regard to the veneration shown to the cat, as also to the origin of this institution, and others supposed to be peculiar to Egypt, the question is always of interest, whether such practice was indigenous and originated with the Egyptians, or whether it was of extraneous and earlier origin.

My attention having been called to this subject by the Rev. W. S. Randall, I have examined it and obtained some new results.

On examining the words for cat and moon, chiefly in the languages of the Indian region, and of Western and Central Africa, I find the words conform, not merely casually, but as a general law. I append tables illustrative of this.

It will be seen that all the chief forms for cat are also used for moon. These are of course differentiated for distinction.

In the languages of the Indian region the word for moon is differentiated also by the prefix *la*, and that for cat with *mu* or *ma*. The latter form is also found in Africa, but *la* is not.

A curious circumstance is this, that the common phonetic name for the cat, *mew mew*, is also applied to the names of the moon and sun.

The cat must have been known to man and have been

named at least as early as the origin of language. The superstition of its connection with the moon is also of prehistoric date, and not invented by the Egyptians.

It was one known to the Pigmies of Herodotus, for the words concur in the vocabulary of the Akka, lately compiled by Professor Beltrame, in the Bolletino of the Italian Geographical Society, vol. xiv, p. 128.

There are phenomena of periodicity in the cat, which are supposed to have given rise to its relationship with the moon. It is also a night animal.

Except in the case of *mew*, the word for the moon is not taken from the cat. The words for moon and sun frequently corresponding in the prehistoric languages, the name for the sun also corresponds to that for the cat.

The names for sun and moon conform to those for eye and round.

As yet I have not investigated the words for cat in America.

So far from the cat being unknown in the ancient world, or this knowledge being peculiar to the Egyptians, it is evident this was impossible.

The name for moon in Etruscan conforms to the general prehistoric law.

It must have been the superstitious regard for the cat which was the efficient cause of its treatment by the Hebrews and Greeks. Although the cat is considered not to be mentioned in the Bible, in the Talmudic legends of the Rabbis we find that the cat was the animal assigned to the fifth step of King Solomon's throne. But the antiquity of this is disputed by Mr. Drach; he says, however, that the cat is named in the Bible "katoola," the *la* coming last.

In the Talmud Mr. Drach says there is to be found another legend relating to the cat, which refers to a recipe for finding hidden treasure by anointing the eyes with the ashes of a cat.

The Rev. E. Nicholson Stott informs me that the cat is referred to in the work of Tabari (translated into French by Zotenberg for the Oriental Translation Fund, Paris, 1867, p. 112). Two animals, it is related, came out of the ark

which never went into it: these were the hog and the cat. The inmates of the ark having complained that no animal was to be found suited to perform the duty of scavenger, and none also to keep down the number of rats which had become very great; in order to supply the deficiency the hog and the cat were created. From the elephant was born the hog; and Noah passing his hand over the back of the lion, it sneezed, and the cat came forth from its nostrils.

It is possible that the moon met with great attention in prehistoric times, and to some extent had preference over the sun. Mr. Proctor considers that moon measurements preceded sun measurements. When the worship of the sun, of light, of Baal, and Apollo, assumed importance, then the worship of the moon may have been less regarded, and its sacred animal, the cat, looked upon with contempt by the Hebrews and Greeks for instance. The probability is that it was the she-cat alone which was dedicated to Pasht, and not the he-cat or the cat in general.

Another example in Egyptian mythology of prehistoric influence is the employment of the frog as an emblem for man. In the prehistoric epoch the name for frog conforms with that for man and other four-limbed animals. This is found in Africa and America. Seb undoubtedly belongs to prehistoric mythology.

In most cases the evidence suggests that the words for cat are applied from words for moon, and not moon-names derived from those for the animal.

The primary for these words is, however, not "eye," but "round"; so that they mean day-round, night-round, head-round. Hence the mythological connection of moon, month, woman, egg, &c.; hence the fact that in the primary syllabaries we find the same round or squared characters for eye, face, sun, moon, month, day, &c., in cuneiform or Chinese. It is the prehistoric idea which dominates.

According to Plutarch, a cat placed in a lustrum denoted the moon, illustrating the mutual symbology. He supposes that this is because the pupils of a cat's eyes dilate and decrease with the moon. The reason most probably depends, as before intimated, on another phenomenon of periodicity

corresponding to the month. Dr. Rae has, however, called my attention to another possible cause of the association, which is the fact that the cat's eyes glisten at night or in the dark. It is to be observed that the name of the sun in the Malayan and North American languages is the day-eye or sky-eye, and that of the moon the night-eye.

The connection between the cat and Pasht is not described in the zoological mythology of Gubernatis.[1] A reference is made to the moon, cat, and hare. The cat and Pasht are illustrated in Sir Gardner Wilkinson's "Egypt," second series, vol. iii, ch. xiv, p. 42; "Domestic Manners and Interments," by Wright, pp. 243 and 244.

Pasht, it may be noted, according to Ovid, took the form of a cat to avoid Typho, and Ovid ("Metamorphoses," 323) in describing animals sacred to the goddesses, calls the cat the sister of the moon, "fele soror Phœbi."

Mr. W. Harry Rylands having casually called my attention to the circumstance that in Egyptian mythology the sun and moon are treated as the two eyes of Horus, the sun being the right eye, and the moon the left eye, it is well to note that this relationship is also prehistoric.

Lenormant was struck with the fact of his having in the Akkad language of Babylonia two words for eye, *Si* and *Lim*, and he considers these to be portions of a double root, of which he finds examples in Ugrian ("Langue Primitive de la Chaldée," pp. 293, 427). This cannot, however, be the true explanation. In African and American languages very frequently the plural does not at all represent the singular, nor is it as in Ugrian a conjoint word.

In the present day the words of the double syllable are not preserved in the vocabularies in a distinct state, but I have observed that they consist most commonly of one syllable, equivalent to male (sun), and another, female (moon). The same phenomena are well marked in Africa, in the hand and in the foot, as I have pointed out in the yod and kaph of the Semitic alphabet.

To this union of the male and female elements, and not to a union of two coequal parts, is to be attributed the chief

[1] As to cat, *see* Houghton, Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. V, p. 63.

origin of the Akkad form for eye, and for the dual number in the prehistoric period.

It is also to be observed that the word for eye is one main origin of the numeral 2, as ear is to a smaller extent. Indeed, the organs of the human body afford the main elements of the numerals, and in this respect hand and foot hold a lower rank than is commonly allowed.

Dr. Leo Reinisch's observations as to the relation of Tibbu with Egyptian and the African languages ("Einheitliche Ursprung") came in confirmation of my own. Dr. Reinisch has however sought to deduce that Tibbu was an original stock of these languages, whereas it only shared with them in the distribution of prehistoric words.

The Ude of the Caucasus (see my "Memoir on the Comparative Grammar of Egyptian, Coptic, and Ude": Trubner, 1873) I still consider to be a language having relation with the Egyptian in its vocabulary and grammar.

In this I am confirmed by the result of recent investigations, in which the Coptic and its dialects have been adopted in preference to Egyptian, as affording more copious and more determinate materials. All evidence goes to show, in conformity with the researches of Professor Owen and Sir John Lubbock, that Egypt was first held by a race using stone implements of the same type as those contemporaneously employed. It was afterwards held by populations identical in origin with the older nations of equal culture. My determinations are in confirmation of the facts, which show a community of relationship of the Egyptian, Cuneiform, and Chinese characters.

The main topic of this paper is to give reasons for the opinion that the Egyptians' culture is developed like the others from a prehistoric source. With regard to language, on this occasion my observations must be within narrow compass. Not only the ancient Egyptian, but the Coptic and its dialects, and the Ude, including the Warashin dialect, are in common relation with languages of Central Africa, among which are those referred to in the Table of Words following this paper.

Such are Aku, &c., Jelana, Guresa, Gurma, Legba, Koama, Yula, Isoama, Oloma, Opanda, Biafada, &c.

In many cases these branches appear to differ in vocabulary and grammar. So between Egyptian and Akkad. Thus the first personal pronoun in Akkad is *Mi*. When, however, we come to compare the branches with the common stock in Africa we find the words and grammatical forms. Thus in Africa *Mi* is a common first personal, but so is *N*, and in some languages both forms are used.

The reason for the differences is that in the earlier period more than one word was used, and in a more advanced age one word was selected, but each branch did not select the same word. Further, such branches dealt with the word so selected in its own fashion.

A curious point of comparison between Akkad and Coptic is with regard to the double words referred to at p. 319. In the Egyptian preference for monosyllabising words, the roots will be found separate, which in African and in Akkad are found combined.

The supply of sources of comparative philology will be a material help to the determination of the ancient Egyptian.

TABLE OF WORDS FOR CAT, MOON, AND SUN,

IN THE LANGUAGE OF INDIA, AND OF WESTERN AND CENTRAL AFRICA.

CAT.		MOON.		SUN.	
rahui (*India*)	pishi	*Ngola* (*Afr.*)	mbeshe mbesi		
antali ,,	pusi				
ali (*Africa*)	mpus				
idatsa (*U.S.*)	puzike				
oko, *&c.* (*Afr.*)	musu	*Muntu* (*Afr.*)	moesi	*Jarawa* (*Afr.*)	mes
oussa ,,	mussa	*Chentsu* (*Ind.*)	masu	*Georgian*	mtze
hinese	mau	*Chinese*	yue	*Mbamba* (*Afr.*)	mue
common form		*Bayba* (*Afr.*)	mue	*Karen* (*Ind.*)	mu
		Papiah ,,	mua		
oali (*Afr.*)	balia	*Etruscan*	bala	*Kisi* (*Afr.*)	palalen
panda ,,	obala	*Miri* (*Ind.*)	palo	*Dhimal*, *&c.* (*Ind.*)	bela
ol, *&c.* (*Ind.*)	bilai	*Bala* (*Afr.*)	peli	*Khond* (*Ind.*)	,,
ibetan, *&c.*	byila	*Malayalim* (*Ind.*)	anbili		
akhya, *&c.* (*Ind.*)	bille	*Miri* ,,	polo		
ooch, *&c.* ,,	bilai	*Pepel* (*Afr.*)	puli		
hutani, *&c.* ,,	pilli	*Mru* (*Ind.*)	pula		
eluga ,,	,,	*Malay*	bulan		

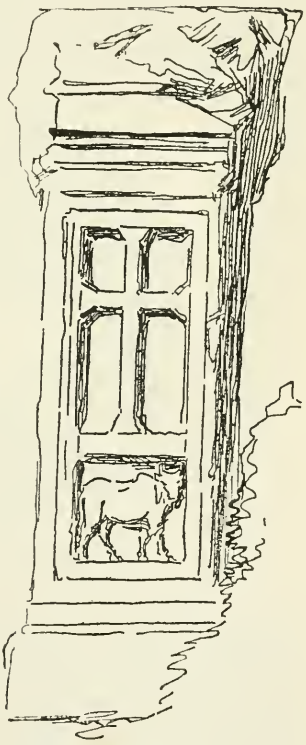
CAT.	MOON.	SUN
Chepang (*Ind.*) .. biral		
Kulungya .. .. birali		
Darhi, *&c.* .. .. biralo		
Bahingya .. .. birma		
Igala (*Afr.*) .. obara		
Nachhering, *&c.* (*Ind.*) .. manima	*Nachhering* (*Ind.*) lanima	
Waling, *&c.* (*Ind.*) munima	*Waling*, *&c.* .. ladima	
Lambichhong .. munuma	*Rodong* .. ladipa	*Baseke* (*Afr.*) dioba
Lohorong .. myouma	*Vayu* .. numa	
Mano (*Afr.*) .. nyama	.. ..	*Banom*, *&c.* (*Afr.*) .. nyam
Mbofia .. .. nuampa	.. ..	*Magyar* .. nap
Orungu, *&c.* (*Afr.*) nyami	.. ..	*Tibetan* .. nam
Bagba, *&c.* .. nyawo	*Kum* (*Afr.*) .. nua	,, .. nyome
Angami (*Ind.*) .. nunno	.. ..	*Ham* (*Afr.*) .. nom
Thoungthu .. . nyen	.. ..	*Baghrmi* (*Afr.*) nana
Amoy (*China*) .. niaun	.	
Assyrian .. .. dumamu		
Basa (*Afr.*) .. sura	*Mongol* .. .. ssera	*Marawi* (*Afr.*) tsuroa
Pulo, *&c.* (*Afr.*) .. musuru	,, ... ssara	
Bode .. .. zaria	*Bute* (*Afr.*) .. masir	
.. ..	*Barba* ,, .. suru	
Bulom, *&c.* (*Afr.*) yari	*Mende* ,, .. ugaru	
Mandenga, *&c.* (*Afr.*) .. nyari	*Mandenga*, *&c.* .. karo	
Mende, *&c.* (*Afr.*) manyale		
Mose .. yura		
Miri (*Ind.*) .. menkuri		
Manchu .. .. kesike	*Japanese* .. bsuko	
Finnic .. .. kissa		
Aku, *&c.* (*Afr.*) .. olugbu	*Aku*, *&c.* (*Afr.*).. ojogba	
,, ,, .. ojumo		
Yoruba .. .. ologene	*Yoruba* (*Afr.*) .. oshugba	
,, ,, .. ese	,, ,, .. eju	*Nki* (*Afr.*) .. eso
Yayba .. .. ologwo	*Yayba* .. .. ojugba	
,, ,, .. ese		
Biafada .. .. janguma	*Nyamban* (*Afr.*) nkima	*Darhi* (*Ind.*).. gama
Pajade ,, . jankuma	.. ..	*Kuri* ,, .. gomoi
Kabunga .. .. nyankumo		
Bambarra .. nyanguma		
Udom (*Afr.*) .. ekandon	*Sanskrit* .. .. chanda	*Santali* ,, .. chando
Okam .. .. ekandem	*Kol* (*Ind.*) .. chandu	
.. ..	*Kasm*, *&c.* (*Afr.*) kiana	
Landoma (*Afr.*) .. keten	*Mon* (*Ind.*) .. khatu	
Arabic .. .. kitt		

THE SUPPOSED TOMB OF ST. LUKE AT EPHESUS.

By William Simpson, F.R.G.S.

Read 5th February, 1878.

On a recent visit to Ephesus, I made some rough sketches of what Mr. J. T. Wood, in his work on the discoveries he made at that place, describes as the probable tomb of St. Luke. Afterwards, on comparing my sketches with the illustrations at p. 58 in *Discoveries at Ephesus*, as well as with the description there given, I found that at least one very important feature of the monument had been entirely omitted, and as this feature seems to bear on the original character of this ancient work, I submit a few notes on the subject, and a couple of sketches of the place by way of illustration. Mr. Wood's celebrity as the discoverer of the Temple of the Great Diana is so great, and so well deserved, on account of his labours and their final result, that his name naturally carries with it great authority, and as the illustration which he gives of this monument may be copied and recopied into other works, I may be excused for attempting to add some information on the subject.

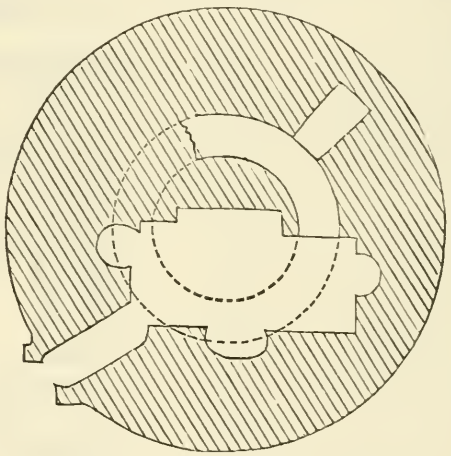


Pilaster, with Cross and Bull; Ephesus.

The place is within, and near to the Magnesian Gate; and all that remains at present of it is little else than a

mound; but an external wall of large slabs of marble is visible in some parts. This base was circular, and between each slab there has been a dwarf pilaster, a sketch of which is given (see p. 323), and on one of these still standing, there is a panel with a Christian cross cut so as to stand out in relief; in a smaller panel beneath is the figure of a bull or ox, with a well-developed hump, similar to that of a Brahminic bull. The bull being the symbol of St. Luke, led Mr. Wood most naturally to the conclusion that the monument had had some relation to the Evangelist, a conclusion which I think few will dissent from—the doubt will only be expressed as to this having been his tomb.

This sculptured pilaster seems to have marked an entrance which led into a small chapel, and the sketch-plan of it, which is here submitted, will make it evident that this



Sketch-Plan of Polyandrion.

did not belong to the original design of the structure. The irregular form of what we may suppose to have been a Christian shrine, bears no connection with the circular outline of the monument. The one may be described as an invasion and a conversion of the other.

The question arises as to the character of the remains. There is a small tunnel-like passage, into which I could enter, it seemed to me to be circular, and concentric with

the outer wall of marble slabs; and from this we may fairly conclude that it belonged to the first intention of the building. As this passage was blocked up with fallen earth, I could only penetrate through a small portion of its length, but in that I found a cell, which, from its size, was evidently intended for a tomb. This cell extended outwards between the passage and the external wall, and although only one cell was visible, I came to the conclusion that there were others, and that originally the passage had gone round, completing the circle, and that sepulchral cells similar to the one still to be seen, had radiated from it along its whole extent. I find myself confirmed in this conclusion from Mr. Newton's description of the "Lion" tomb at Cnidus ("Travels and Discoveries in the Levant," vol. ii, p. 224). He thus describes it: "The lower part of the chamber is, as I have already stated, built of blocks, and is pierced with openings, which radiate like embrasures from the centre of the chamber to the outside of the basement. There can be no doubt but these passages were intended as receptacles for bodies. Such an arrangement of cells, or *θήκαι*, branching out from a principal chamber, may be seen in Hellenic tombs at Budrum, and at Pyli in the island of Cos. I have never, however, before met with the circular arrangement adopted here." It will be noticed that there is a slight difference between the monument at Cnidus and the one at Ephesus—the first has a central chamber, whereas in the other there is a passage from which the cells radiate. The circular form of such tombs, it would seem from Mr. Newton's account, are not common. He also explains that these tombs belonged "to the class called by the Greeks *Polyandrion*—such as were dedicated to the memory of those slain in battle for their country."

The only evidence which Mr. Wood quotes to give a colour of probability to the supposition of this being the tomb of St. Luke, is that of the Greek Archbishop of Smyrna, who found it stated in a historical work in his library, that St. Luke died at Ephesus. As the name of this author is not even given, and nothing is said as to his character for authenticity, the reference is all but worthless. Almost

everything regarding the life of St. Luke, as well as his death, is obscure and uncertain. Anything reliable regarding the place where he died, or even his sepulchre, would be a valuable contribution to biblical archæology. The value of the contradictory traditions which exist may be illustrated by this reference to the Greek Archbishop, who quoted a second historian, according to which, St. Luke had been hanged at Patras.

The position of this Hellenic tomb, situated in such a public place, so close on the thoroughfare leading to the Magnesian Gates, renders it, one would think, all but impossible that the few early Christians, at the probable period of St. Luke's death, would have been permitted to select, what was perhaps a public monument, for his sepulchre. The insertion of the chapel into the monument must have been of a later date. Although not the tomb of the Evangelist, yet it is to the student of Biblical, as well as of Greek archæology, a monument of considerable interest, and we are indebted for it, to the lucky accident, as Mr. Wood himself relates, of his foot striking upon a block of marble one evening as he was wearily walking home after his day's work, and which led him to excavate at the spot next day.

[NOTE.—This discussion was again opened in "The Academy" for August, 1878.—W. H. R.]

ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF EPHESUS HAVING RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY, &c.

By J. T. Wood, F.S.A., &c., &c.

Read 5th February, 1878.

In order to understand the ruins of Christian buildings at Ephesus, it is necessary to trace briefly the origin and progress of Christianity in that city. Now we know from Bible testimony that Ephesus was one of the seven cities in Asia Minor, where Christian churches were established in early Christian times, and that, even before St. Paul's conversion, which took place A.D. 36, there were many Christians in these cities, as well as *in Judæa and Galilee, and in Samaria*, in which places we are told the Churches *had rest* on the suspension of that relentless and uncompromising persecution, of which Saul of Tarsus had put himself at the head. (See Acts of the Apostles, ch. ix.) Paul's first visit to Ephesus was with Priscilla and Aquila, who accompanied him thus far on his journey from Corinth to Jerusalem; on this occasion, short as his visit was, he went into the synagogue and reasoned with the Jews: but he probably remained at Ephesus only for a single day, or only during the short time that the vessel he sailed in discharged part of its cargo. This first visit of St. Paul to Ephesus is recorded in 18th chapter of the Acts.

The 19th chapter of the Acts gives a most graphic and interesting account of St. Paul's success at Ephesus during a sojourn of nearly three years; he taught Christianity in the synagogue of the Jews, and in the school of one Tyrannus; his teaching convinced many, and even they who practised as magicians, and so obtained their livelihood, brought their books together and burnt them publicly; this took place probably in the Forum, on one side of which is

the great theatre, where the disturbance took place, which arose from the fears of Demetrius, the maker of silver shrines for the Temple of Diana. So great was the tumult, and such were the fears for St. Paul's safety, that he was persuaded by his friends, as well as by some of the chief men of the city, not to enter into the theatre, and he was obliged to leave Ephesus immediately after. On the departure of St. Paul, Christianity probably received a severe check by a reaction in favour of the worship of Diana; great indeed must have been the enthusiasm of her worshippers who cried out, for the space of two hours, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" for they were not even inspired by the sight of the temple itself, as it was not visible from the theatre.

The long Salutarian inscription, found on one of the walls of the southern passage into the theatre, and which was inscribed in the time of Trajan, about A.D. 104, describes in detail a number of these shrines, probably similar to those made by Demetrius and his fellow-craftsmen. The shrines described in this inscription, and numbering more than thirty, were of gold and silver, weighing from three to seven pounds each, and represented figures of Artemis with two stags, and a variety of emblematical figures; these were voted to Artemis, and were ordered to be placed in her temple. This inscription bears interesting testimony to the truth of the particulars recorded in the Acts, as well as to the popularity of the worship of Artemis about half a century after St. Paul's departure.

As numerous decrees of the Council and the people were found in the excavations at Ephesus, it is very probable that a decree was issued after the disturbance in the theatre, forbidding the preaching of the Gospel by St. Paul and others, and this may account for St. Paul's afterwards passing on to Miletus, without touching at Ephesus, on the occasion of his next visit to Jerusalem.

Such a decree might perhaps be found, if it should be my good fortune to return to Ephesus, as I intend, and continue the excavations; this I shall not relax in my endeavour to accomplish; the value of such an inscription, the existence of which I have suggested, can scarcely be over-estimated.

I pass now to the tomb of St. Luke, which I suppose was contemporaneous with the earliest predominance of Christianity at Ephesus, and with some of the churches, the remains of which are to be found within the city. The building which I presume is the tomb of St. Luke, is of white marble, circular on plan, and fifty feet in diameter; it was adorned by sixteen columns, which were raised upon a lofty basement, a large portion of which remains *in situ*, as well as one of the door-posts, upon the front of which were carved two panels; the upper one contains a large cross, the lower one the figure of a bull or buffalo of the country, with a small cross over its back. On the side of the same door-post there are the remains of the figure of a man, which has been almost entirely chopped away; the nimbus, however, which encircled or surmounted the head, having been incised, remains perfect, and this figure is perhaps of itself sufficient evidence that this building was the tomb or shrine of a saint or martyr, and the bull, being the emblem of St. Luke, informs us what saint was represented by the figure; the opposite door-post had a large cross in a sunk panel. I have supposed that this building was of the latter end of the third or beginning of the fourth century, and I presume that the early Christians of that time were allowed to remove the remains of St. Luke from their original burial-place outside the city to this place of honour within the city; it would not be an ancient tradition, little more than 200 years, and the saint's first burial-place would be well known by the early Christians.

The building, moreover, stood within a quadrangle more than 150 feet square, which was surrounded by a portico, and was paved with thin marble slabs, under some of which were found graves; these I take to be a further proof of the nature of the building which they surrounded; they were probably Christian graves, as it is well known that the early Christians would pay large sums of money for the privilege of being buried near a saint or martyr. At the time that I discovered this tomb, I was anxious to obtain historical proof of St. Luke's death at Ephesus, and for this purpose I sought an interview with the Greek Archbishop of Smyrna, who, in reply to my inquiries, took down the books of two

ancient Greek writers, one of whom related that St. Luke was hanged at Patras, the other that he died at Ephesus. I unfortunately took no note of the names of these writers, and I have not yet been able to find any account of St. Luke's death at Ephesus. I have not, however, quite given up all hopes of finding it.

Eusebius, writing in the fourth century, tells us that St. Luke was born at Antioch in Syria, but he does not say in what condition of life; he is described by St. Paul as *Luke the beloved physician*, but this might have been an appellation bestowed upon him as a distinction for some knowledge, however slight and superficial, of the practice of medicine. The Rev. Sabine Baring Gould, in his Lives of the Saints, gives us all the information that he has been able to collect in reference to the life of St. Luke, but for our present purpose we need only direct our attention to his journeying after his conversion. We first hear of him when he joins St. Paul at Troas, and accompanies him into Macedonia.

Mr. Gould suggests that because St. Luke, who was the writer of the Acts of the Apostles, suddenly adopts the use of the first person plural in chapter xvi, that therefore he joined company at Troas. He thus journeyed as far as Philippi, and on St. Paul leaving that place, St. Luke resumes the use of the third person; St. Luke, therefore, might either have remained at Philippi, or might have proceeded to some other place. In chapter xx, 5, we are informed that St. Luke again joined St. Paul's company at Philippi, but it is doubtful whether he had remained there during the whole seven years of St. Paul's absence, viz., from A.D. 51–58. St. Luke accompanied St. Paul through Miletus, Tyre, and Cesarea to Jerusalem; he then became, with Titus, the bearer of St. Paul's epistle to the Corinthians. The last we hear of St. Luke from the New Testament is of his accompanying St. Paul to Rome.

The Greek Menæa says that he lived to the age of eighty. St. Epiphanius says that he preached in Dalmatia, Gaul, Italy, and Macedonia. St. Gregory Nazianzen makes Achaia the theatre of his preaching. Gaudentius, bishop of Brescia, writing in the fifth century, spoke of St. Luke as a martyr, and says that he suffered at Patras.

There seems to be no authentic account extant of St. Luke's life after his sojourn at Rome, or of the place or manner of his death. It seems not unlikely, with the evidence now before us, that he might have ended his days peacefully at Ephesus, and that he was buried outside the city, and that his remains were removed and entombed as I have suggested; but even if he had died at Patras, his remains might have been removed to Ephesus. It has been argued that this building might have been a pagan monument originally, adapted in later times as a Christian shrine; that the figure of the bull or buffalo is to be seen on coins of Asia Minor; that the building might have been a polyandrion; but the style of the architecture, which is certainly not earlier than the latter end of the third century, is sufficient to prove to the contrary. Finally, if this is not the veritable tomb of St. Luke, I would ask, what can it be?

We now come to the churches, remains of many of which may now be seen at Ephesus. The most remarkable of these is the double church on the north side of the forum. Each church consisted simply of a long nave, which was terminated by an apse at the east end; this was flanked by two chambers, which were probably the prothesis and Diaconicum. I have supposed that this church might have been erected as early as the beginning of the fourth century, or even earlier. The edict of Diocletian, which is attributed to the year 302, ordering the destruction of churches, proves that such buildings then existed. Basilicas, or Halls of Justice, we know, were converted into churches, and churches were built after the same model.

There are remains of two other churches within the city: one of these is near the tomb of St. Luke, and might have been dedicated to him; the other is on the side of the mountain on the south side of the forum; of this little remains beyond the apsidal end.

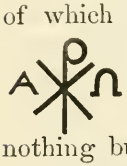
The rock-cut church on the east side of Mount Coressus is outside the city, and is said to have been dedicated to the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. The whole of this church is cut out of the solid rock, excepting only the roof and a portion of the east wall. The story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, I need not here repeat, you probably know it well.

Considerable remains of a church were found in excavations on the hill at Ayasalouk: this was, perhaps, St. John's Church, and was in existence when the Council of Bishops assembled in the year 431 A.D. A cathedra, or raised marble seat for the presiding bishop, was found in its original position. Over these remains the Greeks built a church during the time I was carrying on my work, and Sundays and Saints' Days were duly observed.

Although the early Christians did their utmost to destroy completely the Temple of Artemis, they threw in some foundations for a church within the walls of the cella, before they pulled the walls down to the pavement; the impression of the walls is thus left on these foundation-piers, and I was thus enabled to perfect my plan of the temple. An earthquake occurred before the church was finished, which threw down three of the foundation piers, and the church was never finished on that site.

Another interesting antiquity of Ephesus is the font, or basin, which I found in the forum. It is made from one solid block of breccia, is fifteen feet in diameter, and is mounted upon a short pedestal, which raises it about four feet above the level of the pavement. The form of this basin is very peculiar: there are no sharp arrises to prevent a person clambering over into the water with which it was filled. I have supposed that this was used as a baptismal font by the early Christians; the centre is raised sufficiently to enable the baptizer to stand dry-shod, and from fifteen to twenty persons might have been baptized at the same time.

In following the road between the Magnesian Gate and the temple, I discovered many large marble sarcophagi, several of which had the labarum and other Christian emblems,



cut upon their covers; some of these, judging from the style of the inscriptions, were probably of the fourth century. In these sarcophagi nothing but skeletons were found.

In the same road a Christian tombstone of a peculiar character was found. It consisted of a large cross, with a female figure behind it, the head of the figure appearing above the cross, and the drapery flanking it on both sides.

A Christian tomb, composed of thin marble slabs, was found in excavations on the hill at Ayasalouk; the characters of the inscription prove that it was as late as the seventh or eighth century.

The hoard of coins found under the Turkish pavement over the site of the temple, had amongst them a number with this legend on the obverse, "Moneta que fit in Theologo," and a seated figure of the Seljuk Saroukhan, holding an orb and sceptre; these must date from 1342–1389. On the reverse is a floreated cross, surrounded by the legend "De mandato Domini ejusdem loci." Ayasalouk therefore derived its name from St. John, or *Ο Αγιος Θεολογος*.

A number of the coins found here were issued by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, established at Rhodes, into whose hands Ephesus and Ayasalouk fell in the fourteenth century. I found the cross cut on the posts of the Magnesian Gate, and on most of the public buildings in the city. I also found on the piers of a gateway in front of the Great Theatre these short Greek inscriptions—

Χριστιανῶν βασιλέων
πρασίνων
πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη

Εὐσεβέων βασιλέων
πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη

Of the Christian Emperors of the Greek faction, may the years be many.
Of the pious Emperors, may the years be many.

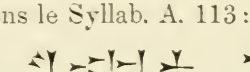
LES NOMS DE L'AIRAIN ET DU CUIVRE DANS LES DEUX LANGUES DES INSCRIPTIONS CUNÉIFORMES DE LA CHALDÉE ET DE L'ASSYRIE.

Par François Lenormant.

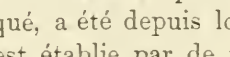
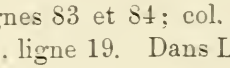
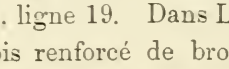
Read 2nd April, 1878.

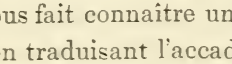
I.

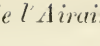
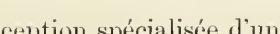
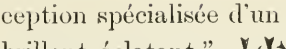
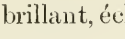
Nous lisons dans le Syllab. A. 113 :

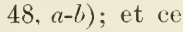
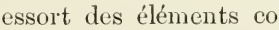
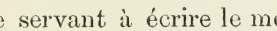
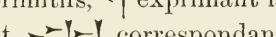


zabar śiparru.

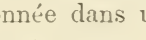
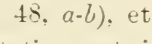
La signification d'"airain," pour le complexe idéographique ainsi expliqué, a été depuis longtemps reconnue des assyriologues, et est établie par de nombreux passages des inscriptions historiques: Tigl. col. 2, lignes 30 et 50; Assourn. col. 1, lignes 83 et 84; col. 3, ligne 87; W.A.I. III, 8, ligne 84; I, 35, 1, ligne 19. Dans Lt. 16, A, ligne 26, il est question d'un "bois renforcé de bronze,"  gis zabar gubba. W.A.I. II. 7, ligne 27, *g-h* (Lt. 17, C, ligne 27), nous fait connaître un autre idéogramme correspondant, , en traduisant l'accadien  χan (1) zabar, par  *nun śiparri*, "poisson de bronze," c'est-à-dire probablement "poisson de couleur bronzée."

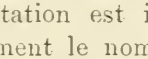
L'assyrien *śiparru* est bien évidemment, comme on l'a déjà remarqué, l'arabe صفر, "cuivre." Mais est-ce ce mot sémitique qui a été emprunté à l'accadien zabar; ou ce dernier qui a été puisé dans l'assyrien? J'incline à la première hypothèse, en voyant que  zabar n'est pas un nom de métal isolé dans la langue d'Accad, que c'est

là seulement une acception spécialisée d'un mot parfaitement national signifiant "brillant, éclatant,"  *namru* (2) (W.A.I. II, 24, ligne 48, *a-b*); et cette signification générale est aussi celle qui ressort des éléments constitutifs du complexe idéographique servant à écrire le mot **zabar**, car il se compose des signes primitifs, exprimant la notion de soleil, de lumière et d'éclat, correspondant à celle de face, surface, et représentant ordinairement celle de force, de puissance. Je trouve aussi dans W.A.I. II, 40, 2, lig. 9, l'accadien  **taq χar zabar nammulu,**" la pierre χar (le diamant, *semiru*, hébr. שמיר, voy. Norris, A.D., p. 438; Schrader, *Höllenf.*, p. 38; Friedr. Delitzsch, A.S., pp. 59 et 121), qui brille parmi l'humanité," traduit en assyrien  *aban birqi nisi*, "la pierre d'éclair (ברק) des hommes." Au contraire, *śiparru* est seul jusqu'ici en assyrien, et ne se rattache à aucune racine connue de la langue. En arabe, il est vrai, صفر se relie à une racine verbale, ayant le sens d'"être jaune comme le cuivre"; mais il n'y aurait rien d'invraisemblable à ce qu'elle se fût formée sur le substantif d'origine étrangère, comme une autre s'est formée après coup sur le mot هيكل, dérivant avec certitude de l'accadien  **ê-gal**, "palais," mot-à-mot "maison-grande." En effet, on ne trouve pas d'analogues à cette racine صفر de l'arabe dans les autre langues sémitiques.

On traduit aussi quelquefois en assyrien  **zabar**, par *kû*, mais c'est toujours quand il s'agit du métal en fusion. W.A.I. II, 18, ligne 54, *a-b*:  **zabar dim** (3) **ganenśubbi** =  *kima ke massi limmasis*, "qu'il coule comme du bronze en fusion (4)." W.A.I. IV, 4, col. 4, lignes 42 et 43: **zabar dim imśubta ganentaśub** (5) "comme du cuivre dans sa fusion, qu'on le fasse couler" =  *kima ke massi limtasis*. Ce mot

kû me paraît désigner proprement un "métal en fusion," et devoir être rapproché du ghez ንዐዘ: "verser, faire couler, répandre."

On a généralement vu jusqu'ici une autre désignation du bronze dans l'expression , accadien **taq zakur**, très fréquemment employée comme allophone dans les textes assyriens, à cause de la traduction  *ṣiprur*, qui en est donnée dans une tablette lexicographique (W.A.I. II, 40, ligne 48, *a-b*), et que l'on a assimilée à نحاس. Mais cette interprétation est impossible à admettre; **taq zakur** est positivement le nom d'une pierre et non celui d'un métal, car les métaux mis en œuvre par le travail humain ne sont jamais désignés au moyen du signe . C'est même, d'après ce que l'on voit dans les textes, le nom de deux espèces de pierres distinctes; et à ces deux significations correspondent deux lectures assyriennes, *ṣiprur*, et  *ugnû* (W.A.I. II, 19, 2, lignes 47-48 et 24-27).

Il s'agit d'abord d'une pierre qui, bien que recherchée, s'employait dans les constructions, unie dans certains cas à la brique; d'accord avec M. Oppert, je traduis alors son nom de *ṣipru* par "marbre," et j'en donnerai dans un instant les raisons. A deux reprises (Bors. col. 1, lignes 25 et 26; E.I.H., col. 3, lignes 15 et 16), Nabuchodorossor dit, en parlant de la Pyramide de Babylone:  *ina agurri ṣipri elliti úllá resúsa*, "en briques cuites et en marbres brillants j'ai élevé son faîte." Puis, en parlant de la chambre intérieure du même édifice (E.I.H., col. 2, lignes 47-50): *hurasu russá . . . . ṣipra u dalḫa qabal bit usalbis*, "j'ai revêtu d'or battu au marteau . . . . le marbre et l'albâtre de l'intérieur de la chambre." Je me borne à ces deux exemples, mais je pourrais les multiplier.

L'exactitude de la traduction par "marbre" peut se prouver avec une rigueur presque mathématique.

Dans ses fouilles de Khorsabad, M. Place découvrit sous une des pierres angulaires du palais de Sargon, un coffre de pierre contenant sept tablettes avec des inscriptions commémoratives de la fondation de l'édifice, en or, en argent, en cuivre, en étain ou en antimoine (deux métaux que l'on devait confondre alors), en plomb, en marbre, et en albâtre oriental (Oppert, "Les Inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan," p. 23–27); les quatre premières sont actuellement au Louvre; les trois autres, plus lourdes, étaient comprises au nombre des antiquités portées sur les radeaux qui sont tombés dans le Tigre.

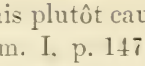
Or, les inscriptions de celles que l'on possède en originaux mentionnent précisément sept matières dans lesquelles étaient faites ces tablettes. Ce sont:

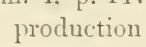
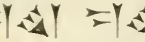
1°. *hurasu*, "l'or." (6)

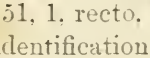
2°. *kaśpu*, "l'argent." (7)

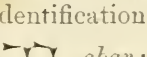
3°. *erû*, "le cuivre"; mot que nous allons étudier à son tour dans quelques instants.

4°. , accad. **anna**, qui est mentionné dans les inscriptions historiques entre l'argent et le bronze, parmi les énumérations de métaux reçus en tribut ou faisant partie du butin (Assourn., col. 1, lignes 58 et 79; col. 3, ligne 87; et *passim*). Sa lecture assyrienne est *anaku*, (W.A.I. II, 7, ligne 17, *g-h*); mais ce n'est pas le "plomb," que désigne en hébreu le mot אֹפֶד; c'est positivement l'"étain," appelé en syriaque ܐܢܟ, et en arabe أنك, puisque, dans W.A.I. IV, 14, 2, verso, lignes 16–17 (que nous citons un peu plus loin), il est dit que le **ana** = *anaku* est le métal que l'on mêle au cuivre, **urudu** = *erû*, pour faire le bronze. Une glose de W.A.I. II, 7, ligne 17, *g*, donne comme synonyme accadien de **anna** le nom **id-kasduru**, dans la seconde partie duquel, comme dans le *kasazatirra* relevé par M. Oppert dans un texte assyrien et dans l'arabe قزدير, nous retrouvons le *kastîra* sanscrit, le κασσίτερος grec, qui ne sont probablement pas d'origine

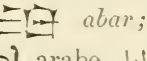
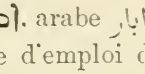
aryenne, mais plutôt caucasienne (voy. mes "Premières Civilisations," tom. I, p. 147). Deux pays sont indiqués comme centres de production de l'étain, à la connaissance des Assyriens, celui de . . *arḫá*, et celui de  *Barśišinu* ou *Bargungunnu* (W.A.I. II, 51, 1, recto, ligne 12) : mais on ne peut jusqu'ici proposer d'identification ni pour l'un ni pour l'autre.

5°.  *abar;* c'est le "plomb," araméen אבר, syriaque ܐܒܪ, arabe إبر. Ce nom est le seul exemple que je connaisse d'emploi de la valeur phonétique *bar* pour le signe , enregistrée dans Syllab. A*, 344, valeur dérivant de la principale lecture accadienne comme idéogramme (bara =  *parakku*, "tabernacle, saint des saints": Syllab. A, 354).

6°.  *ṣipru*, la matière même que nous nous occupons de déterminer, et

7°.  *daḫṭu.*

L'un de ces deux noms est nécessairement celui de marbre, et l'autre celui de l'albâtre, les deux pierres dont les désignations nous restent à retrouver pour compléter la concordance entre la liste donnée dans les inscriptions et les tablettes retrouvées en original. Or, il ne me paraît pas douteux, que le taq sir-gal ne soit l'albâtre oriental, auquel peuvent également bien convenir les deux explications dont est susceptible son nom accadien, transformé en expression idéographique dans les textes assyriens, "pierre de la grande lumière," ou "pierre à images." (8)

M. Oppert ("Etudes Assyriennes," p. 68) a cité un passage d'une tablette lexicographique encore inédite, qui donne pour  la lecture assyrienne  *daḫṭu.* C'est le דחטה que la version samaritaine de la Bible donne pour équivalent du בטדה du texte hébraïque d'Exod. xxxix, 10, traduit τοπάζιον par les Septante. Ce nom de *daḫṭu* semble indiquer une pierre susceptible de prendre un poli particulièrement onctueux et glissant à la main (cf. l'arabe دحض, le ghez ዳሐሠ :); ce qui est bien un des caractères

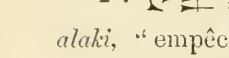
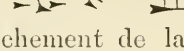
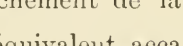
essentiels de l'albâtre. Le *dahṭu* des Assyriens, était une pierre dont il y avait des carrières célèbres dans le pays de Mouli, voisin de celui de Tabal ou des Tibaréniens (Obél. Nimr. ligne 107), qui occupaient alors la Cappadoce. C'était une pierre assez précieuse pour que l'on en enlevât des blocs parmi le butin des expéditions militaires (Assourn. col. 1, ligne 84; W.A.I. III, 14, ligne 27), ou qu'on s'en fît remettre en tribut (Assarh. col. 5, ligne 19). Ce n'était pourtant pas une gemme, mais une pierre que l'on employait quelquefois dans l'architecture, et dont on faisait des statues.

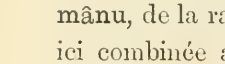
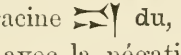
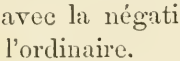
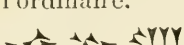
Placés entre deux noms de matières minérales, *dahṭu* et *ṣipruv*, qui désignent sûrement l'albâtre et le marbre, il n'y a guères possibilité d'hésiter sur la détermination à donner pour chacun d'eux, quand nous voyons qu'étymologiquement l'un de ces noms se rattache à l'idée du poli onctueux que peut prendre la pierre. En revanche, *ṣipruv* me paraît devoir être comparé à l'araméen טפר "albâtre, marbre," étroitement apparenté à טפר "ongle," arabe ظفر, qui est en assyrien *ṣupruv*, comme en hébreu צפרן.

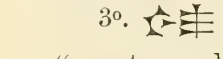
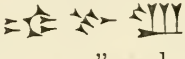
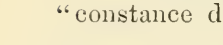
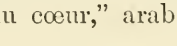
Il est vrai qu'on pourrait aussi lire *ṣibruv*, et le comparer à l'arabe صبارة "pierres," et particulièrement "pierres dures," mais ceci me paraît moins vraisemblable, quoique dans W.A.I. II, 20, lignes 1–23, *c-d*, notre mot figure parmi les dérivés de la racine assyrienne צבר, qui embrassent tous les sens de l'arabe صبر. En effet, si les tablettes lexicographiques sont classées d'après les homophonies des mots assyriens, elles procèdent généralement par de simples analogies de sons plutôt que d'après des parentés radicales rigoureuses. Quoiqu'il en soit, le document auquel je fais allusion énumère :

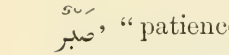
1°. *ṣubburu sa iki* "état pierreux d'un champ en friche" (ar. ايك) arabe صُبْر, "terre pleine de gravier," امر صبور, امر صبّار, "terre pierreuse"; équivalents accadiens : asâ dibdibba, "le champ endurcissant"; ekal (ekäl) agga, "dureté (9) forte."

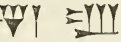
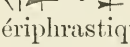
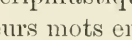
2°. *ṣubburu sa alaki*, "empêchement de la marche," arabe صبر, "retenir, empêcher"; équivalent accadien **dudu-mânu**, de la racine **du, dun**, "marcher, aller," qui semble ici combinée avec la négation **nu**, mais celle-ci étant post-posée, contre l'ordinaire.

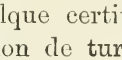
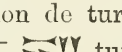
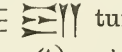
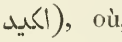
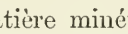
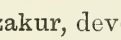
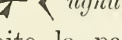
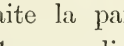
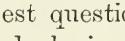
3°.  *ṣubburu sa libbi*, "constance du cœur," arabe صبر "être patient, constant"; صبر, "patience, constance"; صابر, صبور, صبير "patient, constant"; équivalents accadiens:  **anata surra**, "en haut poussant";  **sâ dibba**, "cœur-soutenant"; **sâ χiχi-bir** (analyse encore difficile, où on distingue seulement **sâ**, "cœur," et **χiχi**, "rendre bon, améliorer"); **sâ χirda**, "au cœur—faisant enclos."

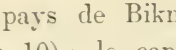
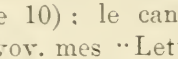
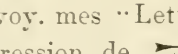
4°.  *ṣubburu sa irri*, "constance contre l'offense, le mal (syriaque ܨܒܪ, ܨܒܝܪ)"; équivalents accadiens:  **sâ surra**, "cœur—poussant, dressant en haut";  **sâ sudibdibba**, "cœur — soutenant, rendant ferme";  **êmur χul**, "maison maçonnée (10)—(contre) le mal."

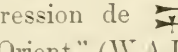
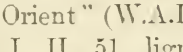
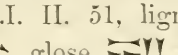
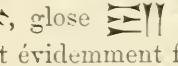
5°.  *ṣipruv* ou *sibruv;* les équivalents accadiens semblent désigner par les épithètes différentes cinq espèces de marbres,  **taq zakur**; à la suite vient un  *ṣipruv ḫuraṣi*, expression qui paraît tout à fait correspondre à notre "marbre porte-or," et dont l'équivalent accadien est  **taq zakur χia guskin**, "marbre mêlé (11) d'or."

6°.  *ṣibrâtuv*, "amas, amoncellement," hébreu עבר, arabe عبرة; équivalents accadiens **kisalda** (12) **ri** (13), "amoncellement—

élevé"; (13) (glose) **śukus kaka** (?), (glose) **śukus papa,**  **śukus turditurdi**; ces trois expressions, périphrastiques comme les précédentes, et composées de plusieurs mots en accadien tandis que l'assyrien les traduit par un seul, assurent le sens d'"amas, monceau, élévation," à **śukus**; mais les épithètes qui accompagnent le mot résistent encore à nos études, on ne peut expliquer avec quelque certitude que **turditurdi**, superlatif formé par duplication de **turdi**, lequel est une modification du bien connu  **turda** =  *ikdu*, "puissant, fort" (arabe اكيد), où, comme il arrive quelquefois (Sayce, "Accadian Phonology," p. 7), le suffixe de dérivation **da** est devenu **di**.

A le seconde matière minérale désignée par l'expression de  **taq zakur**, devenue allophone dans les textes assyriens, correspond, comme je l'ai déjà dit, un mot assyrien particulier,  *ugnû*. *L'ugnû*,  , est une gemme dont est faite la parure ( *zibu*, זהב) d'Istar (W.A.I. IV, 31, verso, ligne 56). Dans W.A.I. II, 19, 2, aux lignes 47–48, il est question d'une "montagne" mythologique "d'albâtre, de lapis et d'*ugnû*" que le dieu tient dans sa main, accadien  **χarśak taq sirgal taq guk taq zakurna**, assyrien  *sad daḫṭi śanti ugnî;* aux lignes 24 et 27, l'arme du même dieu est appelée "le projectile d'or et d'*ugnû*"; accadien  **duma** (14) **guskin taq zakurna**, assyrien  *suluku* (de שלך) *ina ḫuraṣi ugnî*. Le fruit d'arbre mythologique au pied duquel se trouve la couche de la Mère des dieux, est d'*ugnû* brillant: W.A.I. IV, 15, verso, lignes 54–55. L'*ugnû*,  , le plus recherché

venait du pays de Bikni, (Assarh., col. 4, ligne 10) : le canton le plus reculé de la Médie vers l'est (voy. mes "Lettres Assyriologiques," t. I, p. 45) ; de là l'expression de *ugnû sadi*, "*ugnû* de l'Orient" (W.A.I. II, 38, ligne 38, *b*). On indique aussi (W.A.I. II, 51, ligne 13, *c-d*) un pays de Dapara,  , glose  , complétement inconnu d'ailleurs, et évidemment fort éloigné, comme lieu de production de l'*ugnû*. Si l'on voulait voir, ce qui me semble offrir de grandes probabilités, dans ce nom géographique celui du pays des Tapures (Ptol., VI, 2, 6), Tapyres (Plin., "Hist. Nat.," VI, 16), ou Tapyrrhes (Steph. Byz., *s. v.*) des écrivains anciens, c'est-à-dire le Tabaristan, l'on se trouverait reporté dans la même région que par le nom du canton de Bikni, identifié à l'*Ἀβάκαινα* de Ptolémée (VI, 2, 17). Peut-être y a-t-il un rapport entre la pierre *ugnû* et les noms des deux grands canaux  *Ukne* ou *Ugne*, qui coulaient parallélement à l'Euphrate, à l'Ouest (sur leur situation géographique, voy. Finzi, "Ricerche per lo studio dell' antichità assira," p. 125 ; et mes "Premières Civilisations," t. II, p. 245) ; dans ce cas on aurait recueilli aussi la pierre sur les bords des canaux auxquels elle aurait donné son nom, mais elle y aurait été de qualité inférieure à celle de la Médie.

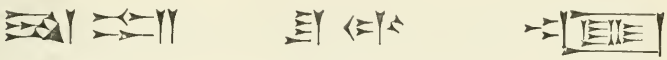
Il semble, du reste, que le taq zakur = *ugnû* ait été une sorte de jaspe ou d'onyx. On ne doit pas être surpris de voir le même nom accadien donné au marbre et à une pierre de ce genre, puisque nous-même nous appliquons abusivement la désignation d'onyx à une sorte d'albâtre. C'était d'ailleurs un nom significatif d'une nature assez vague, car taq zakur, en accadien, veut dire une "pierre pure, brillante" :  zakur =  *ibbu*. W.A.I. II, 24, ligne 47, *a-b*. Dans un texte bilingue (W.A.I. IV, 15, col. 2, lignes 54–55) je relève la traduction de  taq zakura, par  *ugnû ibbu*. C'est là également, remarquons-le, le sens originaire de l'assyrien *ugnû*, qui me paraît devoir être rattaché à la racine sémitique חגן ; je le

trouve traduisant l'accadien **zakur**, et employé comme adjectif, "beau, brillant, pur," dans W.A.I. IV, 9, recto, lignes 19–21, où il est dit au dieu Sin :

Accad.

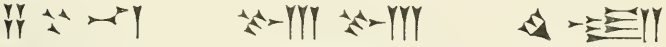
amar **turda** **śî** **kirkirra**

Luminaire *puissant,* *des cornes* (15) *agissant avec force* (16)



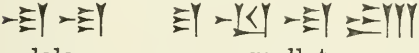
id-uru **sudû'** .....

des membres (17) *complétement formé* (18) *la barbe* (19)



zakurna **sudsud** **χili**

brillante+sa *prolongeant étendue* (20) *magnifique*



lala **mallata**

la plénitude *remplissant+en.*

Assyr.

buru ikdu sa qarni kabbaru

Luminaire *puissant,* *qui des cornes* *est fort,*

sa mesriti sukluluv ziqni

qui *des membres* *est complétement formé,* *de barbe*

ugnî zaqnu kuzbû

brillante *barbu,* *splendide*

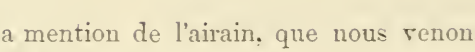
lalâ malû

la plénitude *remplissant.*

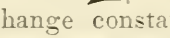
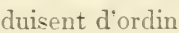
"Luminaire puissant, aux cornes vigoureuses, aux membres complétement formés, à la longue barbe brillante, splendide quand il remplit son orbe."

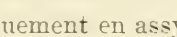
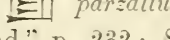
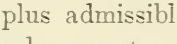
II.

Après la mention de l'airain, que nous venons d'étudier, Syllab. A. 114, porte encore :—

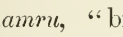


urudu erû.

Il s'agit de nouveau d'un nom de métal, qui se présente très souvent dans les inscriptions historiques assyriennes, où l'emploi de l'idéogramme et de la forme phonétique *erû* s'échange constamment. Les savants de l'école anglaise le traduisent d'ordinaire par "fer," traduction inexacte, car le vrai et seul nom du fer est idéographiquement , et phonétiquement en assyrien  *parṣillu*, ou  *parzallu*, l'hébreu ברזל (Oppert, "Inscr. de Khorsabad," p. 232 ; Schrader, K.A.T., p. 179). M. Friedrich Delitzsch y voit le "plomb," en vertu d'un rapprochement philologique avec le ghez ዐፈፈ ; mais cette explication n'est pas plus admissible. En réalité *erû* est le "cuivre," distingué du bronze et envisagé comme métal pur. Il y en a des preuves tout à fait positives, que nous allons grouper sous les yeux du lecteur.

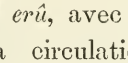
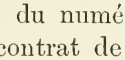
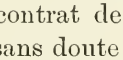
1°. Bien que le *erû* soit un métal différent du  *šiparru* ou "bronze," lequel vient de nous occuper, c'est un métal qui a une grande affinité avec lui, de telle façon que, là où l'on ne se pique pas d'une précision d'expressions absolument technique, on peut employer indifféremment l'un ou l'autre nom : ainsi quand on compare les différents passages où il est question des bandes ( *meširi*, de אסר) de métal qui liaient soit les poutres des plafonds, soit les vantaux des portes des palais assyriens, on les voit désignées tantôt comme en cuivre, (Khors., ligne 161 ; Senn. Tayl., col. 6, ligne 49 ; Neb. Youn., ligne 71), tantôt comme en bronze.  (Assarh., col. 5, ligne 39), jamais comme en fer, . Et en effet, ces bandes de métal, dont on a retrouvé des

fragments bien caractérisés dans les fouilles de Khorsabad, étaient en cuivre ou en bronze. Quant au plomb, il eût été tout à fait impropre à un pareil usage.

2°. Dans Khors., ligne 161, le *erû* est qualifié de  *namru*, "brillant"; c'est une épithète qui convient infiniment mieux au cuivre qu'au fer, et qui ne s'applique au plomb en aucune façon. Nous venons de voir, d'ailleurs, que *namru* est même la traduction assyrienne du mot **zabar**, qui devient ensuite le nom accadien du bronze. Cf. Assarh. 6, ligne 8, où *namru* est l'épithète du bronze (*śiparru*).

3°. Le *erû*, avec l'or et l'argent, était le troisième élément de la circulation métallique de l'Assyrie, la troisième forme du numéraire servant aux échanges; ainsi nous avons un contrat de prêt de 3 talents de *erû* à 3 pour cent d'intérêt, sans doute mensuel (W.A.I. III, 47, 5), et un autre du prêt de 40 mines de *erû* (W.A.I. III, 47, 8); et il est déjà question d'une somme en **urudu** dans une inscription accadienne de l'Ancien Empire de Chaldée (Lt. 64, ligne 17). Le fer ne peut avoir joué ce rôle, et encore moins le plomb, tandis que chez tous les peuples de l'antiquité, comme des temps modernes, le cuivre a constitué avec l'or et l'argent le numéraire métallique des échanges et autres transactions d'affaires.

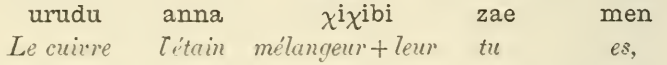
4°. Parmi les tablettes votives de la fondation de Khorsabad, on en indique une en *erû*, indication qui s'applique parfaitement à la tablette de cuivre retrouvée et conservée au Louvre; sur les sept plaques exhumées par M. Place, et correspondant exactement aux sept matières mentionnées dans les inscriptions, il n'y en avait pas de fer.

5°. Dans Khors., ligne 159–160 nous avons une énumération de métaux qui comprend  *ḫuraṣu kaśpu .... erû anaku parzillu abar*, "l'or, l'argent, le cuivre, l'étain, le fer, le plomb." *erû* y est donc un métal entièrement distinct du fer,  *parzillu*, et du plomb,  *abar*.

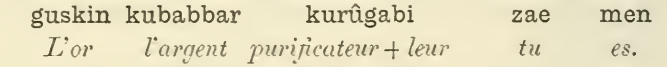
6°. Mais ce qui est surtout décisif, ce sont ces deux versets de l'hymne magique bilingue au dieu Feu (W.A.I. IV, 14, 2, verso, ligne 16–19) :—

Accad.

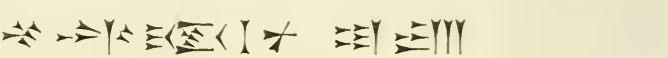
urudu anna χiχibi zae men
Le cuivre *l'étain* *mélangeur + leur* *tu* *es,*



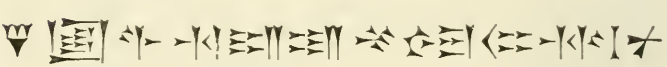
guskin kubabbar kurûgabi zae men
L'or *l'argent* *purificateur + leur* *tu* *es.*

Assyr. 

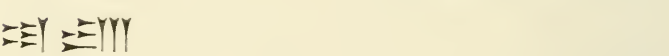
sa erî u anaki
Du *cuivre* *et* *de l'étain*



muballilsunu atta
leur mélangeur (*c'est*) *toi,*



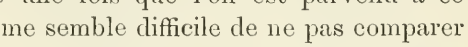
sa ṣarpi ḫuraṣi mudammiqsunu
de *l'argent* (*et*) *de l'or* *leur purificateur*

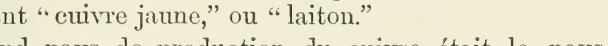


atta
(*c'est*) *toi.*

On n'allie pas le fer et l'étain ni le fer et le plomb; avec l'étain et le plomb on n'obtiendrait qu'un alliage sans valeur et sans utilité sérieuse; c'est le cuivre et l'étain dont le mélange produit le bronze, le métal le plus usité dans la civilisation chaldéo-assyrienne pour les ustensiles et les vases ; l'affinage de l'or et de l'argent, que l'antiquité se plaisait à employer le plus purs possible, puis la fusion de l'alliage du cuivre et de l'étain, étaient bien les deux offices principaux du feu, dans la métallurgie de ces pays et des ces temps.

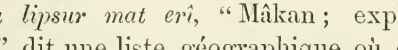
Je crois avoir ainsi déterminé par des exemples positifs, et qui ne laissent pas place au doute, le sens de **urudu** = *erû*, sans avoir recours aux rapprochements philologiques qui peuvent très facilement égarer si on les tente avant d'avoir bien établi les acceptions des mots. Mais on peut s'y livrer avec plus de confiance une fois que l'on est parvenu à ce premier résultat, et il me semble difficile de ne pas comparer l'assyrien *erû*, "cuivre," avec l'arabe إيار "cuivre" et particulièrement "cuivre jaune," ou "laiton."

Le grand pays de production du cuivre était le pays de **Mâkan.**  *mâkana lipsur mat erî*, "Mâkan; expliquez: le pays du cuivre," dit une liste géographique où chaque nom de pays est accompagné de la désignation de son principal produit (W.A.I. II, 51, ligne 17, *c-d*). Aussi lisons-nous dans un hymne bilingue adressé au dieu Adar (W.A.I. IV, 13, col. 1, lignes 12–19):—

Accad. 

nin-dara eni dû elimge

Nin-dara, seigneur fils Elim+de

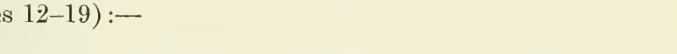


aba - [mundadi]

qui+t'+égale?

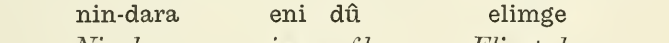
kur sinim(ma)ta ganmun .....

La montagne (du) pays élevé+de (21) puisses+tu+ .....(!)



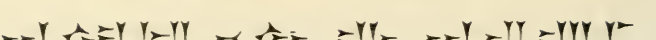
kur mâkannata ganmun .....

La montagne (de) Mâkan+de puisses+tu+ .....(!)

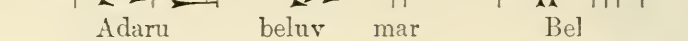


zae urudu gar agga śu dim .....

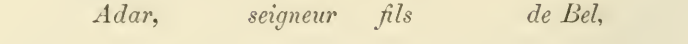
Toi, le cuivre qui (est) fort une peau comme [tu revêts.

Assyr. 

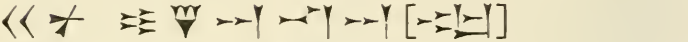
Adaru beluv mar Bel
Adar, *seigneur* *fils* *de Bel,*



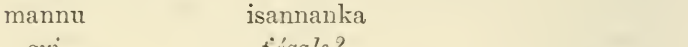
mannu isannanka
qui *t'égale?*



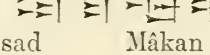
istu mat eliti linna .....
Du *pays* *élevé* *qu'il* ..... !



istu sad Mâkan liblû .....
de *la montagne* *de Mákan* *qu'il* ..... !



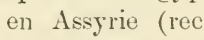
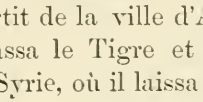
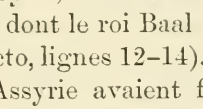
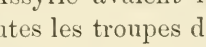
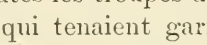
atta erâ dannu kima maski .....
Toi, *le cuivre* *dur* *comme une peau [tu revéts.*

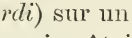
Quel est ce pays de Mâkan? On l'identifie généralement avec l'Egypte, par cette raison qu'Assourbanabal, en parlant de sa première expédition, dit une fois (G. Smith, "Assurbanipal," p. 15, ligne 51) avoir marché *ana Mákan u Meluḫḫa,* et une autre (G. Smith, p. 17, ligne 69), comme en parlant de sa seconde expédition (G. Smith, p. 52, ligne 61),  *ana Muṣur u Kûśi.* On en conclut que les deux maniéres de dire sont équivalentes, et ayant pris l'habitude de regarder *Meluḫḫa* comme Méroé (Schrader, K.A.T., p. 13, etc.), on dit *Meluḫḫa* = *Kuśu,* donc *Mákan* = *Muṣur,* c'est-à-dire est un nom de l'Egypte. Pour que ceci fût exact, il faudrait avant tout que l'assimilation de *Meluḫḫa* et de Méroé fût juste; or, c'est ce que je ne puis admettre. J'ai indiqué ailleurs ("Rev. archéol.," janvier, 1872, p. 26) les raisons de toute nature qui me paraissent prouver que *Meluḫḫa* n'est pas

Méroé, mais la partie occidentale du Delta, et je persiste plus que jamais dans cette opinion, sur les preuves de laquelle je reviens dans les notes du présent travail (22). Ceci donné, il n'y a pas de raison pour faire de *Mâkan* l'Egypte plus que de *Meluḫḫa* l'Ethiopie. *Mâkan u Meluḫḫa* ne sont pas une manière de dire *Muṣur* et *Kuśu ;* ce sont deux pays distincts mais dépendant de la monarchie éthiopico-égyptienne au temps de Taharqa et d'Assourbanabal. Il me semble, d'ailleurs, que c'est ce que ce dernier roi indique clairement quand il dit, en commençant le récit de ses guerres égyptienne (G. Smith, "Assurbanipal," p. 15, lignes 51–53) :

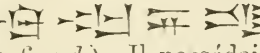
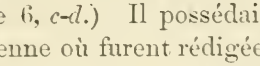
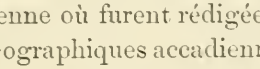
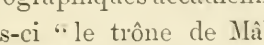
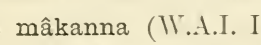
ina maḫre girriya ana Mâkan u Meluḫḫa lû allik. Tarqû sar Muṣur Kûśi sa Assuraḫidin sar Assur abu banûa apiktasu iskunu, etc. "Dans ma première expédition je marchai contre Mâkan et Meloukha. Taharqa, roi d'Egypte et d'Ethiopie, qu'Assarhaddon, le père qui m'a engendré, avait défait," etc. Le roi d'Assyrie, en indiquant sa marche, parle d'abord des provinces qui, dans l'empire du monarque son adversaire, se présentaient d'abord à ses coups ; puis, un peu plus loin, il se sert d'une expression plus générale, en disant qu'il s'est disigé sur l'Egypte et l'Ethiopie. Supposons un document où le duc de Wellington, parlant de la campagne de 1815, disait : "Je marchai en Belgique contre Napoléon, empereur des Français. Il avait repris le trône d'où l'Europe l'avait chassé l'année précédente. J'attaquai la France." Faudrait-il en conclure que la Belgique est la France ? En réalité le prisme d'Assourbanabal ne dit rien de plus positif.

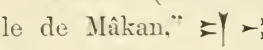
Par contre, M. Boscawen a publié récemment ("Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.," t. IV., pp. 84–97) un document capital pour la question de Mâkan, document qui ne permet plus de le confondre avec l'Égypte. C'est un fragment des annales

d'Assarhaddon, rapporté par M. Smith (il est coté au Musée Britannique S 2027)), lequel raconte les faits de la dixième campagne du roi, tout à fait à la fin de son règne, postérieurement à sa conquête de l'Egypte sur Taharqa. Ayant réuni ses troupes en Assyrie (recto, ligne 9), Assarhaddon en personne partit de la ville d'Assur au mois de Nisan (recto, ligne 10), passa le Tigre et l'Euphrate (recto, ligne 11) et s'avança en Syrie, où il laissa un corps de troupes chargé de bloquer Tyr, dont le roi Baal s'était révolté à l'instigation de Taharqa (recto, lignes 12–14). Pendant ce temps, des ordres partis de l'Assyrie avaient fait rassembler sur la frontière d'Egypte toutes les troupes disponibles pour une expédition, parmi celles qui tenaient garnison dans ce pays (recto, ligne 15 :  *ultu Muṣur karasi adke*). Partant pour les rejoindre au lieu de leur rassemblement, le roi franchit " trente kasbu de territoire depuis Apheq qui est dans le voisinage de Samarie (Apheq de la plaine de Jezreel, 1 Sam. xxix, 1) jusqu'à Raphia sur la frontière d'Egypte, lieu sans cours d'eau " (recto, lignes 16 et 17) :   *silasa'a kašbu qaqqar ultu Apqu sa padi Samerina adi Rapiḫi ana itêti Muṣur asar na'ra la isû*). De là, on s'avança dans un désert où il fallut emporter l'eau dans des outres (recto, ligne 18), et recourir à l'assistance des chameaux amenés par les rois des Arabes (verso, ligne 2). On mit à franchir ce désert, sur une étendue de 30 kasbu, égale par conséquent à la distance entre Apheq et Raphia, quinze jours (verso, ligne 3), dont le texte donne l'emploi détaillé, en remarquant qu'à un certain point de la route on rencontra des serpents amphisbènes à la blessure mortelle (verso, ligne 5 :  *ṣiri sina qaqqadisunu . . . . mut*). Cette marche de 30 kasbu conduisit " de la frontière d'Egypte à Mâkan " (verso, ligne 11 : 

ultu meṣir Muṣur Mâkannu); on marcha encore "à partir de la ville de Makan une distance de 20 kasbu" (verso, lignes 12–13: *ultu Makan misiḫti esra'a kašbu qaqqar ardi*) sur un territoire pierreux et difficile verso, lignes 14–15), qui coûtait aux soldats leur sang et leur sueur (verso, ligne 16), et l'on atteignit l'ennemi à la ville de *Daltu* (verso, ligne 18: ). Ici s'arrête le texte, qui dans l'état actuel ne nous donne plus le terme de l'expédition. Mais ce qui en reste suffit à montrer bien clairement que Mâkan est toute autre chose que l'Egypte, que c'est un pays devant son nom à sa ville capitale, laquelle était située au-delà du désert, à plus de 50 lieues de Raphia.

La route que l'on prit pour aller de Raphia à Mâkan, n'étant ni celle de Syrie, ni celle d'Egypte, ne peut être que celle qu'indique la Table de Peutinger par Elusa, Eboda, Lysa et Rasa, route qui se suit encore aujourdhui, car les itinéraires du désert, déterminés par des conditions physiques, ne varient pas avec le cours des siècles. La distance indiquée pour atteindre la ville de Mâkan nous reporte au-delà de la vallée de l'Arabah, soit au nord-est, soit au sud-est de Pétra. Ce dernier point ne saurait encore être établi, faute de renseignements précis sur la suite de l'expédition. L'on peut seulement remarquer que l'emploi du verbe ארד, en parlant de la marche au-delà de Mâkan, implique une idée de descente, c'est-à-dire, dans les habitudes du langage des Assyriens, de direction du nord au sud. Or, dans cette direction, 20 kasbu à partir de la hauteur de Pétra environ conduiraient assez exactement au débouché du golfe Elanitique, sur sa rive droite, et c'eût été là fort naturellement l'objectif d'une campagne militaire destinée à s'assurer la possession de la partie septentrionale de la Mer Rouge. Mais ceci n'appartient plus qu'au domaine des conjectures insuffisamment prouvées, tandis qu'un point est certain d'après le texte qu'a publié M. Boscawen, la direction approximative de la ville de Mâkan, sa distance de la frontière d'Egypte à Raphia, et par suite l'impossibilité de confondre désormais avec l'Egypte le pays auquel elle donnait son nom.

Continuons, du reste, à grouper les renseignements que l'on peut recueiller sur le pays de Mâkan. Il touchait à la mer, car on signale les "vaisseaux de Mâkan,"  mâ mâkanna = ( *elippu makkanitu*w; W.A.I. II, 46, ligne 6, *c-d*.) Il possédait son roi particulier à l'époque fort ancienne où furent rédigées pour la première fois les tablettes lexicographiques accadiennes-assyriennes, puisqu'on cite dans celles-ci "le trône de Mâkan,"  guza mâkanna (W.A.I. II, 46, ligne 77, *a*), et "la litière royale de Mâkan,"  bansur mâkanna =  *passuru makkanû* (W.A.I. II, 46, ligne 48, *e-f*). Tout ceci eût pu parfaitement convenir à l'Egypte; mais les données des textes qui nous ont amené à cette digression géographique repoussent de nouveau une semblable assimilation, puisqu'ils établissent que Mâkan était un pays de montagnes et de mines de cuivre. Au contraire, cette double condition est remplie par un pays qui, dès une très haute antiquité, dépendait de l'Egypte, bien qu'en étant distinct, un pays situé à l'orient de l'isthme, et par conséquent, en avant de l'Egypte pour qui venait de l'Assyrie, je veux dire à la péninsule du Sinaï, le pays par excellence des mines de cuivre, à la possession duquel les pharaons égyptiens attachaient tant d'importance, à cause de ses richesses métalliques.

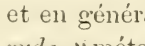
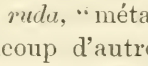
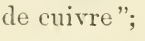
Ajoutons qu'il est question du "roseau de Mâkan,"  *qan makkan* (W.A.I. II, 34, lignes 52–53, *c-d*), ce qui me paraît de nature à rappeler à l'esprit les fameux roseaux marins auxquels la partie septentrionale de la Mer-Rouge devait le nom de ים־סוף (Ps. cvi, 7, 9, et 22; cxxxvi, 13). Il y avait des "ours," (23), dans le pays de Mâkan (W.A.I. II, 6, ligne 28, *c-d*), trait qui est encore étranger à l'Egypte et convient parfaitement à la péninsule du Sinaï. Enfin, l'ancien roi chaldéen Naram-Sin se vante d'avoir conquis le pays de Mâkan (W.A.I. I, 3, 7; IV, 34, verso, lignes 16–18), à une

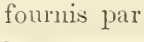
époque où historiquement il est impossible d'admettre une conquête de l'Egypte par les gens de la Mésopotamie, tandis que c'est le moment même où Manéthon (C. Müller, "Fragm. histor. græc.," t. II, p. 566) représente les rois Pasteurs fortifiant Avaris contre la menace d'une attaque des Assyriens, ce qui indique que, si ceux-ci n'envahissaient pas l'Egypte, ils arrivaient jusqu'à sa frontière.

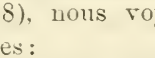
De tous les faits qui viennent d'être passés en revue, la situation du pays de Mâkan me paraît ressortir assez clairement ; c'est la partie inférieure de l'Arabie Pétrée, au sud d'Edom et des Nabatéens, en y comprenant la presqu'île du Sinaï, et, de l'autre côté, du golfe Elanitique, le pays des Madianites. Cette explication satisfait à toutes les conditions du problème ; et dans la région que je viens d'indiquer il me semble même rencontrer encore, à une époque très postérieure, des vestiges du nom antique que nous révèlent les textes cunéiformes. Telle est l'appellation de la ville de Moca dans l'Arabie Pétrée, connue par Ptolémée (V, 17, 5) ; telle est aussi celle de l'actuelle Mougnah, sur la rive proprement arabe du golfe Elanitique, laquelle paraît à quelques géographes marquer l'emplacement de la Macna de Ptolémée (VI, 7, 27). Je ne fais, du reste, ces derniers rapprochements onomastiques que sous toutes réserves, et la détermination du site de Mâkan, résultant de données d'une nature très positive, en est absolument indépendantes. En effet, bien souvent les peuples donnent aux pays étrangers des noms de leur propre création, inconnus aux habitants indigènes. De ce que les anciens Accads ont appelé Mâkan la région du Sinaï, il n'en résulte pas nécessairement que cette désignation ait représenté un nom employé par ses habitants ; il peut parfaitement avoir été inventé par les gens de la Chaldée. Et dans tous les cas, ceux-ci, comme il arrive si souvent, avaient cherché à y donner un sens dans leur propre langue et à exprimer ce sens par le choix des caractères invariablement employés à le tracer. C'est de cette façon qu'on en représente toujours la première syllabe par le caractère mâ, "vaisseau," qui autrement ne s'emploie jamais comme phonétique indifférent, mais comme idéogramme.

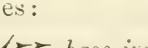
Après cette digression géographique, je reviens aux noms du cuivre en accadien et en assyrien, tels que nous avons pu les déterminer.

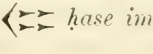
J'ai rapproché déjà ailleurs (L.P.C., p. 296) l'accadien **urudu** des noms du fer en finnois *rauta*, vêpse et esthonien *raud*, lapon *route*, et je crois avoir montré ("Les premières civilisations," t. I, p. 119), comment ce fait qu'entre des langues congénères le même mot signifie dans l'une "cuivre," dans l'autre "fer," n'a rien d'étonnant, puisqu'il s'observe aussi dans la comparaison du sanscrit *ayas* et du latin *aes*. Au reste, l'influence de la célèbre métallurgie des Tchoudes a fait passer ce mot dans les idiomes lithuaniens et slaves, et là il n'a plus le sens spécial de "fer"; c'est le lithuanien *rúda*, "cuivre, airain," et en général "métal," l'ancien slave *rouda*, russe et polonais *ruda*, "métal, mineral."

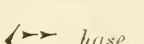
Comme beaucoup d'autres mots accadiens, **urudu** a été admis en assyrien, où l'on trouve quelquefois, mais exceptionnellement,  *urudu*, pour dire "cuivre," au lieu de  *erû* (W.A.I. III, 13, 4, ligne 27; L., 42, ligne 34). On emploie aussi *urudu* dans le sens de "cuivré, couleur de cuivre"; ainsi dans une tablette augurale sur les présages fournis par les intestins des ânes,  , immolés (Lt., 88), nous voyons successivement énumérer comme hypothèses:

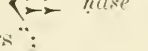
 *ḫase imma ṣalme*, "les intestins à droite sont noirs";

 *ḫase sumela ṣalme*, "les intestins à gauche sont noirs";

 *ḫase imma śâme*, "les intestins à droite sont d'un noir bleuâtre";

 *ḫase sumela śâme*, "les intestins à gauche sont d'un noir bleuâtre";

 *ḫase imma urudi*, "les intestins à droite sont cuivrés";

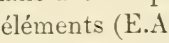
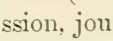
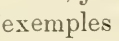
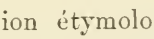
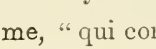
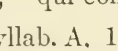
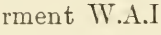
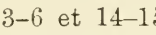
 *ḫase sumela urudi*, "les intestins à gauche sont cuivrés."

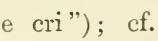
Notes.

(1). La signification la plus habituelle du signe idéographique [cuneiform] est celle de "magnat," puis "chef, seigneur," correspondant aux lectures **nun** en accadien et *rubû* en assyrien, comme l'établissent W.A.I. II, 29, ligne 42, *e-f;* IV, 12, lignes 9–10; BM. S 12, verso, ligne 13, et des variantes orthographiques relevées dès les débuts des déchiffrements. Elle est justifiée de plus par de nombreux exemples des textes assyriens où [cuneiform] figure comme idéogramme, ainsi que des textes accadiens qui nous font connaître l'état de prolongation [cuneiform] **nunna**; enfin par l'échange qui se produit plus d'une fois entre [cuneiform] et [cuneiform] ou [cuneiform], autres expressions de l'idée de "seigneur." Il faut, du reste, remarquer que **nun** en accadien, comme son correspondant assyrien *rubû*, s'emploie pour dire absolument "chef," sans régime, plutôt que "seigneur" de telle ou telle chose. Dans les documents astrologiques et auguraux, [cuneiform] est le synonyme de [cuneiform], et désigne le roi.

Dans Lt. 81, A, ligne 19, le composé abstrait [cuneiform] **namnunna**, est "la qualité de chef," [cuneiform] *rubutuv*, et à la suivante la même traduction assyrienne est donnée pour [cuneiform] **namnundurra**, qui nous fait connaître un composé **nun-dur** (la forme de prolongation **ra** indique qu'il faut prendre ici le signe [cuneiform] pour la valeur de **dur** et non pour celle de **ku**). [cuneiform] **dur**, isolément, est traduit *sarru*, "roi," dans W.A.I, II, 33, ligne 27, *e-f*, et *rubû*, "chef," dans B.M. S 42, verso, ligne 14. Un autre composé de **nun**, "seigneur, chef," est [cuneiform] **nun-me** (prononcé **nümme**) que l'on traduit (par exemple dans W.A.I. IV, 14, 2, verso, lignes 6 et 7) par [cuneiform] *abgalluv*, "chef suprême," arabe بجل, et par [cuneiform] *iśimu*, "éminent" (mot-à-mot, "noté"), de

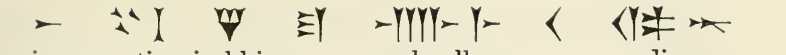
אכם, arabe وسم (W.A.I. II, 56, ligne 48, *c*, glose). **Nun-me**, à son tour, entre dans des composés, car l'accadien en forme de trois et quatre éléments (E.A. I, 1, p. 54), où il exprime la suprématie et la possession, jouant le même rôle que le בעל; on en a une série d'exemples dans B.M., S 12, verso, lignes 6–12.

La décomposition étymologique de  donne **nun**, "seigneur," **me**, "qui commande." En effet **me** est interprété dans Syllab. A, 136–137, par  *qulu*, "voix" (hébr. קול), et  *qâlu*, "appeler" (arabe قال), ce que confirment W.A.I. IV, 1, col. 1, ligne 42–43; 7, col. 1, lignes 3–6 et 14–15; 19, 1, recto, lignes 33–34 (**gar me-gar**, mot-à-mot, "ce qui—voix + fait = *qulu*, "la voix, le cri"); cf. W.A.I. II, 7, ligne 48, *e-f*:  **gar me-gar** =  , *risâtu*, "objurgation"). Syllab. A, 138, explique ensuite **me** par  *parṣu*, ce qui se retrouve également dans W.A.I. II, 27, ligne 15, *g-h*, *parṣu*, comme l'a montré M. Friedrich Delitzsch (A.S., p. 133), veut dire "ordre, commandement" (arabe فرض), quand il correspond à l'accadien **me** et à ses synonymes **kus** (W.A.I. II, 27, ligne 16, *g-h*) et **garza** (Syllab. A, 214; W.A.I. II, 27, ligne 17, *g-h*), tous les deux exprimés dans l'écriture par le complexe idéographique , ainsi que  (glose ) **kir âka**, mot-à-mot "ordre faisant" (W.A.I. II, 24, ligne 38, *f-g*). L'interprétation de par ברך, "commander," trouve encore son application et la justification dans W.A.I. IV, 55, col. 1, lignes 9–10, où il est dit que si "le fils de Sippara," c'est-à-dire le roi de cette ville, ne juge pas avec justice:—

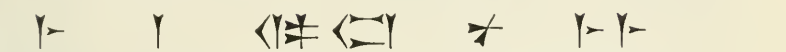


samas dinu same u irṣiti dina aḫav

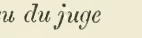
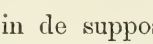
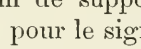
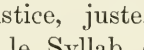
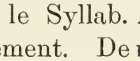
Le Soleil, juge du ciel et de la terre, un juge autre

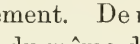
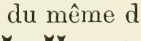
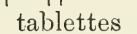
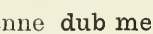


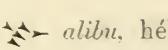
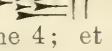
ina matisu isakkin va abgalla u dina
dans son pays établira et un dominateur et un juge

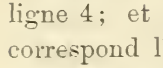


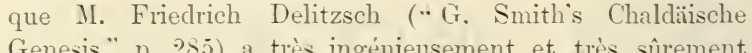
parişu ana diniv la muparrişi
qui commande au lieu du juge non sachant commander.

Il n'est pas besoin de supposer ici, comme l'a fait le regrettable G. Smith, pour le signe une nouvelle signification, celle de "justice, juste." L'acception de "commander," établie par le Syllab. A, suffit à expliquer le texte et y convient parfaitement. De même, l'expression allophone employée à la ligne 5 du même document pour désigner "les lois justes,"  , est proprement "les tablettes qui commandent, les tablettes des préceptes"; formée sur une locution accadienne **dub mea**, où **mea** est le participe du verbe **me**. A la ligne 4 du texte de W.A.I. IV, 55, l'allophone  est pris dans le sens d'un "bon prince," d'un "prince qui sait remplir son office de commandement," dans l'expression  *ana abgalli*, "à la façon d'un prince qui sait commander." Dans le récit du Déluge (col. 4, ligne 13), Bel est appelé *abgal ilani*, "souverain maître des dieux." Mais c'est à tort que G. Smith a voulu lire en assyrien *rumme* l'allophone  , dont la vraie prononciation assyrienne *abgalluv* est assurée par W.A.I. IV, 14, 2, verso, lignes 6 et 7, en le rapprochant d'un mot avec lequel il n'a rien à faire et qui est écrit phonétiquement  , trois lignes après, dans le récit du Déluge.

Le sens de "magnat, chef, seigneur," pour l'accadien  **nun**, est une acception secondaire et dérivée. Le sens primitif est  *rabû*, "grand," comme l'explique Syllab. A, 129. C'est avec cette signification que **nun** entre dans le composé **ninun** (ét. prol.  **ninunna**) =  *himetu* (W.A.I. IV, 18, 3, lignes 29–30; 28, 1, ligne 11), la "crême" caillée du lait, hébr. חמאה (le "lait" lui-même s'appelle en assyrien

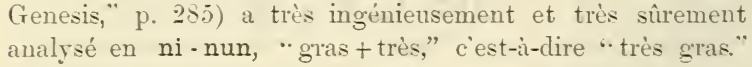
alibu, hébr. חלב: W.A.I. IV, 66, 1, verso, ligne 4; et plus habituellement  *sizbu*, auquel correspond l'accadien ga: voy. E.C. 3, p. 37 et suiv.), que M. Friedrich Delitzsch ("G. Smith's Chaldäische Genesis," p. 285) a très ingénieusement et très sûrement analysé en ni-nun, "gras + très," c'est-à-dire "très gras." ni étant traduit  *saman*, "graisse," dans W.A.I. IV, 26, 7, lignes 47–48).

Mais l'idéogramme  possède en même temps une acception toute différente, celle de "poisson," assyrien *nunu* (W.A.I. II, 7, lignes 26 et 27, *g-h*). Nous trouvons un exemple de son emploi dans W.A.I. II, 19, 2, lignes 65–66:—



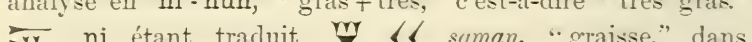
Accad. gar kur gamgam χan ittir

Qui les montagnes courbe, le poisson (aux) nageoires



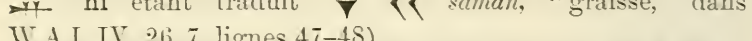
siesna mundagallâ

sept je + le + tiens.



Assyr. mukanniś sadi nuna sa śiba

Courbant les montagnes, le poisson qui sept



abrasu nasaku

ses nageoires je suis portant.

(gamgam, dérivé factitif par duplication du radical gam, dont le sens est "être courbe";—ittir, composé id-tir, dont le premier élément est id, "membre, bras";—*mukanniś*, participe du paël de כנס;—*abru* est proprement le nom de l'"aîle," hébr. אבר; c'est par extension qu'il s'applique ici à une nageoire.)

Je ne rechercherai pas l'enchaînement d'idées qui a pu conduire à faire représenter par un même signe les notions de "grand, chef," d'une part, de "poisson," de l'autre. Le

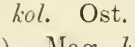
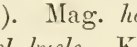
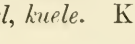
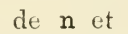
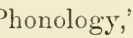
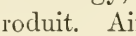
temps n'est pas encore venu d'aborder avec chance de succès de semblables recherches ; dans l'état actuel de la science, il faut se borner à constater comme de simples faits les diverses valeurs des caractères idéographiques et les lectures qui y correspondent, soit en assyrien, soit en accadien. Mais ce que l'on peut faire dès à présent, c'est déterminer la prononciation accadienne du signe , quand il a le sens de "poisson," prononciation que je viens de représenter par χan. Voici comment j'y arrive.

Nous avons pour "poisson" un état de prolongation formé en na, , preuve irréfragable que le mot se terminait par un n. En même temps le simple bon sens suffit à indiquer que ce mot ne peut pas être le sémitique *nun*, que la coincidence de son entre la lecture accadienne du caractère dans l'acception de "grand, chef" et sa lecture assyrienne dans l'acception absolument différente de "poisson," est purement fortuite.

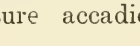
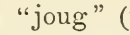
Le signe le plus habituellement employé pour dire "poisson" est (W.A.I. II, 7, ligne 25, *g-h ;* 40, ligne 18, *e-f ;* 48, ligne 35, *g-h ;* Khors., ligne 144 comparée à 169), dont le tracé primitif, , représentait l'image de l'animal, et dont la valeur comme phonétique indifférent est *ḫa* en assyrien, χa en accadien. Cette valeur est la lecture même correspondant à sa signification idéographique dans l'idiome d'Accad. χa, "poisson," comme je l'ai déjà montré ailleurs (E.S.C., p. 104), est au nombre des mots accadiens, assez multipliés, qui présentent un fait bien connu dans le finnois suomien, le magyar, et en général dans toutes les langues ougro-finnoises. Le radical ne s'y retrouve dans son intégrité qu'aux cas où il reçoit un suffixe de déclinaison, le suffixe, par un effet inverse à celui qui s'observe dans les langues à flexions, jouant un rôle conservateur et préservant la consonne finale, qui s'élide ou s'efface à l'état absolu, quand elle n'est pas suivie d'un suffixe. Ainsi pour χa, "poisson," j'ai rencontré l'illatif χanaku, traduit en assyrien *ana nuni*, "au poisson"; d'où résulte positivement que le radical était χan, ou χana, élidé en χa à l'état absolu du nominatif. C'est pour cela que

je l'ai comparé, par un rapprochement qui me paraît certain, au nom du "poisson" dans toutes les langues ougro-finnoises et samoyèdes, et aussi en mongol :—

Fin. *kala.* Veps. *kala.* Esth. *kala.* Liv. *kala.* Lap. *guolle, kuele* (suivant les dialectes). Vot. *kala.* Mordv. *kal.* Tchér. *kol.* Ost. *χut'.* Vog. *kul, χul* (suivant les dialectes). Mag. *hal.* Your. *hāloa.* Tang. *kole.* Ost. sam. *kuel, kuele.* Kam. *kola.* Mong. *kal.*

La permutation de **n** et **l** n'est pas rare en accadien (Sayce, "Accadian Phonology," p. 15), et c'est principalement en finale qu'elle se produit. Ainsi Syllab. B, 7–10, nous donne les deux formes parallèles  **sudun** et  **sutul,** comme lecture accadienne du signe  =  *nîru,* "joug" (voy. Syllab. A, 45). Les deux verbes exactement synonymes  **gan** et  **gal,** signifiant tous les deux "exister," étaient sûrement identiques à l'origine. C'est aussi en finale que nous voyons un *n* de l'accadien remplacer un *l* des autres langues touraniennes, par exemple dans le verbe **men(ven)** "être" (E.A. I, 3, p. 127 ; L.P.C. p. 234), qui correspond à :

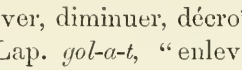
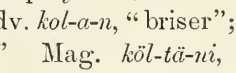
Fin. *ol-en.* Esth. *olle-ma.* Zyr. *völ-ny.* Vot. *van'.* Mordv. *ul-ems.* Tchér. *yl-em.* Ost. *ūd-ém.* Mag. *vagy-on* (*van-on* = *val-on*). Turc. اولمق.

Ceci donné, il importe de se rappeler qu'une des valeurs phonétiques, avec lesquelles le signe  est passé dans les textes assyriens, est *ḫan.* Elle doit se rattacher, comme il arrive presque toujours en pareil cas, à une lecture idéographique accadienne. Dès lors, après avoir constaté, d'une part qu'en accadien le nom du "poisson" exprimé par le signe en question se terminait par un **n,** de l'autre que le radical du mot le plus ordinaire pour cette idée y était **χan,** il est bien de ne pas admettre que  se lisait **χan** quand il était employé dans le sens de "poisson," comme **nun** quand il était employé dans le sens de "chef." C'est ma conclusion, et elle me paraît solidement établie.

Je crois en trouver la confirmation, et en même temps celle des rapprochements philologiques que j'ai proposés pour le mot χan, χana, "poisson," dans le fait suivant. Ainsi que l'a montré M. O. Donner, dans son "Vergleichendes Wœrterbuch," le finnois suomien *kala*, "poisson," et ses congénères, se rattachent à une racine fondamentale *kal*, *kol*, *kul*, *kel* des idiomes ougro-finnois, à laquelle appartiennent également:

Fin. *kal-ea*, "poli, glissant, pelé"; *kal-in*, "rendre poli, gratter, polir"; *kal-e-un*, "être-poli"; *kel-eä*, "poli, lisse"; *kol-ota*, "écorcher, dépouiller." Esth. *kol-e*, "poli, dénudé, desséché." Mordv. *kol-ïś*, "nu, dénudé, pelé."

Fin. *kul-u-n*, "enlever, diminuer, décroître." Vot. *kul-u-n*, "décroître." Lap. *gol-a-t*, "enlever, retrancher, diminuer." Mordv. *kol-a-n*, "briser"; *kal-a-do-n*, "tomber en décadence." Mag. *köl-tä-ni*, "consommer, consumer." Vog. *kol-a-m*, "enlever, diminuer, décroître."

Or, dans l'accadien également, à côté de χan, χana, "poisson," nous trouvons un verbe χan, "être dépouillé, dénudé," qui s'écrit aussi par le signe et qui est exactement dans le même rapport avec le nom du poisson que, dans les langues ougro-finnoises, les verbes que nous venons de citer. On en a un exemple bien caractérisé dans W.A.I. IV, 7, col. 1, ligne 46:  **śî-sar dim ganenχan =**  *kima sumi liqqalab*, "comme un oignon (hébr. שום; cf. **śî-sar** = *sûmu*, W.A.I. II, 7, ligne 24, *a-b*), qu'il soit dépouillé." M. Friedrich Delitzsch ("G. Smith's Chaldäische Genesis," p. 295) remarque que l'expression בקליפת השום est comme stéréotypée dans le langage talmudique pour dépeindre une extrême ténuité.

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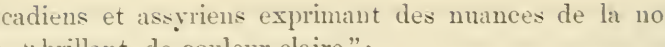
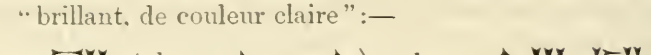
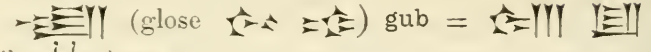
(2). *namru* est en assyrien l'épithète classique du bronze et du cuivre, comme *ibbu* celle de l'argent: Assarh., col. 6, ligne 8.

W.A.I. II, 24 lignes 46-48, *a-b*, groupe trois synonymes

accadiens et assyriens exprimant des nuances de la notion de "brillant, de couleur claire":—

 (hébr. הלל);





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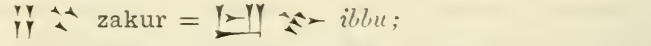
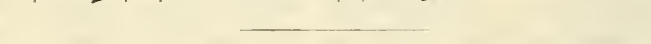
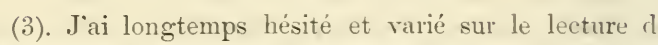
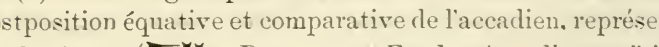
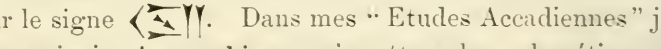
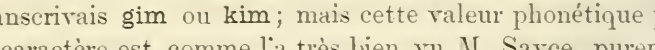
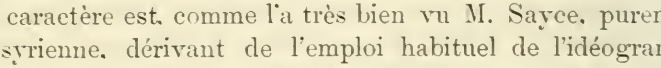
(3). J'ai longtemps hésité et varié sur le lecture de la postposition équative et comparative de l'accadien, représentée par le signe  . Dans mes "Etudes Accadiennes" je la transcrivais **gim** ou **kim**; mais cette valeur phonétique pour le caractère est, comme l'a très bien vu M. Sayce, purement assyrienne, dérivant de l'emploi habituel de l'idéogramme pour représenter le mot *kima*, "comme." Plus tard, dans mon "Etude sur quelques parties des Syllabaires," j'ai transcrit **tum**, avec M. Schrader; ceci encore était inexact, car le mot  *tuma*, "comme," que W.A.I. II, 25, ligne 17, *a-b*, donne pour synonyme à  *kima*, n'est par accadien, mais assyrien. La vraie lecture accadienne de est fournie par Syllab. AA, 48, où il est transcrit  **dim** (et non **kim**, comme j'ai imprimé à tort, ainsi que M. Friedrich Delitzsch), en même temps qu'il est expliqué par  *banû* (בנה), "produire, créer,"  *episu* (עבש), "faire,"  *basû* (בשא), "être exister." C'est à cette racine verbale **dim**, "créer, produire, reproduire," que se ratrache la postposition **dim**, "comme, ainsi que."

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(4). *Massu* est le participe du kal (pour *masisu*) et *limmasis* le précatif du niphal d'un verbe מישׁ correspondant à l'hébreu et araméen מכס.

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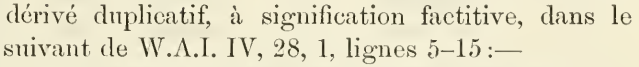
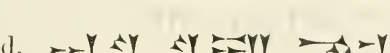
(5). **imśubta** est contracté pour **immaśubta**, cas illatif d'un infinitif ou nom verbal de la 6e voix. **ganentaśub** un premier précatif de la 2e voix, à la 3e personne, et **ganenśubbi**

celui de la 1ère voix. Toutes ces formes appartiennent à la conjugaison d'un verbe **śub** "couler." Nous avons un exemple de son dérivé duplicatif, à signification factitive, dans le passage suivant de W.A.I. IV, 28, 1, lignes 5–15 :—

Accad. 

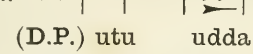
(D.P.) utu **udda** **nê** **lugale** **dû**

Soleil (en) jour *ce* *le roi* *fils*



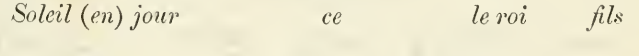
dingirana **umeniel**

de dieu + son *que + tu + rendes brillant de pureté,*



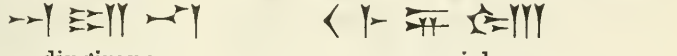
umeni .....

que + tu + ...

Assyr. 

samas ina yumi annî sarri

Soleil en jour *ce* *le roi*



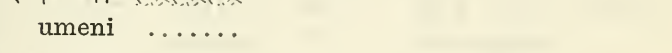
mar ilisu ullilsu ubbib[su]

fils de son dieu *fais-le resplendir fais-le briller de pureté !*

Accad.

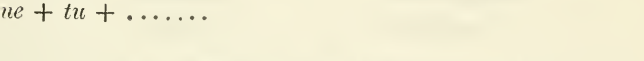
garnam **χul** **dimma** **śuna**

Tout ce qui *le mal* *produisant* *corps + du*



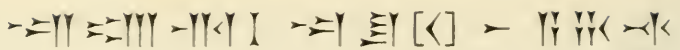
nigalla **barbita** **ganen** .....

il + existe *ailleurs* *qu'il + [soit éloigné !]*

Assyr. 

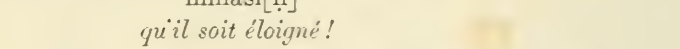
nin ebis limutti sa

Tout ce qui *faisant* *le mal* *de*



zumrisu basû ina aḫati
son corps *existe,* *dans* *ailleurs*

linnaśi[ḫ]
qu'il soit éloigné !

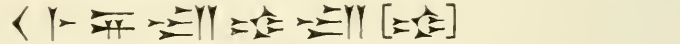
Accad. 

duqqa-bur sagan dim umenilaχ[χi]
un vase-plein *de....* *comme* *que + tu + laves !*

Pas de version assyrienne pour ce verset.

Accad.

duqqa-bur ninunna dim
un vase-plein *de crême* *comme*

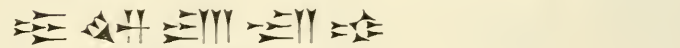


umeniśubśu[b]
que + tu + fasses écouler !

Pas de version assyrienne.

Accad.

zabar dim imśubta
le bronze *comme* *l'action de fondre + dans*



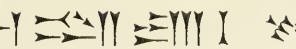
ganimtaśub
qu'(on) + fasse + couler !

Assyr.

kima ke massi limmasis
comme du bronze en fusion coulant *qu'il coule !*

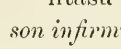
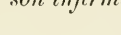
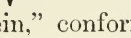
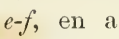
Accad.

namlalani gaba
Infirmité + sa *délivre !*

Assyr. 

'iltasu — *son infirmité*

puṭur — *délivre !*

( est un complexe idéographique qui signifie un "vase plein," conformément à sa composition ; W.A I. II, 26, ligne 12, *e-f*, en assure la lecture **duqqa-bur**, en exprimant dans l'orthographe la syllabe de jonction **qa**,  ; il traduit en assyrien *paḥarur*, "action de rassembler, de réunir." C'est la notion de "rassembler dans un récipient," puisque **duq** (aussi bien que quand il se lit **lut**) est un "vase," une "cruche."—Syllab. F, 7, donne la lecture  **sagan** pour l'idéogramme  ; mais l'interprétation a disparu.—Sur **namlal** = *'iltu* (hébr. חלי), voy. E.S.C., p. 65).

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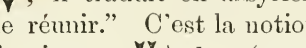
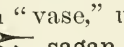
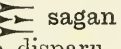
(6). Syllab. A, 112, laisse lire :—



guskin — ḥu[raṣu.]

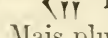
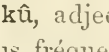
Le complexe idéographique pour désigner l' "or," bien plus fréquent d'emploi dans les textes assyriens que l'expression phonétique du nom de ce métal, est tellement connu qu'il n'est plus besoin d'insister sur les preuves de sa signification. Mais il y a encore intérêt à étudier sa formation, ainsi que le rapport qui peut exister entre cette formation et la composition du mot accadien par lequel se lisait le complexe idéographique en question.

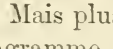
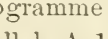
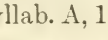
Il est formé par la juxtaposition de deux des signes simples et primitifs de l'écriture,  et  .

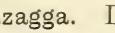
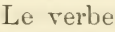
Le premier est expliqué dans Syllab. A, 109 :—

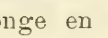
kû — *ellu*

On a jusqu'à présent traduit *ellu* par "élevé, sublime," en le rattachant à la racine עלה (Norris, A.D., pp. 641 et 673) ; mais M. Friedrich Delitzsch ("G. Smith's Chaldäische Genesis," p. 300) a établi récemment que cette traduction

est inexacte, qu'il faut attribuer à *ellu* le sens de "brillant, clair," en le rapportant à la racine הלל. Le radical accadien kû a d'ailleurs originairement le sens verbal de "briller, être éclatant," traduit toujours dans les documents bilingues par le verbe assyrien הלל. Ainsi les formules magiques offrent à chaque instant la 3e personne du 1er précatif,  ganenkû, rendue par  *lilil*, "qu'il brille." kû, adjectif = *ellu*, s'y rencontre aussi quelquefois. Mais plus fréquent est son synonyme, écrit par le même idéogramme et traduit également en assyrien *ellu*, azag (Syllab. A, 110), lequel fait à l'état de prolongation. azagga. Le verbe, représenté par le signe , qui se prolonge en ga est aussi à lire azag ; exemple, ganenazagga = *lilil*, "qu'il brille" (W.A.I. IV, 14, 2, ligne 26).

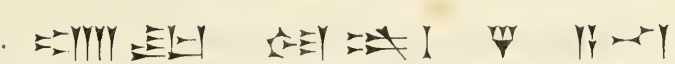
Une des appellations le plus habituelles du dieu Êa,  nin-si-kû signifie, comme l'a montré M. Friedrich Delitzsch (l.c.), "le Seigneur à l'œil clair, au regard pénétrant," et c'est ainsi que W.A.I. II, 58, ligne 56, *a-b-c*, en même temps qu'il en enregistre la variante  (où la valeur du signe représentant le premier élément est exprimée par deux phonétiques simples ni-in), l'explique par  *Êa sa nimeqi*, "Êa à la sagesse pénétrante et profonde." Ceci nous fait comprendre l'emploi et la traduction du composé abstrait namkû dans W.A.I. IV, 14, 3, ligne 3–4, où l'on dit à Nébo :—

Accad. 	
dubśar	garnammage
Scribe	*tout ce qui (existe) + de*



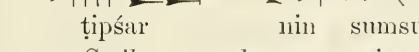
namkûzu . . . . . .

intelligence pénétrante + ta . . . . . .

Assyr. 

ṭipśar nin sumsu sa ana

Scribe de tout ce qui existe, qui à



nimeqika . . . . . .

ton intelligence pénétrante . . . . . .

Partant de la notion d'éclat et attribuant au radical **kû**, comme à son idéogramme , une acception substantive, on en a fait une désignation des métaux précieux, de l'or et de l'argent, dans l'expression graphique desquels entre le signe . D'ailleurs, dans les formules commerciales bilingues, **kû** est le nom du numéraire employé pour les échanges, si l'on peut se servir de ce nom de numéraire là où il n'y avait pas de monnaie, mais des métaux donnés et acceptés au poids dans la balance à chaque transaction (voy. mon ouvrage sur "La monnaie dans l'antiquité," livre I, chap. iii, §1); on le traduit alors en assyrien par *kaśpu* (כסף), "argent," comme nous disons "l'argent" pour toute forme du numéraire. C'est ainsi que nous lisons dans le curieux passage de W.A.I. II, 13, ligne 45, *c-d* (cf. encore, ligne 20, *a-b*), où l'on indique les deux manières usitées de faire des paiements et les mots qui les désignent:—

Accad.

kû **nilale** **ua** **se**

Le numéraire métallique il pèse et le grain

akae

il mesure en amoncelant.

Assyr.

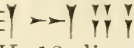
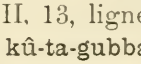
Kaśpa isaqal u se'am

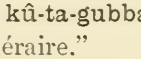
L'argent il pèse et le grain

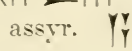
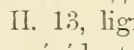
imadad

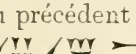
il mesure.

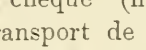
De là plusieurs composés importants :—

1°.  **kûtagubba,** "garantie réelle," assyr.  *manzazanu* (de נזז, "fixer, garantir"; W.A.I. II, 13, ligne 21 *a-b*. La décomposition étymologique en est **kû-ta-gubba,** "numéraire-en-garantissant," "garantie en numéraire."

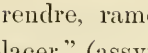
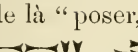
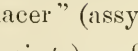
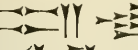
2°.  **kûtagubbas,** "en garantie réelle," assyr. *ana manzazanu* (W.A.I. II. 13, lignes 22–23, *a-b*) ; adverbe formé régulièrement du précédent par le moyen du suffixe **as** (L.P.C., p. 266).

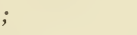
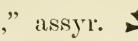
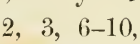
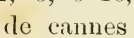
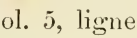
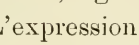
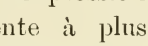
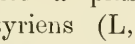
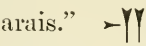
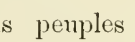
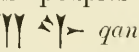
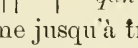
3°.  **kûpaddu,** "billet," ou plutôt "lettre de change, chèque" (nous en possèdons d'assyriens en original, avec transport de créance d'un lieu sur un autre), assyr.  *sipartu* (de שׁבר, "envoyer un message," arabe سفر) : W.A.I. II, 13, lignes 23–25 et 35, *a-b*.

C'est à cet emploi du mot **kû** que je rattache le sens de "précieux," pris par l'adjectif **kuva** (originairement participe du verbe **kû**), et celui de "haute valeur, qualité d'être précieux, qualité précieuse," par le substantif abstrait **namkuva,** dans W.A.I. II, 33, ligne 13, *e-f*:  **namkuvâniku** = *ana aqrutisu* (*agrutu*, de אקר. hébr. יקר). Le radical **kû** n'est pas écrit dans cet exemple par l'idéogramme , mais par le phonétique indifférent ; des échanges de caractères de ce genre sont fréquents dans les textes accadiens, et constituent un des plus ûrss moyen d'arriver à des transcriptions satisfaisantes. Ils sont, du reste, la meilleure réfutation de la grotesque théorie qui a prétendu nier l'existence de la langue accadienne, pour y voir une cryptographie mystérieuse cachant sous ses voiles de l'assyrien sémitique, théorie à laquelle on est vraiment étonné que quelques savants aient prêté un instant de créance.

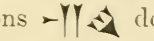
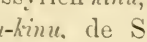
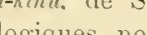
Pour ce qui est du signe  , il a deux ordres principaux normaux d'acceptions, correspondant à deux radicaux accadiens **gi** :—

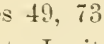
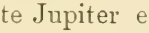
1°. L'acception verbale de "transporter, déporter" (assyr.

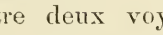
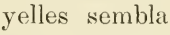
naśaḥ), puis "rendre, ramener, rétablir" (assyr. *târu*, תור), de là "poser, placer" (assyr. *sâmu*, שים;  gi, subst. =  *simtu*), enfin "fonder" ( gi, subst. =  *ussu*);

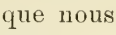
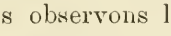
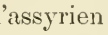
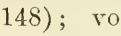
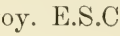
2° "Roseau," assyr.  *qanu*, hébr. קנה: W.A.I. II, 24, lignes 2, 3, 6–10, 12, *a-b*, liste de diverses espèces de roseaux et de cannes ou baguettes faites de roseaux; W.A.I. IV, 6, col. 5, lignes 39–40; cf. Friedrich Delitzsch, A.S., p. 72. L'expression idéographique  , qui se présente à plusieurs reprises dans les textes historiques assyriens (L, 42, ligne 47; W.A.I. III, 13, 4, ligne 39; Assarh., col. 3, ligne 54) est à traduire "les roseaux des marais."  gi est d'une manière spéciale le roseau à faire des tablettes sur lesquelles on écrivait, comme certains peuples sur des tablettes de bambou,  *qan duppi* (W.A.I. II, 39 ligne 47 *a-b*); de là on va même jusqu'à traduire dans un endroit  gi, par  *duppu mussaṭiru*, "tablette écrite" (Sayce, "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," t. I, p. 344; Smith, "Phon. Val.," 59). L'orthographe idéographique qui, pour le nom du dieu Feu s'échange à chaque instant avec celle de  dans les textes magiques,  , implique par les signes qui la composent l'idée du "feu ( ) du roseau ()," du feu sortant de l'instrument analogue à *l'âranî* des Aryas primitifs, instrument fait avec une tige de roseaux ligneux. Mais c'est là une de ces combinaisons allusives auxquelles prête si naturellement le génie de toutes les écritures idéographiques, auxquelles on s'y complaît, mais qui pourraient gravement égarer sur la véritable étymologie des mots, si l'on y prêtait une foi implicite. En réalité, comme l'a montré M. Friedrich Delitzsch ("G. Smith's Chaldäische Genesis," p. 270), n'est pas à lire **bil-gi**, mais **gi-bil**, en intervertissant à la lecture, comme il arrive quelquefois, l'ordre pas éléments de son orthographe, et se rattache à la racine verbale **gibil**, "brûler" ( =  **gibil** =  *qilutur*,

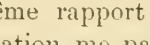
"l'action de brûler," de קלה: Syllab. A. 42; cf. Smith, "Phon. Val." 180, sur **gibil** comme une des lectures du signe).

Mais en outre, dans W.A.I. II, 39, lignes 41-42, *e-f*, nous voyons donné pour synonyme de et expression de l'assyrien *kinu*, à propos des diverses orthographes du nom, *Sarru-kinu*, de Sargon 1er, roi d'Agadhê. Les documents astrologiques nous offrent quelques exemples positifs de cette valeur, entre autres l'expression  *sarru ramanu* (ou plutôt *ina ramani*) *kinu*, "un roi qui s'est fait de lui-même," de sa propre autorité, "un usurpateur," laquelle s'y présente à plusieurs reprises (W.A.I. III, 60, lignes 49, 73 et 80). Dans W.A.I. II, 49, ligne 41, *e-f*, la planète Jupiter est appelée  , ce que l'on traduit  *kakkab kittav u mesar*, "astre de justice et de rectitude."

Je ne crois pas que l'on doive admettre dans la langue d'Accad l'existence d'un troisième radical **gi**, avec cette signification. L'emploi de en pareil cas me paraît simplement résulter d'une abréviation du mot **gina**, le véritable allophone et correspondant de l'assyrien *kinu*, participe passif du verbe **gen**, **gin**, "constituer, faire exister." Mais il est probable que, dans le langage on disait quelquefois **gi** pour **gin** ou **gina**, avec un effacement de la finale analogue à celui que nous avons étudié dans E.S.C., p. 72 et s., 104 et s. Je pense en trouver la preuve dans **kiengi**, ou **kingi** (on a les deux formes parallèles), qui, avant de prendre une signification géographique localisée (sur celle-ci, voy. Friedrich Delitzsch, A.L., p. 39, 8; "G. Smith's Chaldäische Genesis," p. 289), est un substantif signifiant d'une manière générale "pays,"  *mâtuv* (W.A.I. II, 39, ligne 9 *c-d*; cf. W.A.I. IV, 27, 4, ligne 63; Samsiramm., col. 3, ligne 53). La forme première de ce mot et son origine nous sont, en effet, révélés par  **kingina** = *irṣitiv*, "la terre," dans W.A.I IV, 1.

col. 1, lignes 22–23. C'est un composé de **kî** et de **gina**, dans lequel le premier **n** n'a aucune caractère radical, et où **ng** (qui en accadien n'est qu'une seule articulation) doit être considéré comme une simple modification du **g**, désormais placé entre deux voyelles semblables, modification pareille à celle que nous observons lorsqu'en accadien l'on fait  **nanga** de l'assyrien  *nagû* "district" (Syllab. A, 148); voy. E.S.C., p. 177. **kiengi** ou **kingi** est une forme déjà altérée de **kingina**, où la finale s'est effacée.

Il est évident que c'est avec cette dernière signification que  entre dans le complexe  , qui désigne l'or comme "le brillant véritable," le "métal précieux et brillant par excellence," de même que l'argent, , est "le brillant blanc, le métal précieux blanc." Le nom de l'argent dans la langue d'Accad, **ku-babbar**, est un composé qui a précisément ce sens, et sur lequel a été calqué le complexe idéographique, représentant **ku** et  **babbar**. N'en est-il pas de même pour le nom de l'or? Si nous transcrivons pour leurs valeurs de lecture avec les significations que nous leur y avons reconnues, les deux éléments constitutifs du complexe , nous aurons **kû-gin** ou **kû-gi**. Le mot **guskin** ou **gusqi** donné comme prononciation du complexe en question dans Syllab. A, 112, a bien l'air de n'en être qu'une modification phonétique, dans laquelle la gutturale douce est devenue forte et réciproquement, fait qui n'a rien d'extraordinaire ni d'insolite dans la phonétique accadienne, très flottante et travaillée par de fortes tendances d'altération (voy. Sayce, "Accadian Phonology," p. 10). La seule différence considérable tiendrait à l'insertion d'une sifflante entre les deux éléments. Mais ce même fait, si nous ne pouvons pas encore en rendre philologiquement compte d'une manière certaine, s'observe empiriquement dans  = *maskanu*, "puissance d'action," *nidutuv*, "hauteur, excellence," *tiriktuv*, "amplitude," *turbalu*, "grandeur, puissance," composé de **kî** et  **la**χ (Syllab. A*, 136), pour lequel une glose de W.A.I. II,

52, ligne 68. *g*, donne la prononciation  **kizla**χ ou **kiśla**χ. **Gu-s-kin** ou **gu-s-qi** est à **kû-gin** ou **kû-gi** exactement dans le même rapport que **ki-ś-la**χ à **kî-la**χ. Ce parallélisme de formation me paraît tout à fait décisif et m'amène à conclure que le nom accadien de l'or était originairement un mot composé, sur lequel a été calqué le complexe idéographique qui désigne ce métal dans l'écriture et à qui il sert de lecture.

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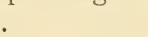
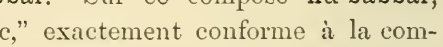
(7). L'expression idéographique de l'argent, comme celle de l'or, est si connue qu'il n'est plus besoin d'y insister. Syllab. A, 111, fait connaître le nom accadien de ce métal,  **kubabbar**. Sur ce composé **kû-babbar**, mot-à-mot "brillant blanc," exactement conforme à la composition du complexe idéographique , voy. E.S.C., p. 35.

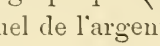
Le nom le plus habituel de l'argent en accadien est *kaśpu*, hébr. כסף. Mais on trouve aussi quelquefois *ṣarpu*, dont le sens étymologique, de la racine צרף, désigne originairement le métal rendu pur par la fusion.

C'est ainsi que nous lisons dans W.A.I. IV. 4, col. 3, lignes 40–41 :—

Accad. 

kubabbar **kurû** **dim** **mugidbi** **χum-**

L'argent *pur* *comme* *renommée + sa qu'(on) + la +*



tabir

fasse + briller.

Assyr.

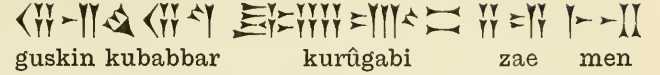
kima ṣarpi ṣurrutav russusu

Comme *de l'argent* *purifié* *sa renommée*

littanbiṭ

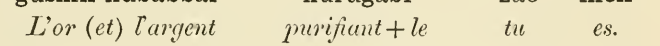
qu'elle brille.

Et dans W.A.I. IV, 14, 2, lignes 18–19.

Accad. 

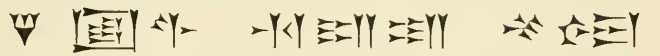
guskin kubabbar **kurûgabi** **zae** **men**

L'or (et) l'argent *purifiant + le* *tu* *es.*

Assyr. 

sa ṣarpi ḫuraṣi mudam-

Celui qui l'argent (et) l'or les



miqsunu atta

purifiant (c'est) toi.

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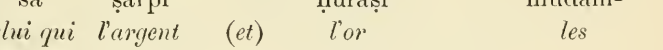
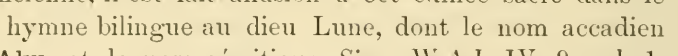
(8).  **sir** est interprété *nûru*, "lumière," dans W.A.I. II, 8, ligne 9, *a-b* (voy. E.S.C., p. 85). Le même idéogramme , pris comme désignation d'une partie du corps, exprime le "nombril" dans W.A.I. III, 65, 1, verso, ligne 35. **sir** précédé du déterminatif aphone , est encore traduit *nûru* (W.A.I. II, 8, ligne 10, *a-b*).

Mais d'un autre côté (déterm. préf.) **sir** est aussi interprété par *śamulluv* (W.A.I. II, 45, ligne 49, *d-e*), que l'on rapproche avec assez de vraisemblance de l'hébreu שמל, en l'expliquant par "image." Il y a un dieu *Śamullu*, dont l'appellation s'orthographie et entre en composition du nom royal ou *Śamul-sum-yukin*, le *Sammughes* des fragments de Bérose et le Σαοσδουχῖνος du Canon de Ptolémée.

Il y avait à Babylone un temple du dieu Sin, désigné par le nom accadien de **ê-sir-gal**, lequel fut restauré par Nabuchodorossor. Ce roi dit, en effet, dans E.I.H., col. 4, lignes 25–28:

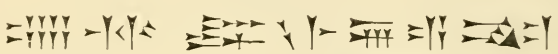
ana sin mudammiq idatiya e-sir-gal bitšu ina

babili epus, "à Sin, qui favorise mes desseins, j'ai fait à Babylone le *E-sir-gal*, son temple." À une époque beaucoup plus ancienne, il est fait allusion à cet édifice sacré dans le grand hymne bilingue au dieu Lune, dont le nom accadien était **Aku**, et le nom sémitique *Sin*. W.A.I. IV, 9, col. 1, lignes 11–12 :—

Accad. 

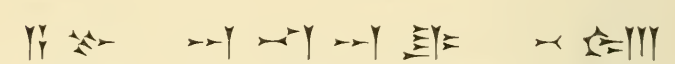
ai **(AN)uru-kî** **uamun** **ê-(IZ)sir-gal**

Père, illuminateur de la terre, maître du E-sir-gal,



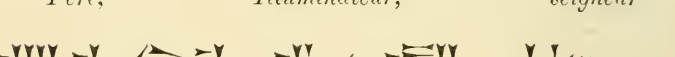
nirik **dimmerene**

prince *des dieux*

Assyr. 

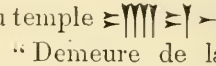
abu nannar bel

Père, *Illuminateur,* *seigneur*



e-sir-gal ebeli ilani

du E-sir-gal *prince* *des dieux*

On peut hésiter, pour le nom du temple , entre les deux significations de "Demeure de la grande lumière" ou "Demeure de la grande image," jusqu'à ce que l'on ait trouvé un texte qui tranche définitivement la question en faveur de l'une ou de l'autre. Mais la première semble la plus vraisemblable quand il s'agit du temple d'un dieu que l'on appelle par excellence en accadien  **uru-kî**, "l'illuminateur de la terre" (**uru** = *nuru*, "lumière": Sayce, "Assyr. Gramm.," p. 25, No. 288), et en assyrien **nannaru**, "l'illuminateur," de נהר. Voy. d'autres exemples de ce dernier nom, W.A.I. I, 70, col. 3, ligne 18; III, 41, col. 2, ligne 16. C'est le *Nárapos* sur lequel Nicolas de Damas (fragm. 10, ed. C. Müller, "Fragm. historic. graec., t. III, pp. 359–363) raconte un longue légende, qui provient originairement de Ctésias (Athen., XII, p. 530)

(9). **ekal** (**ekäl**) ou **ekala** (**ekälä**) se rattache sûrement à la racine verbale **kala**, "être fort, puissant." J'y vois, plutôt qu'un composé dont le premier élément serait bien difficile à expliquer, un dérivé de la classe de ceux dont j'ai déjà signalé l'existence (E.S.C., p. 149) et qui se forment en plaçant devant le radical une voyelle presthétique. M. Sayce ("Accadian Phonology," p. 19) a récemment contesté l'exactitude de ce mode de formation. Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de discuter cette question, qui demanderait des développements trop étendus, et l'explication que le savant professeur d'Oxford propose de substituer à la mienne. Mais, quel que soit le haut prix que j'attache à ses opinions, je dois dire ici qu'il ne m'a pas encore convaincu. Ces divergences sur des détails d'explication de faits, que de part et d'autre on constate également, sont, du reste, inévitables dans une étude qui en est encore à ses débuts.

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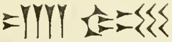
(10).  **ê-mur** est traduit *igaru*, "massif de maçonnerie," et originairement "paroi, mur" (voy. Norris, A.D., p. 467). Le sens étymologique propre est "maison de briques." Sur la signification de l'idéogramme *libittu*, "brique," voy. Norris, A.D., p. 651. Sa lecture accadienne **mur** résulte d'une glose de W.A.I. II, 36, ligne 18, *a*.

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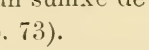
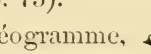
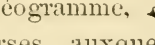
(11). Dans W.A.I. IV, 14, 2, lignes 16–17, nous avons **χiχi** = *muballil*, "mêlant, celui qui mêle" (de בלל). **χiχi**', pour **χiχia**, est le participe apocopé du dérivé factitif par redoublement d'un verbe **χi**, dont nous avons ici le participe **χia**, qui se traduit naturellement par "mêlé, mélangé."

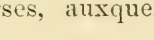
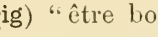
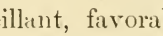
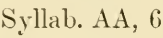
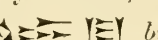
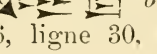
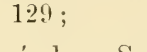
C'est manifestement comme phonétique simple et indifférent que le signe représente ce radical **χi**, "être mélangé," facile à distinguer de son homophone **χi**, "être bon," car sa racine est simplement **χi**, d'où son participe **χia**, tandis que celle de **χi** "être bon," est **χig**, **χigi**, dont la

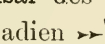
seconde consonne, apocopée à l'état absolu, reparaît quand il s'y attache un suffixe de conjugaison, ce qui fait le participe χiga (E.S.C. p. 73).

Comme idéogramme, , est susceptible de trois significations diverses, auxquelles correspondent trois lectures accadiennes :—

χi (rac. χig) "être bon" =  *ṭâbu :* Syllab. AA, 6 ; W.A.I. II, 11, lignes 69-72, *e-f ;*  *riḫû*, "bienveillant, favorable" (samar. רחה ; cf. une partie des acceptions dérivées de la rac. רוח dans les autres langues sémitiques) : Syllab. AA, 6 ;

dugu =  *birku*, "genou" : Syllab. AA, 6 ; W.A.I. II, 16, ligne 30, *b-c ;* IV, 1, col. 1, lignes 38–39 ; voy. E.S.C., p. 129 ;

sar, expliqué dans Syllab. AA, 14, par  *kissatuv*, "réunion," *mâdu*, "nombreux,"  *sumdû'u*, "action de multiplier," *rabâ*, "grand,"  *sutabû*, "action de faire aller, pousser croître," *gitmalu*, "généreux,"  *nuḫsu*, "abondance, prospérité,"  *naḫasu sa nuḫsi*, "action de donner l'abondance." On voit que le sens verbal primitif du radical accadien sar, exprimé par cet idéogramme, est "pulluler" et au sens actif "multiplier, accroître, faire croître." Bien que représenté par un autre idéogramme, il est évidemment apparenté de très près au radical homophone  sar, "pousser en avant, repousser," et aussi "s'accroître, s'étendre," qui a un large développement dans l'accadien, et s'y applique à la pousse, à la croissance des végétaux. Dans le récit théogonique qui ouvrait le récit de la Création (texte dans Friedr. Delitzsch, A.L., p. 40 ; "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," t. IV, pl. 1, à la p. 364) nous trouvons mentionné, à la ligne 12, le couple divin de Sar, mâle et  Kî-sar, femelle, personnifiant l'énergie de production dans la zône supérieure et dans la zône inférieure. Damascius (De prim. princip. 125,

p. 324, ed. Kopp) les appelle Ἀσσωρὸς et Κισσαρή (voy. ce que j'en ai dit dans la "Gazette Archéologique," 1876, p. 61). W.A.I. II, 54, ligne 6, *e-f*, et III, 69, lignes 8 et 9, font de **Sar** et **Kîsar** des qualifications de *Anu* et *Anat*, appelés aussi en accadien  **eni sar** et **nin sar**, "le Seigneur et la Dame de la production, de la pullulation." Les Assyriens ont ensuite adopté la forme comme expression idéographique de leur grand dieu national *Assur* (phonétiquement , contracté en), primitivement *Ausar*, , qu'ils identifiaient ainsi avec l'antique *Sar* des traditions cosmogoniques chaldéennes. C'est évidemment l'adoption des noms divins, d'origine accadienne, *Sar* et *Kisar*, par la population de langue sémitique, qui a fait que dans Syllab. AA, 14, on enregistre *sar* dans la colonne des explications assyriennes, en regard du signe .

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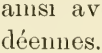
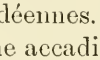
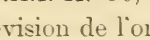
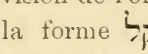
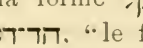
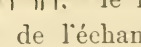
(12). Nous ne connaissons jusqu'ici, pour le caractère  , que la lecture  **kisal**, enregistrée dans Syllab. A, 231, lecture d'origine assyrienne, empruntée du sémitique , *kisallu*, "tumulus, piédestal, soubassement," aram. כסלא. On est donc obligé de transcrire provisoirement par **kisalda**; mais ce mot, qui serait formé de **kisal** avec l'addition du suffixe individualisant accadien **da**, est philologiquement bien peu vraisemblable. Il y a plus de probabilité que nous avons ici l'indication de l'état de prolongation d'un mot proprement accadien, encore inconnu et terminé en **d**, que le nouveaux documents nous révéleront sans doute quelque jour. C'est ainsi que, d'après le de W.A.I. II, 10, ligne 6, *a*, j'avais cru à l'existence d'un mot **ariada**, "fleuve," formé de **aria**, même sens, par l'addition du suffixe **da**; mais M. Friedrich Delitzsch a récemment prouvé ("Literarisches Centralblatt," 10 mars 1877, p. 346) qu'il fallait lire **îdda**, état de prolongation d'un mot **îd** (**hîd**) que servait de lecture au complexe idéographique concurremment avec **aria**. Ce mot **îd** est attesté

par une glose de W.A.I. II, 56, ligne 26, *c*, où le texte doit être rétabli, après révision de l'original, (cf. dans la Bible la forme הדקל pour le nom du Tigre, à décomposer en הד־דקל, "le fleuve Tigre). Quant à aria, cette lecture résulte de l'échange des orthographes  et  , que j'ai relevé dans la comparaison de deux exemplaires d'un même document magique ; nous avons encore l'orthographe purement phonétique dans  ariaku, traduit  *ana me*, "vers les eaux" (pour "vers le fleuve): W.A.I. II, 16, ligne 58, *a-b* ; IV, 30, 3, recto, ligne 53–54.

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(13). Sur le radical accadien ri, "s'élever, "voy. Friedrich Delitzsch, A.S., p. 122.

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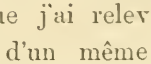
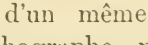
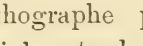
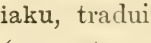
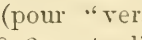
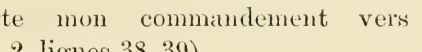
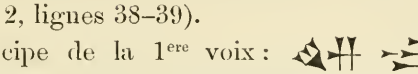
(14). Le mot  duma = *suluku*, "projectile," est originairement le participe, pris au sens passif, d'un verbe dum, "jeter, projeter, porter, présenter." Les textes bilingues nous offrent un certain nombre d'exemples de ce verbe, toujours orthographié phonétiquement à différents modes de sa conjugaison.

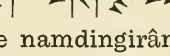
gannibdumune, 3e pers. plur. 1er précat. object. (avec incorporation de la 3e p. obj.) de la 1ère voix :  barra kî baralale gannibdumune =  *ina aḫâti asar la ari lirusu* (de ירה), "ailleurs, dans un lieu stérile, qu'ils le rejettent" (W.A.I. IV, 16, 1, lignes 46–47).

dumab, impérat. de la 1ère voix, avec pronom object. de la 3e pers. suffixé :  luχmu nuzku gûmu abzuku dumab, "mon serviteur, Nouzkou, mon commandement vers l'Océan porte-le" =  *sukkalli Nuzku amati ana apsî bîli* (de אבל, hébr. יבל), "mon serviteur,

Nouzkou, porte mon commandement vers l'Océan" (W.A.I. IV, col. 2, lignes 38–39).

duma, participe de la 1ère voix: 
nî śuzi ria mete namdingirâniku duma = 
puluḫta sulummatu ramû ana śimat ilutisu sulṣiku, "exaltant la vénération et le culte, il est l'offrant à l'image de sa divinité" (W.A.I. IV, 18, 1, lignes 9–10).

nuduma, participe de la 1ère voix negative, , "ne portant pas," la version assyrienne détruite (W.A.I. II, 17, ligne 14, *a*).

La glose de W.A.I. II, 29, ligne 28, *a*, représente par  **tumma**, la prononciation de , pris avec l'acception substantive de "projectile." Il y a là deux faits phonétiques intéressants à noter: d'abord l'endurcissement de la gutturale initiale, sur lequel voy. Sayce, "Accadian Phonology," p. 12; puis le doublement du **m**, produit par la présence de l'accent tonique sur la voyelle qui précède, voy. E.C. III, p. 25. Sur la conservation de ce dernier fait dans les habitudes de l'orthographe assyrienne, voy. Sayce, "Assyrian Grammar," 2e édit., p. 108 et suiv.

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(15). On lit de même pour la désignation de la "corne," dans Syllab. A, 177:

śî qarnu.

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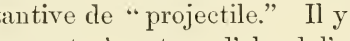
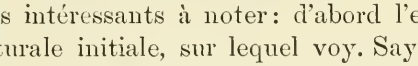
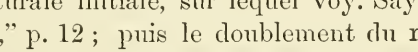
(16). Le sens originaire de **kir** est "lier, rassembler."

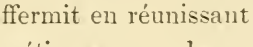
kir (glose **kur**) =  *rakśu*, "lier" (רכס);  **munnabkirra** (3e p., avec notion de la 1ère p. objective, du présent du 2e indicatif de la 5e voix) =  *irtakśanni*, "il lie, réunit en faisceau pour moi" (W.A.I. II, 48, lignes 29-30, *g-h*).

Ses parallèles philologiques dans les idiomes ougro-finnois sont évidents:

Fin. *ker-in*, "pelotonner, rouler"; *ker-ān*, "pelotonner, rassembler."—Veps. *ker-in* "pelotonner."—Vote: *cer-in*.—Lap. *garr-at*, *karr-at*, "lier, relier."—Tchér, *ker-em*, "corde."—Mordv. *ker-sa-n*, "rouler, lier."—Mog. *gör-gä-ni* "rouler." Voy. encore les No. 169, 171-173 du "Vergleich. Wœrterb." de M. O. Donner.

Dans le passage que nous commentons, de l'hymne à Sin, le radical verbal *kir* prend le sens d' "être fort, puissant, solide." On sait combien est étroite, dans presque toutes les langues, la connexion des idées de force et de solidité avec celle du lien qui raffermit en réunissant en faisceau.

Les valeurs phonétiques avec lesquelles le signe [cuneiform] est passé dans l'usage des texes assyriens, sont très nombreuses. Syllab. A*, 150-153, enregistre celles de *ḥab*, *kir*, *rim*, *lagab*; on a, de plus, bien positivement constaté dans l'usage des textes celles de *gil* et *kil*. Toutes ces valeurs phonétiques doivent leur origine à des lectures accadiennes, correspondant aux acceptions fort variées du caractère comme idéogramme. Celle de la valeur *ḥab* nous est expliquée par W.A.I. II, 27, ligne 54, *a-b*: [cuneiform] glose [cuneiform] χab = [cuneiform] *bi'su*, "méchant" Celle de *lagab* (d'où le nom conventionnel du signe chez les grammairiens, *lagabu*) par W.A.I. II, 48, ligne 36, *e-f*: [cuneiform] (glose [cuneiform]) mer lagab = [cuneiform] *uduntuv sa sâri*, "rougeur (pour *udumtuv*) d'un point du ciel."



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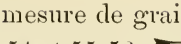
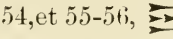
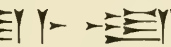
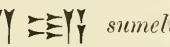
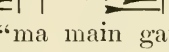
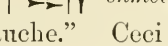
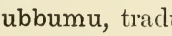
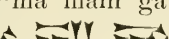
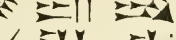
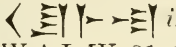
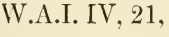
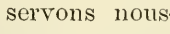
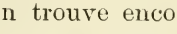
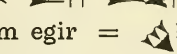
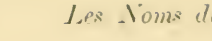
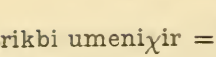
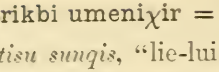
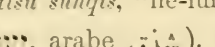
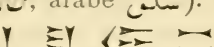
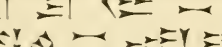
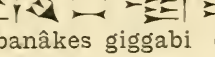
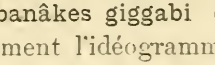
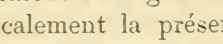
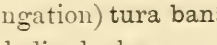
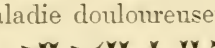
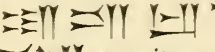
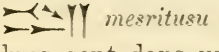
(17). Le mot accadien id, toujours écrit par le signe [cuneiform], dont il paraît avoir produit la valeur phonétique, a le sens de "main," comme le sémitique יד. C'est ainsi que nous lisons dans W.A.I. II, 10, lignes 20-23, *a-b*, [cuneiform] idbi ud idkam bar se tâan anakae = [cuneiform] *idisu saumatan burraina menuti se'am imandad*, "la main chaque jour mesurera

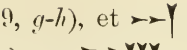
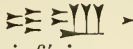
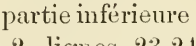
une demie mesure de grain." De même, dans W.A.I. II, 19, 2, lignes 53-54,et 55-56,  **id zidamu** et  **id gubbumu**, traduits *imniya*, et *sumeliya*, sont "ma main droite" et "ma main gauche." Ceci conduit à employer  **id zida id gubbu** =  *imna u sumela*, pour dire "à droite et à gauche" (W.A.I. IV, 21, 1, lignes 33 et 35, 37 et 39), comme nous nous servons nous-même de l'expression "à main droite." On trouve encore (W.A.I. IV, 20, 1, lignes 3-4),  **id zida id gubbu lim egir** =  *imna u sumela pani u arku*, "à droite et à gauche, devant et derrière."

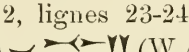
Cependant le sens primitif et originaire paraît avoir été plutôt "membre," d'une manière générale, que "main" tout-à-fait spécialement, notion qu'exprimait le signe  . En assyrien même, comme l'a déjà remarqué M. Schrader (Höllenf. p. 88), on établit une sorte d'opposition entre *idu* et *qatu*, dont le sens paraît être alors "bras" et "main." Par exemple, dans W.A.I. IV, 17, col. 2, lignes 24-26 :    *ili baniya idâi lisbatu mussu piya sutesura qatâi sutesiravva bel nûri*, "Que les dieux qui m'ont créé saisissent mes bras ! Dirige le souffle de ma bouche, dirige aussi mes mains, seigneur de la lumière !"

Le signe  entre, comme déterminatif aphone de l'idée générale de "membre" dans le groupe  **qat-arik** (?), traduit en assyrien  *mesritu*, ou au pluriel *mesriti*, "les membres, les extrémités," mot d'une analyse étymologique assez difficile (Schrader, Höllenf. p. 120) mais d'une signification certaine. W.A.I. IV, 3, col. 2, ligne 12 :  **(ID)**

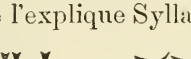
qat-arikbi umeniχir =  *mesritisu sunqis*, "lie-lui ses membres" (*sunqis* pour *sunqisu*, de שנק, arabe شنق). W.A.I. IV, 17, col. 1, lignes 51-52 :  (ID) qat-arikbi gig banâkes giggabi (l'orthographe du texte présente ici seulement l'idéogramme suivi du phonétique bi; mais grammaticalement la présence de ce suffixe appelle la forme de prolongation) tura banâ, "ses membres sont dans la douleur, la maladie douloureusement (le) souille" =  *mesritusu marṣis ibsa marṣis ina muršu nil*, "ses membres sont dans un état douloureux, il est souillé douloureusement par la maladie." Au reste, la figure hiéroglyphique originaire du signe  id,  (voy. ses variantes dans E.A. I, 3, p. 38, No. 325), semble représenter un bras ou une manche, et non une main, figure si reconnaissable, au contraire, dans le tracé hieroglyphique du signe  (E.A. I, 3, p. 39, No. 342).

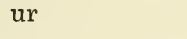
L'expression  , comme l'indique sa composition graphique, correspondant sans doute à un composé de la langue d'Accad, désigne "les membres" comme comprenant les mains et les pieds. Dans le passage l'hymne bilingue à Sin, que fournit l'occasion de cette note, l'assyrien  traduit un composé accadien différent,  id-uru, qui implique pour les "membres" une notion plus étendue, embrassant le corps avec les membres, proprement dits. En effet, il combine avec  id un autre idéogramme et un autre radical,  uru, dont le sens implique cette seconde idée. Le caractère en question, à qui Syllab. A, 276 et 277 donne la prononciation ur, et Syllab. FF, 25-28, uru, avec terminaison vocalique, est traduit par *isid*, "fondement, fondation, partie inférieure," dans les expressions  uru mâ =  *isid elippi*, "la partie inférieure, la quille du navire" (W.A.I. II,

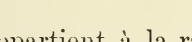
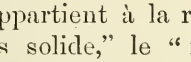
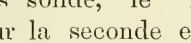
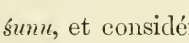
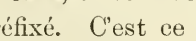
62, ligne 59, *g-h*), et  **ana urra** (ét. prol. de la forme **ur**) =  *isid same*, "les fondements du ciel, la partie inférieure du ciel" (W.A.I. IV, 5, col. 1, lignes 44-45; 28, 2, lignes 23-24). Il s'applique à une partie du corps,  (W.A.I. II, 44, ligne 16, *h*), et c'est dans le sens que l'explique Syllab. A, 276 et 277 :


ur udlu

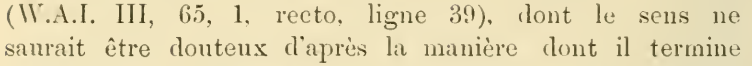
ur (D.P.) śunu

Udlu appartient à la racine עדל, et désigne proprement un "corps solide," le "fondement," à comparer à l'arabe جدل. Pour la seconde explication assyrienne il faut lire seulement *śunu*, et considérer comme un déterminatif aphone préfixé. C'est ce que prouvent W.A.I. II, 25, ligne 19, *a-b*, où, dans un fragment du dictionnaire des synonymes assyriens, nous avons  *udluv* = *śunu*, avec le second mot orthographié sans déterminatif, et W.A.I. II, 42, lignes 37-38, *a-b*, où l'on voit, parmi une série d'exemples de l'emploi du déterminatif aphone , figurer avec lui l'expression accadienne, l'expression assyrienne, et une troisième, synonyme, que l'on n'a pas encore rencontrée dans les textes :

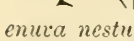
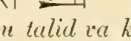


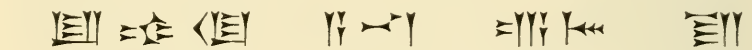
ur, uru = *udlu* = *śunu*, est "le fondement, le siège," la partie inférieure du tronc humain prise d'une manière générale ; c'est ainsi que l'on en spécialise des portions  **uru-lal** =  *uḫḫuru*, "le derrière" (W.A.I. II, 47, ligne 56, *e-f*),  **uru-gis**, "le fondement de la verge," =  *kibśu su nisi*, "le testicule de l'homme," aram. כבסא (Smith, "Phon. Val.," 150, c.).  seul est même employé

avec cette dernière signification dans les documents auguraux relatifs aux présages des naissances monstrueuses, par exemple dans le passage suivant (W.A.I. III, 65, 1, recto, ligne 39), dont le sens ne saurait être douteux d'après la manière dont il termine les mentions d'enfants qui n'ont pas de sexe marqué :

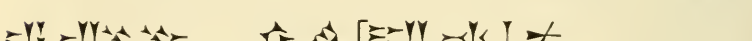


enuva nestu talid va kibśu imnusu la ibasi, " voici qu'une femme enfante, et son testicule droit (de l'enfant) n'existe pas."

L'idée de " fondement, partie inférieure du corps," pour  uru =  *śunu*, conduit à celle du *gremium* latin, que nous ne pouvons traduire en français que très approximativement par " sein," et aussi à une notion qui n'est guères possible à rendre que par " embrassement." Istar, arrivant à la porte des enfers, dit (W.A.I. IV, 31, recto, lignes 34 et 35) :

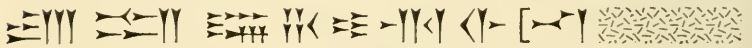


lubki ana danni sa
Je veux pleurer sur les vaillants qui



ezibu ḥiratisunu
ont abandonné (par la mort) leurs épouses ;

lubki ana ardati sa
je veux pleurer sur les concubines qui

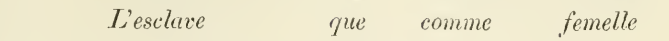


istu śun ḥairisina .....
du sein de leurs époux [ont été enlevées.

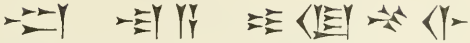
Dans W.A.I. II, 35, 4, nous lisons :

Accad.

..... nugâ
..... *ne prenant pas ;*

Assyr. 

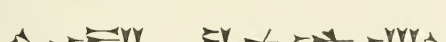
ardatuv sa kima zimistav
L'esclave que comme femelle



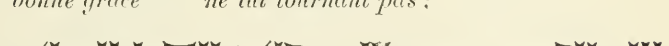
zikaru la ikimusi
un mâle ne l'a pas prise ;

Accad.

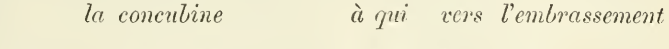
kiel **uru** **damani** **gan**
la concubine (vers) l'embrassement mari + son soit



χili **sunutagga**
bonne grâce ne lui tournant pas :

Assyr. 

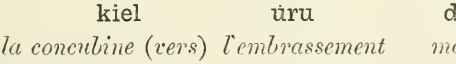
ardatuv sa ina śun
la concubine à qui vers l'embrassement



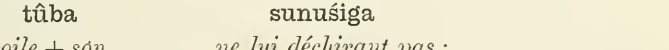
mutisa kuzba la ilput
son mari bonne grâce non a tourné ;

Accad.

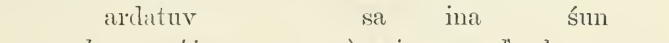
kiel **ŭru** **damani** **gan**
la concubine (vers) l'embrassement mari + son soit



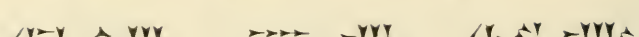
tûba **sunuśiga**
voile + sŏn ne lui déchirant pas ;

Assyr. 

ardatuv sa ina śun
la concubine à qui pour l'embrassement

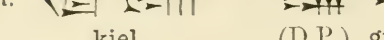


mutisa ṣubatśa la iṣhuṭu
son mari son voile non a déchiré ;

Accad. 

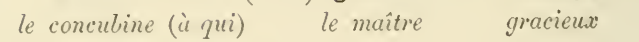
kiel (D.P.) gurus kurûga

le concubine (à qui) le maître gracieux



..... ani sunugaba

dernier voile + son ne fendant pas ;

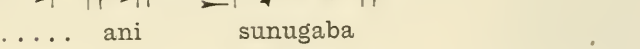
Assyr. 

ardatuv sa idlu damqu

la concubine à qui le maître gracieux

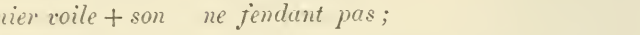
ṣillasa la ipṭuru

son dernier voile n' a pas fendu ;

Accad. 

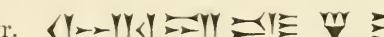
kiel aganani ga nutuka

la concubine mamelle + sa lait n'ayant pas.

Assyr. 

ardatuv sa ina sirtisa

la concubine à qui dans sa mamelle



sizbu la ibsû

lait n' existe pas.

" L'esclave qu'un mâle ne prend pas pour femelle (je laisse ici aux expressions du texte original toute leur énergique brutalité) ;

" la concubine vers les embrassements de qui le mari n'a pas tourné sa bonne grâce ;

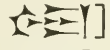
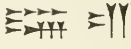
" la concubine à qui, pour les embrassements, le mari n'a pas déchiré son voile ;

" la concubine à qui son maître, la prenant en faveur, n'a pas fendu son dernier voile (on peut entendre ces derniers mots de l'obstacle naturel de la virginité, ou bien du vête-

ment intime que W.A.I. IV, 31, recto, ligne 60, et verso, ligne 39, appelle *ṣubat palti sa zumrisa*, mot-à-mot 'velamen naturæ ventris ejus');

"la concubine qui dans sa mamelle n'a pas de lait."

Voici maintenant un exemple de la traduction de **uru** par *udlu* dans la même sens. Je l'emprunte à W.A.I., IV, 1, col. 1, lignes 36–37, où il est dit des démons malfaisants :—

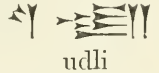
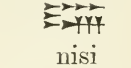
Accad.  

dam] **uru** **muluge**

L'épouse] *de l'embrassement* *l'homme + de*

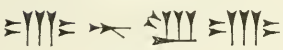
baran . . . . mune

ils + ensemble + l' + empêchent.

Assyr.  

assata ina udli nisi

L'épouse *de* *l'embrassement* *de l'homme*



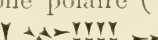
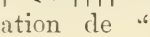
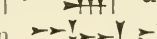
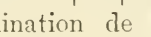
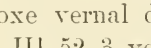
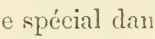
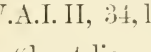
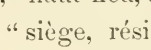
yutarrû

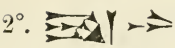
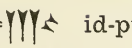
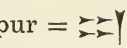
ils privent.

Le sens de étant ainsi fixé, on voit que si l'assyrien traduit **id-uru** par *mesriti*, "les membres," le sens propre de cette expression accadienne implique l'ensemble de toutes les parties du corps, "les membres et le tronc."

C'est comme signifiant "membre" d'une manière générale que **id** entre dans une série de composés :

1°. **id-tir** (**ittir**) = *abru*, en parlant d'un poisson, "nageoire": W.A.I. II, 19, lignes 65-66. Le sens fondamental du radical **tir**, composé ici avec **id**, n'est pas encore déterminé avec précision. ou , c'est-à-dire **tir** avec ou sans le déterminatif aphone de "bois," est interprété (W.A.I. II, 5, lignes 7 et 9, *c-d;*

IV. 15, col. 2, lignes 63–64; 22, col. 1, lignes 12–13) par *qišti*, "forêt" (araméen קטא, "bois"), sens qu'il a aussi sûrement dans Smith, "Assurb.," p. 231, ligne 99, et dans E.I.H., col. 3, ligne 25. Dans le nom de l'étoile polaire ("Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.," t. III, p. 206),  **mul tir-ana**, il semble avoir la signification de "pivot, axe." En effet, cette étoile—qui partageait seule avec l'astre appelé en accadien  **dil-kar**, "annonçant la lumière," et en assyrien *ikû* (*a* du Bélier, suivant la détermination de M. Sayce), l'astre dont l'apparition à l'equinoxe vernal déterminait le commencement de l'année (W.A.I. III, 52, 3, verso, ligne 41), l'honneur d'être le sujet d'un chapitre spécial dans un des grands traités astrologiques de la Bibliothèque de Ninive—cette étoile est celle dont on disait:  *TIR-ANA sa ki libbi ištanaḫḫar* "l'étoile polaire qui tourne sur elle-même comme un centre." Nous trouvons encore dans W.A.I. II, 34, lignes 7-8, *a-b*:  **tir** =  *abmanu*, "haut-lieu, autel" (de במה);  **tir** = *subtuv*, "siège, résidence" (de ישב).——Nous rencontrons aussi quelquefois, dans les documents auguraux, une expression idéographique de la "nageoire," où le signe n'entre plus en composition, , expression idéographique qui semble avoir été formée sur un composé accadien **pur-gi**, des deux radicaux pur et gi (ce dernier dans le sens de "transporter, éloigner"). W.A.I. III, 65, 1, recto, lignes 42 et 43:  *enuva nestu talid va sep imnusu kima sep abri nuni*, "voici qu'une femme enfante, et son pied droit (de l'enfant) est comme la nageoire inférieure d'un poisson";  *enuva nestu talid va sepisu u qatisu kima sa abri nuni*. "voici qu'une femme enfante, et ses pieds et ses mains (de l'enfant) sont comme des nageoires de poisson."

2°.  **id-pur** =  *abru*, en parlant d'oiseaux, "aîle": W.A.I. IV, 27, 5, lignes 16–17.—Le radical accadien qui entre ici en composition avec **id**, est **pur** =  *pasaru* (פשר), "disperser, répandre, projeter au loin": Syllab. A, 172. L'aîle est ainsi qualifiée comme le membre sur lequel on s'enfuit dans les airs.—Le sémitique *abru*, que nous avons avec les deux sens d'"aîle" et de "nageoire," suivant l'animal auquel il s'applique, est l'hébreu אבר, syrioque ܐܒܪܐ, "aîle," araméen rabbinique אבר, אברא, "membre, os."

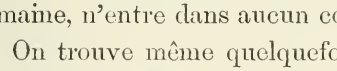
Au contraire, **qat**, qui est spécialement la main humaine, n'entre dans aucun composé de ce genre.

On trouve même quelquefois le signe expliqué en assyrien par *garnu*, "corne"; mais dans ce cas spécial il se lisait **a** et non **id**, comme nous l'apprend la glose de W.A.I. II, 24, ligne 50, *c-d*. En voici un exemple tiré de Lt. 98, verso, lignes 21–22.

Accad.

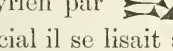
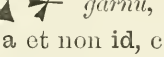
ama **gal** **dim** **abi**

(D')un buffle *grand* *comme* *corne + sa*



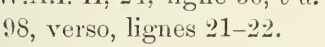
miningalgal

il + l' + élève.

Assyr.  

kima rîme rabe

comme (celle) d'un buffle *grand*

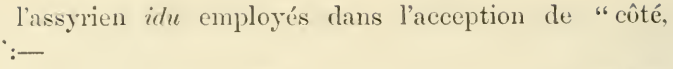


qarnâsu ittana[ssa]

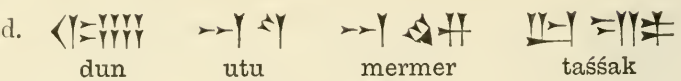
ses deux sa cornes *s'élèvent.*

De l'usage de dire **id zida, id gubba,** pour "à droite, à gauche," résulte l'emploi de **id**, dans le sens de "côté," *aḫu*, comme le traduit W.A.I. IV, 2, lignes 23–24. Dans W.A.I. IV, 5, col. 1, lignes 74–75, nous avons l'accadien

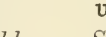
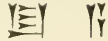
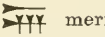
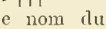
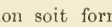
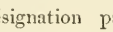
id et l'assyrien *idu* employés dans l'acception de "côté, parti":—

Accad. 

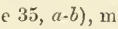
dun	utu	mermer	taśśak
Le noble	*Soleil (et)*	*Mermer*[1]	*le héros*



idniku	abanibgagaes
côté + leur + vers[2]	*passèrent.*[3]

[1]  mermer est la seule forme accadienne certaine que nous ayons pour le nom du dieu appelé en assyrien *Rammanu*, la seule dont la prononciation soit formellement indiquée. Elle n'est pas seulement appliquée à sa désignation par un idéogramme particulier, (W.A.I. II, 48, ligne 35, *a-b*), mais aussi à son expression habituelle pas les signes  (W.A.I. II, 57, ligne 76, *c-d*). Il est donc possible que, dans des endroits comme W.A.I. IV, 23, 1, ligne 56, *a*, ne soit pas, comme on l'a cru d'abord, "Ramman l'inondateur," mais le nom mermer avec une forme de prolongation mermerra. En tous cas, (glose) mermer est assimilé (W.A.I. II, 57, ligne 76, *c-d*) à l'appellation du même dieu "le Soleil du midi dans son point le plus élevé."  mermer est aussi donné comme surnom à Nébo, et ce dieu sous cette épithète est qualifié en assyrien  *ḫamimu tamši* "masse incandescente," mot-à-mot, "qui échauffe sa masse" (cf. son autre appellation  bil-gun, "feu rouge," expliquée *emuq lîti*, "puissance de flamme"), W.A.I. II, 60, ligne 37, *d-e*. Mermer est une forme duplicative, dont le radical simple se retrouve dans  mer = *śâruv* "vent, point cardinal, aire de vent": W.A.I. II, 31, ligne 6, *b-c-d*; III, 69, ligne 58, *c*.

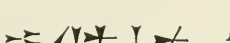
[2] "De leur côté," du parti des sept mauvais Esprits qui font la guerre à la Lune. Il y a ici une faute évidente, due probablement au copiste assyrien; il a écrit le suffixe possessif de la 3e pers. du singulier, au lieu de celui de la 3e pers. du pluriel, idniku au lieu de idneneku.

[3] Grammaticalement on remarquera la forme insolite abanibgagaes, au lieu de banibgagaes, qui fait ressembler la 3e pers. plur. du 2e indicatif à celle du 2e précatif; pourtant la confusion n'est pas possible, parce que dans ce dernier mode la désinence du pluriel serait autre,  abanibgagaene.

Assyr.

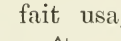
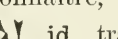
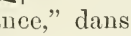
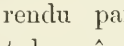
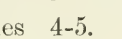
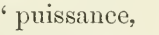
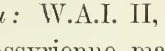
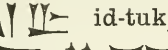
idla samsu rammanu qardu ana

Le noble *Samas (et) Ramman* *le héros* *de*



idisunu yuttirra

leur côté *passèrent.*

Mais c'est surtout avec le sens métaphorique de "puissance, force," que l'on fait usage de l'accadien **id**, de même, je dois le reconnaître, que de l'assyrien *idu*. Ainsi nous avons **id** traduit par *idu*, avec le sens de "puissance," dans W.A.I. IV, 13, 1, lignes 20-21. Ailleurs il est rendu par  *emuqu* (עמק), dont le sens est le même: W.A.I. IV, 4, col. 3, lignes 7-8; 23, 3, lignes 4-5. Le composé **id-ag**, mot-à-mot "puissance, forte," est aussi traduit  *emuqu:* W.A.I. II, 36, ligne 55, *e-f;* nous l'avons sans version assyrienne, mais dans des passages dont le sens est certain: W.A.I. IV, 27, 4, lignes 60 et 62. Un autre composé, **id-tuk**, mot-à-mot "puissance ayant," est expliqué  *nimuqu*, "qui agit avec puissance" (W.A.I. II, 27, ligne 9, *c-d*),  *bel emuqi*, "possesseur de la puissance" (W.A.I. II, 36, ligne 9, *c-d;* IV, 4, col. 4, lignes 7-3), et  *bel pani*, "seigneur en avant, seigneur suprême" (W.A.I. II, 36, ligne 8, *c-d*). Le nom d'agent  **idik**, "qui exerce la puissance," est rendu (W.A.I. II, 19, 2, lignes 17-18) par  *li'u*, "dominateur" (Norris, A.D., p. 661; cf. l'hébreu להה); quant à sa traduction par *kubukku* (W.A.I. II, 27, ligne 10, *c-d;* 36, ligne 56, *e-f*), je dois avouer que je n'en discerne pas encore les analogies philologiques. L'"aigle," comme l'oiseau puissant par excellence, est appelé en accadien  **id**: W.A.I. II, 39, ligne 31, *c-d;* cf. Senn. Tayl., col. 3, ligne 68; voy. Friedrich Delitzsch, A.S., p. 96. Le déter-

minatif postposé est certainement aphone ici, comme dans tous les noms d'oiseaux. Nous en avons la preuve positive par ce fait que le nom de la colombe (voy. G. Smith. "Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.," tome III. p. 593) se présente de manière suivante dans Syllab. E, 8 : **tû** . *śummatur*. Or, dans les textes (Dél. col. 3, ligne 38 ; W.A.I. IV, 3, col. 2, lignes 68-69 ; 26, 8, lignes 58-59 ; 27, 5, lignes 11-15), nous le voyons toujours écrit , avec le déterminatif, que l'indication du Syllabaire montre ne pas devoir être prononcé.

Nous pouvons maintenant nous rendre un compte exact de l'origine et de la formation de toute une riche série de composés accadiens qui offrent **id** comme élément initial, avec une idée de pouvoir et d'action. En voici quelques exemples :

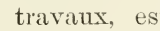
id-lal = *dulatu*, "machine à tirer l'eau": W.A.I. II, 14, ligne 17, *c-d* (voy. E.S.C., p. 50).

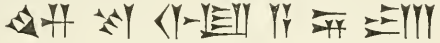
id-śig (mot-à-mot "ce qui épuise la force") = *asakku*, "consomption" (hébreu חשך) : W.A.I. II, 17, lignes 45–48 ; IV, 1, col. 3, lignes 39–40 ; E.A. II, 1, pp. 240-241, lignes 3-4. Sur le verbe accadien **śig**, "affaiblir, épuiser," et son expression par l'idéogramme , voy. E.C. III, p. 34–40.

id-akagâ, "qui exalte, qui soutient": Lt. 72, ligne 3 (sur le radical **aka**, voy. Syllab. A, 204 et 205). W.A.I. IV, 28, 1, lignes 23-24, nous offre, dans une phrase dont le sens ne semble pas douteux, **idakagâ**, traduit en assyrien par *tesid*, auquel il faut comparer, je crois, l'araméen אשדא, "soutien, support, axe." Voici les expressions : **idakagâ uku kî sarrage**, "soutien des hommes multipliés sur la terre" = *tesid kissat nisi*, "soutien des foules des hommes."

id-uddu, "élever," dans **nam-iduddu** = *tarbitu* (de רבה), "élevage, éducation": W.A.I. II, 9, lignes 67-69, *c-d*. **namiduddu** est un composé abstrait de **nam** et **iduddu**, composé lui-

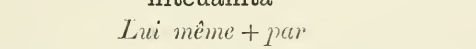
même de **id**, que nous étudions en ce moment, et de **uddu**, "sortir, croître," transitivement, "faire pousser."

id-kusua, mot-à-mot, "main," ou "action reposant" =  *manaḫtu*, "cessation, congé" (W.A.I. II, 15, ligne 18, *a-b*; ligne 34, *a-b*; ligne 33, *c-d*). Le sens de ce terme, que j'ai mal rendu dans mes précédents travaux, est établi d'une manière bien positive par les deux exemples suivants.

1°. Accad. 

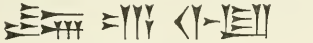
nîteuânita

Lui même + par



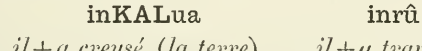
inKALua **inrû**

il + a creusé (la terre), *il + a travaillé*



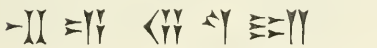
ene **kubabbara**

alors *l'argent*



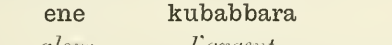
idkusuâni

de congé + son



bannablale

il + le + lui + paie.

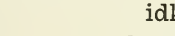
Assyr. 

ina ramanisu

Par *lui-même*

iqqur ibus

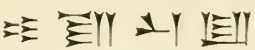
il a creusé la terre, *il a travaillé*,



adi kaśpa

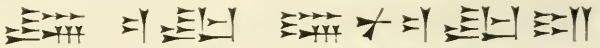
et *l'argent*

manaḫtisu
de son congé



isaqalu
il paie.

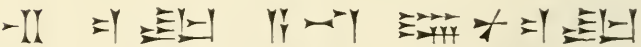
(W.A.I. II. 15, lignes 31-35, *a-b*.—La transcription du signe dans la seconde ligne de l'accadien est fort douteuse ; nous ne savons laquelle adopter, mais, en présence du complément phonétique **ua**, on peut affirmer que **kal** ou **kala**, aussi bien que **ag**, les deux lectures les plus ordinaires dans cette langue, ne sont pas celle qui conviennent ici.)

2°. Accad. 

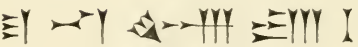
lugal **gissarge** **(D.P.) nugissarra**
Le maître *verger + du* *jardinier + au*

idkusuâni
congé + son

bannanśîmu
il + le + lui + donne.

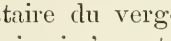
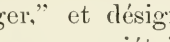
Assyr. 

bel kirî ana zikar kirî
Le maître *de verger* *au* *jardinier*

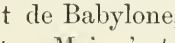
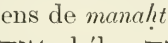


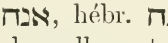
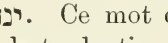
manaḫtasu
son congé

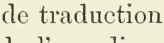
iddin
a donné.

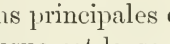
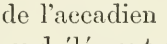
(L'expression **nu-gissar** = *zikar kirî,* se reproduit un très grand nombre de fois dans les exemples grammaticaux de phrases relatives aux travaux agricoles qui remplissent W.A.I. II, 14 et 15; elle est opposée à **lugal gissar** = *bel kirî,* "le propriétaire du verger," et désigne, sans aucun doute possible, celui qui n'en est pas propriétaire et l'exploite pour le compte d'un autre, le jardinier à gages; c'est proprement "le serviteur du jardin," et nous y avons un exemple certain du  **nu** =  *zikarur,* qu'enregistre W.A.I. II, 7, ligne 1, *c-d.*)

M. Oppert, dans sont récent ouvrage sur les "Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie et de Babylone," a parfaitement déterminé le sens de *manaḥtu.* Mais c'est à tort qu'il le rapporte à la racine אנח, hébr. ינח. Ce mot dérive en réalité de la racine נוח, laquelle sert de traduction habituelle à l'une des significations principales de l'accadien **kus** ou **kusu,** dont le participe **kusua** est le second élément du compose **id-kusua.** Nous en avons la preuve formelle par W.A.I. II, 48, lignes 5–8, *a-b* :—

kusu (glose  **kus**) =  *nâḥu,* "se reposer";

 **idkusua** =  *manaḥtuv,* "cessation, congé";

idkusuâni =  *manaḥtasu,* "son congé";

 **nukusua** =  *la niḥu,* "sans repos."

Le mot accadien **id** présente, du reste, quant à ce qui est de son origine, un problême philologique assez singulier, et qu'il est impossible de résoudre d'une manière absolument définitive. Son homophonie parfaite avec le nom de la main chez tous les Sémites, יד, est bien frappante. Elle semblerait devoir conclure à y reconnaître un mot d'emprunt, comme le fait M. Friedrich Delitzsch, et comme je l'ai fait longtemps moi-même. Mais d'un autre côté, il est bien difficile d'admettre un mot de ce genre parmi ceux qui ont fourni le premier *substratum* de la peinture des sons dans l'écriture—formé

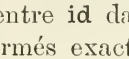
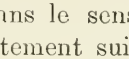
suivant toutes les apparences, avant le premier contact des Accads touraniens et des Sémites—c'est-à-dire la série des signes des syllabes simples dans les phonétiques ordinaires et indifférents. Ce serait le seul, et la chose est peu vraisemblable.

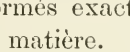
En même temps, comme j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de le remarquer (L.P.C., p. 402), l'accadien ayant une tendance à changer la liquide en dental presque aussi forte que celle de l'ougro-ostiaque, et substituant fréquemment un *d* au *l* des idiomes altaïques (L.P.C., p. 310), **id** y serait la forme régulièrement correspondante au turc oriental ايل, osmanli ال, "main," lequel prend aussi le *d* dans les dialectes samoyèdes: ostiaco-samoyède *ude;* yourak *uda.*

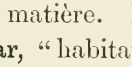
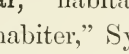
Il est donc possible, il me semble même probable que **id** est un mot purement et proprement accadien, entièrement indépendant du sémitique יד, malgré son homophonie. Cette homophonie, en dépit de la différence d'origine, aura seulment conduit, par une pente toute naturelle, à calquer les unes sur les autres les acceptions des deux mots appartenant aux deux langues parlées simultanément sur le même sol. Dans ma conviction—mais sans que je me croie encore en droit de prétendre l'imposer comme une vérité démontrée —il y a là une des coïncidences que le hazard a produites en très petit nombre—huit ou dix au plus—entre l'accadien, touranien et l'assyrien sémitique. Toutes les fois que deux langues de familles différentes se trouvent en contact, on observe quelques coïncidences du même genre, que l'on est d'abord tenté de prendre pour des emprunts de l'une à l'autre. Ainsi, pendant bien longtemps on a regardé le magyar *háza* comme dérivé de son synonyme allemand *haus;* mais aujourd'hui la philologie a établi son origine purement altaïque et son indépendance. Pour la même raison, je ne saurais admettre, avec M. Sayce, que les Sémites ont reçu des Touraniens de la Chaldée le mot יד. Selon moi, c'est aller trop loin que de poser une telle conclusion, et l'unanimité des idiomes sémitiques à posséder ce mot repousse l'idée d'un emprunt extérieur de leur part.

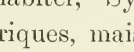
Quelques composés accadiens, en petit nombre, nous offrent **id** comme premier élément, mais avec un sens tout

différent, celui de "lieu." J'ai eu le tort d'en faire un préfixe de dérivation (L.P.C. p. 127); c'était une erreur. L'emploi en est trop rare pourqu'on puisse le considérer ainsi. Les mots où entre **id** dans le sens de "lieu" sont de vrais composés, formés exactement suivant les lois de l'accadien en pareille matière. En voici deux examples :

 **id mar,** "habitation, maison" (combinant **id** avec **mar** = *sakanu*, "habiter," Syllab. A, 281) =  **ê-mur,** "maison de briques, maison maçonnée" : W.A.I. II, 31, lignes 11-12, *b-c ;*

 **id-bat,** "résidence, fermée," puis simplement "résidence" (combinant **id** avec **bat** = **dûru,** "mur, enceinte," Syllab. A, 351).

Nous retrouvons ce radical **id,** "lieu," de l'accadien, dans le protomédique des inscriptions trilingues des Achéménides. On y relève, en effet, le composé  **id-kat,** où **it** se combine avec  **kata,** emprunté au perse *gâtha*, qui, seul, signifie également "lieu." Norris a déjà comparé, dans les langues ougro-finnoises actuelles, le protomédique **id** au votiaque *inty*, "lieu." On pourrait étendre les rapprochements de ce genre, mais il me suffit de retrouver l'accadien **id** dans le protomédique **it.** Le fait est encore plus probant que les rapprochements avec les idiomes existants de nos jours.

Il est vrai que l'on pourrait aussi être tenté de voir ici un fait d'origine sémitique, car en hébreu יד prend quelquefois, exceptionnellement, le sens de "lieu." Mais il faut noter que cette acception est *absolument étrangère* à l'assyrien  *idu.* Il serait donc bien peu vraisemblable qu'elle eût passé des Sémites dans la langue d'Accad, puisque les seuls Sémites qui aient influé sur cet idiome ne la connaissaient pas. La comparaison avec le protomédique me paraît conduire ici à un résultat bien plus certain et bien plus satisfaisant.

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(18). Aux lignes 15-16 du même hymne au dieu Lune nous trouvons encore , participe actif de la

4e voix, gratificative, d'un verbe , traduit par un dérivé du schaphel de כלל.

Accad.

nâkamen **gallies**

La puissance royale *grandement*

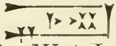
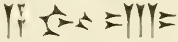
sudûa

faisant arriver à la perfection.

Assyr.

sa sarrut rabis sukluluv

Qui *la royauté grandement fait arriver à la perfection.*

(**nâka,** comme **nam,** sert en accadien à former des composés abstraits; dans l'hymne auquel nous empruntons cette citation le rédacteur a toujours choisi les composés en **nâka** de préférence à ceux en **nam.** Pour la lecture **men** du signe  =  *agû,* "couronne," voy. la glose de W.A.I. II. 20, ligne 41, *c.*—**gallies** devait se prononcer **gällies,** comme **a-nigin** l'était **änigin** et **apin** l'était **äpin,** d'où l'assyrien *epinu.*)

Au reste G. Smith ("Phon. Val.," 270) et M. Sayce (*Assy. gram.* p. 32, No. 367) ont dejà relevé la traduction de l'accadien par le sémitique כלל.

La lecture de l'idéogramme avec cette signification est fort incertaine. Syllab. A. 98 et 99, l'explique tout autrement quand il doit se lire **ul.** Je crois que dans les exemples qui nous occupent la transcription à en donner est **dû,** d'après Syllab. AA, 21 (où malheureusement une fracture de la 4e colonne a emporté les explications en assyrien). Voy. du reste, à ce sujet, E.C. III, p. 8–10, où j'ai dejà développé longuement ce qui se rapporte au radical verbal **dû,** exprimé par l'idéogramme .

Il est important de comparer avec l'idée qui est ici exprimée ce que rapporte Lucien des dires des prêtres de Hiérapolis, au sujet de la manière dont les Asiatiques concevaient

les dieux : *Ἑωυτοὺς μὲν ἐπαινέουσι, Ἑλλήνων δὲ κατηγορέουσι καὶ ἄλλων ὁκόσοι Ἀπόλλωνα παῖδα θέμενοι ἱλάσκονται· αἰτίη δὲ ἥδε δοκέει αὐτέοισι ἀσοφίη μεγάλη ἔμμεναι ἀτελέα ποιέεσθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰ εἴδεα. Τὸ δὲ νέον ἀτελὲς ἔτι νομίζουσι* (*De dea Syr.* 35).

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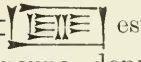
(19). Le signe  est jusqu'ici sans autre exemple, et nous n'avons aucune donnée pour en déterminer la lecture accadienne. Mais sa signification de "barbe" est certaine, grâce à la traduction assyrienne par *ziqnu*, hébr. זקן, syr. ܙܩܢ. Cette signification ressort, d'ailleurs d'une manière incontestable de la formation même du caractère, composé du groupement des deux signes primitifs , "bouche," et , "étoffe, laine, poil."

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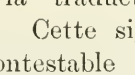
(20). Sur le radical  **sud**, "éloigner, prolonger, étendre," rendu habituellement par les verbes sémitiques נסח et רחק, radical dont nous avons ici le dérivé duplicatif, à signification fréquentative ou factitive, voy. Friedrich Delitzsch, A.S., p. 117.

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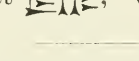
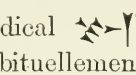
(21). Le scribe a écrit le composé  par ses deux idéogrammes, qu'il a fait simplement suivre du suffixe locatif **ta**, écrit phonétiquement, mais grammaticalement ; pour servir de support à ce suffixe, il faut restituer la forme de prolongation, **sinimmatu** au lieu de **sinimta**.

 **si-nim**, "le pays élevé," est une des désignations habituelles du pays d'Elam. L'auteur de l'hymne semble opposer ici Elam et Mâkan comme l'Orient et l'Occident.

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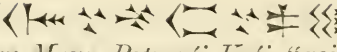
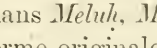
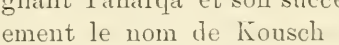
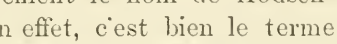
(22). C'est M. Oppert qui a, le premier, proposé de reconnaître Méroé dans *Meluhha* ou *Meluhhi*. Outre une certaine ressemblance des deux noms, il n'y a pas d'autre raison de le faire que le passage d'Assourbanabal, que nous discutons, et la circonstance qu'Assarhaddon, qui s'intitule dans les inscriptions de Schérif-Khan, (W.A.I. I, 48–5)

sar sarram Musur Paturuśi Kuśi, "roi des rois de l'Egypte, de la Thébaïde et de l'Ethiope," s'intitule à Nimroud (L. 19, 1),

"roi d'Egypte, de la ville de (leçon douteuse), de Meloukh." Mais il n'y a pas entre les deux textes un parallélisme exact et nécessaire qui impose d'admettre l'équation *Kuśi* = *Meluḫ*.

Au contraire des raisons d'un poids décisif me paraissent devoir faire repousser absolument l'assimilation de *Meluḫḫa* ou *Meluḫḫi* à Méroé.

Il est d'abord contraire à toutes les données de l'histoire de faire intervenir des rois de Méroé au temps des Sargonides. La civilisation éthiopienne, fille de la civilisation de l'Egypte, était alors toute concentrée à Napata, la נְפָתָ de la Bible, et dans le pays environnant. C'est là que les Sabacon et les Taharqa avaient leur capitale, le siège de leur puissance.

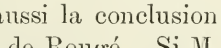
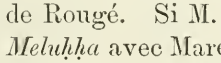
Il est de plus absolument impossible d'admettre que, dans la transcription assyrienne, on eut ajouté une aspiration aussi forte que celle qui est dans *Meluḫ*, *Meluḫḫi*, *Meluḫḫa*, au nom de Méroé, qui sous sa forme originale, ne comportait aucune aspiration finale. Car M. Maspéro ("Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne," t. II. p. 297), en a retrouvé la forme hiéroglyphique qui est  *Berûa*.

Remarquons encore que jamais on n'observe l'échange de l'expression *Meluḫḫi* avec *Kuśi*, quand il s'agit du pays sur lequel règnant Taharqa et son successeur; c'est toujours et invariablement le nom de Kousch qui est employé dans ce cas, et en effet, c'est bien le terme propre et rationel. Au contraire *Meluḫḫa* ou *Meluḫḫi* est indiqué comme un pays tout à fait spécial, quand Sargon raconte (Khors., lignes 101–112) comment Yaman, roi d'Asdod y chercha un refuge. C'était, nous dit-il, un pays situé, par rapport aux Assyriens, "au-delà de l'Egypte,"

ana itê Muṣuri, sur un "territoire infertile,"

asar la'ari. D'un autre côté, ce pays était situé sur la mer, puisque l'on cite ses vaisseaux parmi ceux qui avaient une célébrité dès les temps très antiques où ont été compilées les tablettes

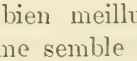
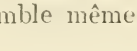
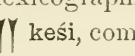
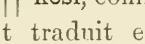
lexicographiques dont les copies ont été retrouvées à Koyoundjik (W.A.I. II, 46, ligne 7, *c-d*). Ces diverses indications, d'une nature fort précise ne peuvent se concilier qu'en voyant dans *Meluḫḫa* ou *Meluḫḫi* l'extrémité la plus occidentale du Delta, le nome Libyque ou la Marmarique des géographes classiques. C'est le pays par excellence des lacs salés, le pays du sel et du natron, et je crois que c'est à cause de cela que les Sémites du voisinage lui auront donné le nom dont les Accads et les Assyriens après eux ont fait *Meluḫḫa*, car il me paraît bien difficile de ne pas rapprocher ce nom de מלח, "sel."

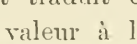
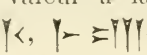
Maintenant est-ce là un nom donné par les seuls Sémites et inconnu aux habitants mêmes du pays? N'a-t-il pas pu exister un nom égyptien analogue, qui aura laissé ses traces dans les appellations classiques de la ville de Maréa, du lac Maréotis et du nome Maréotique? Je l'ai admis ("Rev. archéol.," janv. 1872, p. 26) et je le crois encore possible, quoique devenu moins affirmatif sur ce dernier point. En effet, si *mereḥ*, dans les textes hiéroglyphiques, a le sens exclusif d'"huile," le copte nous offre ⲙⲉⲗⲓ, "sel," parallèle au sémitique מלח, lequel a dû avoir dans l'ancien égyptien un prototype qui reste à trouver.

J'ajouterai que M. Maspéro (*Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, p. 421) repousse aussi bien que moi, comme inadmissible pour la philologie égyptienne, l'assimilation de *Meluḫḫa* ou *Meluḫḫi* à Méroé, et adopte celle que j'ai proposée. C'était aussi la conclusion où en était arrivé le regrettable vicomte de Rougé. Si M. Chabas a combattu le rapprochement de *Meluḫḫa* avec Maréa et surtout avec le mot égyptien *mereḥ*, il n'en fait pas Méroé ou l'Ethiopie, et il laisse en suspens la détermination de ce pays. Enfin je suis en mesure d'affirmer que M. Oppert, le premier auteur de l'explication par Méroé, ne l'admet plus aujourd'hui et considère *Meluḫḫa* comme la Libye.

On tirait de ce pays une pierre précieuse que l'on appelait  *ini Meluḫḫa*, "yeux de *Meluḫḫa*" (W.A.I. II, 38, 2, ligne 41, *b*), et aussi du lapis ou de la turquoise,  (W.A.I. II, 51, ligne 17 *a-b*).

P.S.—J'ai conservé la rédaction de cette note, telle que je l'avais écrite il y a deux ans; mais depuis je crois avoir trouvé une bien meilleure solution du problème qui y est examiné, il me semble même pouvoir dire la vraie et définitive solution.

Un fragment lexicographique encore inédit m'a fourni la glose  keśi, comme lecture accadienne du signe , quand il est traduit en assyrien  . J'applique cette valeur à la transcription du nom géographique ,  ou  , lequel apparaît d'abord dans les textes accadiens, auxquels les documents assyriens l'empruntent comme une expression stéréotypée, sans jamais en modifier l'orthographe; et je crois que je suis en droit de le faire. Or, ceci me donne la lecture keśluχ, keśluχχa ou keśluχχi, c'est-à-dire le nom des כַּסְלֻחִים que la Bible (Gen. x, 14; 1 Chron. i, 12) enregistre parmi les fils de Misraïm. Le résultat est si frappant et si satisfaisant que je ne puis le considérer comme fortuit.

Remarquons que l'orthographe  ou  est combinée de manière à donner au nom des כסלחים une signification dans l'idiome d'Accad, keśi luχ ou keśi luχχa, ce que, l'on rendrait en assyrien par *zikari sukkalli*, "les mâles serviteurs," c'est-à-dire "les soldats, les mercenaires." Est-ce une simple paronomase, comme celles par lesquelles tant de peuples ont cherché à donner une signification dans leur propre langue à des noms étrangers? Ou bien serait-ce là l'étymologie réelle de cette appellation énigmatique de כסלחים, que les Sémites ont adoptée, mais dont on ne trouve jusqu'à présent aucun vestige dans les documents égyptiens? C'est aux égyptologues qu'il appartient de trancher cette question et de rechercher s'il n'existe pas quelque antique population de la partie occidentale du Delta, dont le nom indigène aurait été traduit par l'accadien keśi-luχ, keśluχ.

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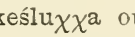
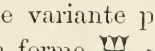
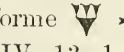
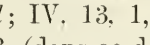
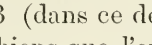
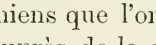
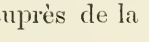
(23). Le caractère  , de formation complexe, a dans les textes assyriens la valeur phonétique de *saḫ* (Oppert, E.M., t. II, p. 41; Ménant, *Syllab.* t. II, p. 251).

Elle dérive de la lecture accadienne d'idéogramme saχ, mot qui avait pour synonyme  ṣiχ (W.A.I. II, 6, ligne 21, *c*), simple variante phonétique, et qui était passé en assyrien sous la forme  *saḫû :* W.A.I. II, 6, lignes 21 et 22, *d*; IV, 13, 1, recto, lignes 40-41; Assarh., col. 2, lignes 2 et 3 (dans ce dernier passage il est question des ours et des chiens que l'on gardait, avec une troisième espèce d'animal, auprès de la porte orientale de l'enceinte de Ninive).

 saχ est le nom d'une espèce d'animal carnacier; aussi, dans Syllab. A, 126, le groupe complexe  (mot-à-mot "grand saχ") est la désignation d'un d'animal féroce appelé en accadien  **ukur**, et en assyrien  *ṭabiḫu*, "celui qui égorge," participe de טבח. C'est en même temps un animal rugissant, d'où l'on dit au dieu Adar, dans W.A.I. IV, 13, 1, recto, lignes 40–41.

Accad.—

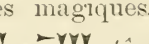
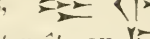
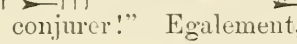
zae	dim'	saχ	dim	gan . . . . bi
Toi,	*agissant*	*ours*	*comme*	*que tu . . . . .*

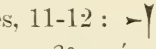
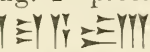
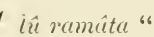
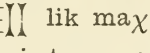
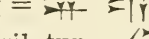
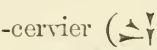
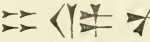
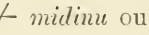
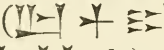
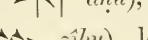
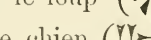
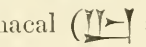
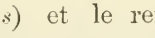
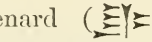
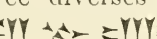
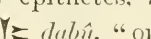
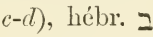
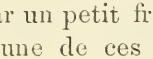
Assyr.—

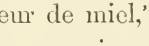
atta	ina	episika	kima
Toi,	*dans*	*ton action*	*comme*

saḥe	lû	ṣallat
un ours	*puisses-tu rugir.*	

(**dim'**, participe apocopé pour **dima** ou **dimma**.—*ṣallat*, 2e pers. du permansif du kal de צלל, pris dans le sens de "crier," comme l'arabe صَلَّ. La 2e pers. du permansif, précédée de la particule *lû*, est employée ici dans un sens précatif et optatif, traduisant un 1er précatif de l'accadien. C'est une construction grammaticale particulière, dont on a quelques autres exemples; telle est l'invocation adressée

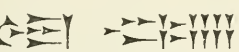
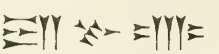
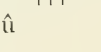
à l'Esprit du ciel et à l'Esprit de la terre, à la fin de tant de formules magiques,  ganpâ =  *tâ tamâta* ou *lâ tamat* "puisses-tu conjurer!" Egalement, dans W.A.I. IV, 13, 1. verso, lignes, 11-12 :  χumundari (2e pers. sing. 2e précatif de la 2e voix d'un verbe ri) = *lâ ramâta* "puisses-tu exalter!")

Le  est, du reste, un animal autre que le lion ( lik maχ =  *nesu*), la panthère (nir-tur ou arik-tur = *nimru*), le tigre ou le loup-cervier ( gukkir =  *mandinu*,  *midinu* ou *midannu*), la hyène ( lik barra =  *barbaru* ou  *aḫu*), le loup ( numma =  *zîbu*), le chien ( likku = *kalbu*), le chacal ( lik utu =  *kalab samas*) et le renard ( =  *selibu*). Avec diverses épithètes, son nom est traduit en assyrien  *dabû*, "ours" (W.A.I. II, 6, lignes 19 et 20, *c-d*), hébr. דב, דוב, ar. دبّ, et cette donnée est confirmé par un petit fragment, encore inédit, qui me paraît provenir d'une de ces fables dont G. Smith a le premier signalé l'existence. Le  y est, en effet, qualifié de "mangeur de miel," *akil daspa*, ce qui ne peut convenir qu'à l'ours.

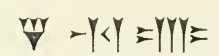
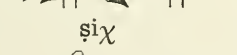
W.A I. II, 6, lignes 19-47, *c-d*, fournit une longue liste des diverses variétés de  saχ. M. Friedrich Delitzsch (A.S., p. 55-61) en a donné une explication. Mais ce savant, si pénétrant et d'ordinaire si heureux dans ses identifications de noms d'animaux, me paraît ici n'avoir pas aussi bien réussi qu'ailleurs. Il n'a pas tenu un compte suffisant du sens des noms accadiens, auxquels partout ailleurs il attache une importance de premier ordre et dont il sait tirer les plus précieux secours; puis il ne s'est pas, à mon avis, assez pénétré de l'idée que le saχ est spécialement

l'ours et que ce nom n'a pu s'appliquer qu'à des animaux auxquels on trouvait une certaine analogie avec l'ours, à cause de leur forme ou de leur rude fourrure.[1]

Il me semble donc que cette liste doit être traduite à nouveau, et je vais essayer, à mon tour, d'en donner une explication et un commentaire. J'y maintiens la disposition de l'original sur deux colonnes, accadienne et assyrienne.

19. 	
dam saχ	dabû
.... *ours*	*Ours.*
20.	
dim saχ	idem.
.... *ours.*	

Les expressions accadiennes dam saχ et dim saχ, d'après le sens habituel des mots dam (voy. W.A.I. II, 10, lignes 2, 4, 9, et 10, *a-b*) et dim (Syllab. AA, 48, voy. plus haut la note 3 de ce mémoire; W.A.I. II, 17, ligne 9, *a;* E.A. II, 1, pp. 133–137), sembleraient devoir être traduites "époux ours," et "ours producteur" ou "agissant," s'appliquant, par conséquent à l'animal à l'état adulte et dans la plénitude de sa force.

21.	
ṣiχ	saḫû
Ours.	*Ours.*
22. 	
saχ	idem.
Ours.	

M. Friedrich Delitzsch fait de *saḫû* le "tigre," avec doute il est vrai; j'aurais peine à le croire, car l'habitat de cet

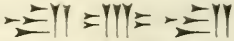
[1] Cette conclusion est aussi celle où est arrivé M. William Houghton, dans sa remarquable étude sur les mammifères des monuments assyriens, insérée au tome V, 2e partie, de ces *Transactions*, bien que les identifications qu'il propose diffèrent sur quelques points des nôtres.

animal n'a pas permis qu'il fût comme dans la Mésopotamie autrement que par exception et comme bête de ménagerie, ce qui rendrait bien difficile qu'il eût un nom à lui propre en accadien et surtout un signe pour le désigner dans l'écriture, qui n'en avait pas pour le lion ni pour la panthère. Je vois simplement dans *saḥû* un synonyme de *dabû*, synonyme emprunté à l'accadien, tandis que דב est purement sémitique.

23. |

saχ tur | kurkizannu

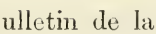
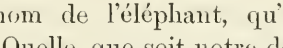
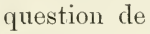
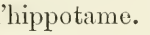
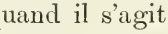
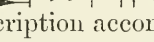
Ours de petite taille. | . . . . . .

M. Schrader ("Zeitschr. d. deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.," t. xxviii, p. 152) a vu ici le nom ghez du rhinocéros ብርብድኅ ፡, passé dans l'arabe كركدن, et c'est également l'opinion de M. Friedrich Delitzsch. Mais quelque séduisante que soit cette assimilation, je ne saurais l'admettre. Elle me paraît, en effet, absolument démentie par l'épithète accadienne de **tur**, "petit," laquelle jure avec l'idée de l'énorme rhinocéros. Si les Assyriens avaient en un nom pour le rhinocéros, ils n'auraient pas eu recours, pour désigner cet animal sur l'obélisque de Nimroud, à l'expression de  *śûśu*, "cheval," que j'ai comparée ("Zeitschr. f. Ægypt. Sprache, 1870," p. 22) à l'ἵππος μονόκερως, ὄνος μονόκερως d'Elien ("De nat. anim." III. 41 ; IV, 52 ; XIII, 25). Enfin, cet obélisque de Nimroud prouve que l'on a quelquefois amené de pays éloignés le rhinocéros indien à Ninive, à titre de bête curieuse ; mais nous n'avons aucun indice qui permette de croire, chose beaucoup moins vraisemblable, qu'on y aurait conduit le rhinocéros d'Afrique, à plus forte raison que le nom de ce dernier animal, appartenant aux langues indigènes du haut Nil, que le ghez et l'arabe y ont plus tard emprunté, ait pu être connu dans la haute antiquité à Babylone ou en Assyrie.

24. |

saχ gal | . . . ḥabu

Ours de grande taille. | . . . . . .

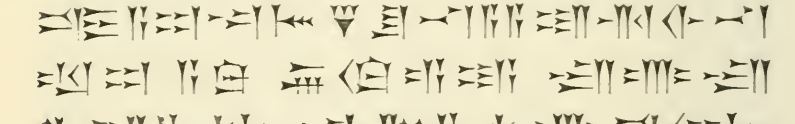
M. Oppert ("Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris," No. 44, p. liv) a proposé de restituer ici, dans la colonne assyrienne,  *alḥabu*, et d'y reconnaître une variante du nom de l'éléphant, qu'il croit avoir été עלהב ou עלחב. Quelle que soit notre déférence habituelle pour les opinions de l'illustre fondateur de l'étude vraiment scientifique de la grammaire assyrienne, nous ne saurions le suivre sur ce terrain. Dans le document qui nous occupe, il ne peut pas être question de l'éléphant, non plus que du rhinocéros ou de l'hippotame. Et surtout le nom עלהב pour l'éléphant ne repose sur aucun fondement précis et solide, du moins quand il s'agit de l'assyrien. M. Oppert le retrouve dans le  *alap na'r Sakeya* de l'inscription accompagnant la troisième rangée de bas reliefs sur l'obélisque de Nimroud; mais dans cet exemple nous ne pouvons voir que le mot אלף, "bœuf." En effet, s'il y a un éléphant dans le bas-relief qu'accompagne cette inscription, il ne vient que le cinquième dans la série des animaux représentés, tandis qu'un bœuf d'une espèce particulière y figure le second, immédiatement après des chameaux, de même que dans la liste du texte épigraphique le *alap* est nommé le second, à la suite des chameaux. Quand il y a une concordance si remarquable entre l'ordonnance de la sculpture et celle de l'inscription qui l'explique, on ne saurait chercher pour *alap* une autre explication que la plus naturelle, celle qui y voit אלף. Il est vrai que ce mot est orthographié d'une manière exceptionnelle, *al-ap*, au lieu de l'habituel  *al-pu* ou de  *a-la-ap*, qu'on aurait plutôt attendu d'après les usages normaux de l'orthographe; mais cette irrégularité orthographique n'a pas plus d'importance que d'autres faits du même genre que l'on rencontre çà et là dans les textes, par exemple le mot *gusur*, "poutre, charpente," écrit  *gus-ur*, au lieu de *gu-su-ur* ou  *gu-sur*, dans W.A.I. II, 15, ligne 10, *b*. Elle ne change pas la nature du mot.

L'explication du texte épigraphique qui accompagne la représentation des animaux amenés en tribut du pays

oriental de Mousri, sur l'obélisque de Nimroud, n'est pas seulement une question de rapprochement de *mots*, mais avant tout d'étude des *choses*, dont la connaissance permettra ensuite de bien comprendre le sens des appellations qui les désignent. La méthode à suivre en pareil cas est donc celle à laquelle j'ai eu recours dans mon article de la *Zeitschr. f. Egypt. Sprache* de janvier–février 1870, avec le secours d'un zoologiste aussi habile que le regretté M. Roulin, de l'Académie des Sciences. La détermination, au point de vue du naturaliste, des animaux figurés dans le bas-relief, doit y précéder l'application à ces animaux des noms qui les désignent dans l'inscription explicative. Or, cette détermination nous fait voir qu'il y a dans le bas-relief six catégories principales d'animaux, tous appartenant à la Tartarie et à la Inde (voy. aussi Finzi, *Ricerche per lo studio dell' antichità assira*, p. 289 et suiv.).

1° Deux chameaux de la Bactriane, à deux bosses;
2° un yak;
3° un rhinocéros;
4° une antilope kevel de la Perse septentrionale et de l'Afghanistan;
5° un éléphant indien;
6° un groupe de singes de l'Inde.

Or, l'inscription nous offre précisément six noms, dont les deux prémières concordent de la manière la plus remarquable avec les deux premières espèces d'animaux représéntées:



gamali sa sunai ṣirisina . Alap na'r Sakeya . śûśu . pirati . baziati . udumi.

Il faut donc nécessairement, et en bonne logique, continuer jusqu'au bout l'assimilation des noms aux figures dans la même ordonnance, de la manière suivante:

1°. Chameaux de la Bactriane = *gamali sa sunai ṣirisina*, "des chameaux qui ont deux dos," désignation fort claire de leur double bosse.

2° Yak = *alap na'r Ṣakeya*, "bœuf du fleuve du pays des Saces." L'épithète de "bœuf de fleuve" convient au yak, que Pallas a vu dans la Tartarie et dans la Sibérie rechercher les rivières autant que le buffle et s'y tenir plongé de même pendant des heures entières. Le nom géographique de *na'r Sakeya* caractérise clairement comme lieu de sa provenance un des grands cours d'eau du pays ces Saces ou Scythes d'Asie, qui se jettent dans le lac d'Aral, probablement l'Iaxarte, juqu'aux bords duquel descend encore aujourd'hui le domaine du yak.

3° Rhinocéros = *śûśu*.
4° Antilope kevel = *pirati*.
5° Eléphant = *baziati*.
6° Singes = *udumi*.

C'est donc bien positivement, comme l'avait déjà vu Norris, *baziati* et non *alab* qui, sur ce monument, est le nom de l'éléphant. Si l'on devait y chercher une étymologie sémitique, il faudrait penser à l'une des trois racines, étroitement apparentées entre elles, בזה, בוז et בזז, qui toutes ont le sens de "fouler aux pieds, dévaster, ravager"; l'éléphant aurait été ainsi nommé d'après les dégats qu'il cause aux récoltes. Mais l'origine sémitique de cette appellation est fort improbable. Il est plus conforme aux vraisemblances d'admettre que les Assyriens, qui n'avaient pas l'occasion de connaître habituellement l'éléphant vivant, l'auront désigné par le nom que lui donnaient ses conducteurs orientaux, et qui devait avoir été apporté de son pays d'origine, avec l'animal lui-même. Ceci donné, il est au moins remarquable de voir que, si l'éléphant présenté a Salmanassar était un éléphant indien, parmi les noms sanscrits de cet animal il en est un que les Assyriens ont pu rendre par *baziati*, en l'altérant fort peu. C'est *vâsitâ*, qui désigne en sanscrit l'éléphant femelle (voy. Pott, *Ueber die Namen des Elephanten*, dans la *Zeitschr.* de Höfer, t. II, p. 36); le sexe de l'animal n'a pas été précisé pas le sculpteur de l'obélisque de Nimroud. Ce rapprochement onomastique a été déjà proposé par Finzi (*Ric. p. l. stud. dell' ant. assira*, p. 291).

25.

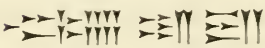
saχ .... mu

Ours ....

26.

saχ ..... nu idem.

Ours .....

27. 

saχ ṣida idem.

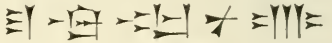
Ours ....

bar surra

... .

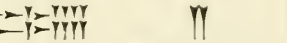
L'état de mutilation de ce passage ne permet de hazarder, quant à présent, ni explication ni tentative de restitution.

28.



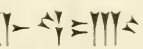
saχ Mâkanna makkanû

Ours *de Mâkan* (*Ours*) *de Makkan.*

29. 

saχ Mâkanna idem damqu

Ours *de Mâkan* *idem* *apprivoisé*



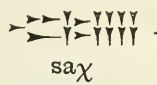
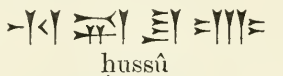
kurûga

apprivoisé

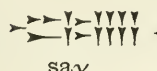
M. Friedrich Delitzsch (A.S., p. 56 et suiv.) veut reconnaître dans le saχ mâkanna l'hippopotame, pensant que le nom de saχ s'étend aux grands pachydermes, ce que je ne crois pas admissible, et partant de l'identification du pays de Mâkan ou Makkan avec l'Egypte, que nous combattons, et dont, je crois, nous démontrons l'impossibilité dans le texte de notre mémoire. Cette identification étant repoussée, il ne

reste plus aucune raison de faire du **saχ mâkanna** un hippopotame ; c'est tout simplement l'ours des montagnes du Sinaï et de Scherah, qui paraît constituer réellement en zoologie une espèce particulière. Quant à l'explication par "giraffe," que M. Oppert a récemment proposée ("Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée," p. 67), il m'est impossible de voir sur quelle raison elle peut se fonder ; c'est une simple conjecture. Il n'y a même aucun indice qui donne lieu de penser que les Assyriens aient pu connaître la giraffe, animal exclusivement africain.

M. Friedrich Delitzsch (A.S., p. 58) a établi d'une manière très ingénieuse qu'à la ligne 29 l'assyrien *damqu*, et son correspondant assyrien **kurûga**, signifient "apprivoisé" ; mais il eût dû en conclure que le **saχ mâkanna** ne pouvait pas être l'hippotame, animal qui ne s'apprivoise pas. L'ours est, au contraire, susceptible d'une certaine éducation, et les bateleurs ont profité de tout temps de la disposition de cet animal à une réelle douceur dans la captivité. Il est vrai que M. Oppert traduit *damqu* par "en rut," et que cette traduction peut aussi parfaitement se défendre du point de vue philologique. J'aurais été assez disposé à l'adopter si elle ne me paraissait pas presque absolument inadmissible un peu plus loin, à la ligne 38.

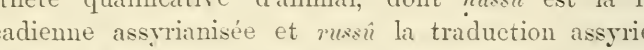
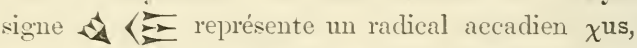
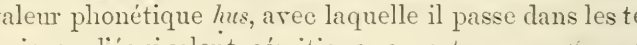
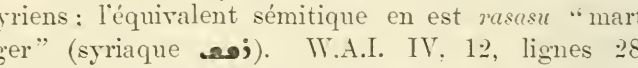
30.  

saχ *Ours* — χusa *frappeur.* — ḫussû *Frappeur.*

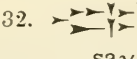
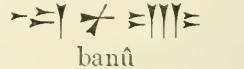
31. 

saχ *Ours* — χusa *frappeur.* — russû *Frappeur.*

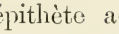
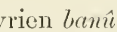
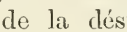
M. Schrader et M. Friedrich Delitzsch ont vu dans *ḫussû* et *russû*, خشش et رشا, deux noms d'espèces de gazelle en arabe. Ils se sont ici laissé guider par des assonnances manifestement trompeuses. Car si l'application du nom générique de **saχ** aux grands pachydermes à la puissance redoutable pouvait dans une certaine mesure paraître au

premier abord une donnée acceptable, il est impossible d'admettre que la même désignation générique ait pu englober ensemble des carnassiers comme l'ours et de timides antilopes (voy. ce qu'en a déjà dit M. William Houghton dans les "Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.," t. V. p. 41). D'ailleurs l'accadien nous montre clairement qu'il s'agit ici d'une seule et même épithète qualificative d'animal, dont *hussû* est la forme accadienne assyrianisée et *russû* la traduction assyrienne. Le signe représente un radical accadien χus, d'où la valeur phonétique *hus*, avec laquelle il passe dans les textes assyriens : l'équivalent sémitique en est *rasasu* "marteler, forger" (syriaque). W.A.I. IV. 12, lignes 28–29 :  guskin χus = *hurasa russâ*, "de l'or battu au marteau" ; la même expression assyrienne dans E.I.H., col. 2, ligne 47 ; dans Khors., ligne 167, *russû* est employé comme substantif :  *russe kaśpi ibbi*, "des objets travaillés au marteau en argent pur." Dans W.A.I. II, 19, 2, lignes 15–16, l'accadien  ṣir χus aabba dim, assyrien  *kima ṣiru rasis tamtir*. doit être traduit "comme le serpent qui martelle la mer," allusion à une légende analogue du mythe indien du *manthanam* ou barattement des eaux de la mer (voy. mes "Premières civilisations," t. II, p. 136 et suiv.).

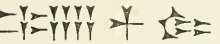
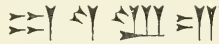
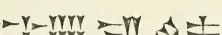
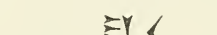
Le saχ χusa doit être, non à proprement parler une espèce d'ours, mais un animal que les Accads en auront rapproché ; son épithète qualificative provenait de quelque particularité de ses mœurs, qui devra guider dans la recherche de l'identification zoologique.

32. 		
saχ	śiga (?)	banû
Ours	*constructeur.*	*Constructeur.*

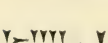
Ce nom qualificatif conviendrait très bien au castor, que les Babyloniens et les Assyriens ont dû connaître et que sa forme, ressemblant à celle du blaireau, a pu faire ranger par

eux entre les ours. L'épithète accadienne correspond exactement à l'assyrien *banû*. En effet, l'idéogramme qu'elle renferme, suivi de la désinence grammaticale du participe, n'est pas seulement celui des couleurs jaune et verte. Dans W.A.I. IV, 5, col. 1, lignes 3 et 5, le participe orthographié un peu différemment  xga est employé, avec le verbe substantif sous-entendu, dans le membre de phrase  xga mes, mot-à-mot, "formés eux," que la version assyrienne traduit  *ibbanû sunu*, "ils étaient formés eux." Il faut donc en conclure que a eu quelquefois une signification correspondant au sémitique בנה. Je crois que sa lecture accadienne en ce cas était **śig**, lecture que donne une glose de W.A.I. II, 26, ligne 18, *e*, mais avec une traduction assyrienne illisible, et c'est ce que confirme la formation du participe en ga, **śigga**.

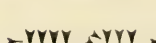
śiga = *banû* pourrait aussi être pris en cet endroit dans le sens qu'a adopté M. Friedrich Delitzsch (A.S., p. 58), comme désignant un animal adulte par le motion de "celui qui a produit un petit."

33.		
	saχ maslum	apparrû
	Ours	*Sanglier.*
34.		
	saχ **śî-χarra**	**sû**
	Ours *à défenses courbes*	*Le même.*

Apparrû est l'arabe خنزير. On a pu assez facilement trouver un certain rapport d'aspect entre l'ours et le sanglier. L'épithète accadienne de **śî-χarra** caractérise très-bien la forme des défenses de cet animal. Des exemples positifs nous apprennent que le mot **śî**, "corne," s'appliquait aux défenses fortement saillantes comme celles de l'éléphant et du sanglier, défenses qu'un grand nombre d'autres peuples ont, du reste, également qualifiées de cornes.

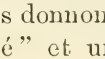
35. 
saχ namenna
Ours *seigneurie*

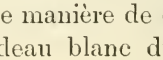
âka
exerçant.


bitrû
Blaireau.

Il s'agit positivement ici du blaireau, car je trouve, dans un texte bilingue, l'accadien saχ eni, "ours seigneur" (expression un peu moins périphrastique que saχ namenna âka, mais exactement correspondante) rendu en assyrien *eniqu*, ce qui est l'arabe عناق, "blaireau." Nous devons donc voir dans *bitrû* un synonyme, dérivé de la racine בתר, "percer," et qualifiant le blaireau d'après le terrier qu'il se creuse et qu'il habite. On remarquera, du reste, que l'étymologie de *eniqu* = عناق, de la racine ענק, se rattache aussi à cette habitation dans un terrier.

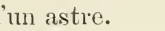
Au premier abord, il peut sembler étrange qu'un animal de la taille du blaireau ait été qualifié d'"ours seigneur" ou "ours exerçant la seigneurie." Mais je crois que cette épithète n'a rien de commun avec celle de "roi des animaux" que nous donnons au lion. C'est une manière de dire "l'ours couronné" et une allusion au bandeau blanc du front du blaireau, comparé à un diadême royal.

36. 
saχ ririga
Ours qui s'élève en grimpant.


kuzai
Martre.

La marque d'interponction, qui sépare les deux mots dans la colonne accadienne, semble indiquer que l'on pouvait dire indifféremment saχ ririga et ririga.

L'explication de *kuzai* par le rapprochement avec le syriaque ܟܘܣܐ est dûe à M. Friedrich Delitzsch. La martre est ainsi appelée à cause de la façon dont elle grimpe le long des arbres ou des vieilles murailles pour se loger dans des trous. C'est aussi le sens de l'accadien saχ ririga ou ririga

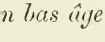


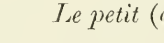
tout court. J'étudierai dans un autre travail le radical ri. Comme exemples de l'emploi de l'adjectif dérivé ririga, voy. W.A.I. II, 38, ligne 11, *e-f*; 49, lignes 64–66, *b*. Dans le dernier exemple il s'applique à l'ascension d'un astre.

Le classement du blaireau et de la martre dans la famille des ours dénote un véritable esprit d'observation. Il faut aussi tenir compte de la façon dont le blaireau est mentionné immédiatement après le sanglier. La ressemblance très réelle entre le groin du blaireau et celui du cochon a frappé de tout temps; aussi beaucoup de peuples ont-ils désigné cet animal par des noms qui le caractérisent comme un porc (voy. Pictet, "Les origines indo-européennes." t. I, p. 442).

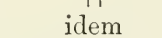
L'auteur de la liste, après avoir énuméré les animaux rapprochés de l'ours, revient maintenant à l'espèce type de la famille, et enregistre les épithètes qui la distinguent dans différents états d'âge, de couleur et de sexe. C'est l'ordonnance qu'il a déjà suivie pour les chiens dans la colonne précédente: W.A.I. II, 6, lignes 8–34, *a-b*.

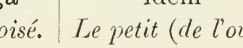
37.	saχ niga *Ours en bas âge.*	marû *Le petit (de l'ours).*
38.	saχ niga kurûga *Ours en bas âge apprivoisé.*	idem damqu *Le petit (de l'ours) apprivoisé.*





Sur la lecture accadienne niga du signe quand il est traduit par l'assyrien *marû*, voy. W.A.I. II, 32, ligne 66, *a-b*; l'un et l'autre mot s'y applique à l'enfant humain. Mais מרא, dont M. Friedrich Delitzsch (A.S., p. 36, 142 et suiv.) a si bien établi le sens spécialement assyrien de "fils, enfant," s'étendait également aux petits des animaux. Ainsi "le petit du chien" est appelé *miranu*; W.A.I. II, 6, ligne 14, *b*. Ailleurs les qualifications de *muri* et





 murani sont appliquées aux petits du buffle et du lion.

39.
saχ par
Ours *blanc.*

40.
saχ mi
Ours *noir.*

41.
saχ śâ
Ours *gris.*

42.
saχ gunnu
Ours *brun-rouge.*

43.
saχ ara
Ours *jaune.*

Aucun de ces noms n'est accompagné de traduction assyrienne.

On lit de même, dans la colonne précédente de la liste d'animaux à laquelle nous avons emprunté ces extraits, à la place exactement correspondante, à la suite de l'énumération des diverses espèces de chiens ou d'animaux qu'on en rapprochait, et aussi avec la place des traductions assyriennes laissée en blanc (W.A.I. II, 6, lignes 20–24, *a-b*) :

lik par
Chien *blanc.*

lik mi
Chien *noir*

lik ara
Chien *jaune.*

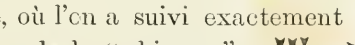
lik śâ
Chien *gris.*

lik gunnu
Chien *rouge.*

Sur tous ces noms de couleurs, l'établissement de leur lecture et de leur sens précis, je renverrai le lecteur au travail spécial que j'ai consacré à la question dans le "Journal asiatique" de 1877, et qui est reproduit dans le 1er fascicule de mes "Études cunéiformes."

Ni les Babyloniens ni les Assyriens n'ont pu connaître l'ours blanc des régions polaires. L'expression d'"ours blanc" dans leurs catalogues d'histoire naturelle ne peut être entendue que comme désignant des individus atteints exceptionnellement d'albinisme ou simplement à la fourrure plus claire que d'habitude. Quant à celle d'"ours jaune," il est bon de remarquer que la couleur jaunâtre est précisément celle de la robe qui distingue l'ours de Syrie, l'un de ceux que les Babyloniens et les Assyriens devaient le mieux connaître.

44.		
	. . . . . **gidda**	saḫituv
	. . . . .	*Ourse.*
45.		
	. . . . . **ti**	idem.
	. . . . .	
46.		
	. . . . .	idem.

Je prends ici *saḫituv* pour le féminin de *saḫû*, et non pas, avec M. Friedrich Delitzsch (A.S., p. 61), pour le nom d'une espèce particulière d'animal de proie, formé d'un participe du verbe *saḫat*, "déchirer, mettre en pièces, emporter." En effet, à la colonne précédente, où l'on a suivi exactement la même ordonnance, c'est le nom de la "chienne,"  *kalbatuv*, qui vient après l'énumération des chiens de diverses couleurs, du chien enragé et des chiens de chasse.

EGYPTIAN FUNERAL TABLET IN THE SOANE MUSEUM.

By Eugene L. Roy.

Read 2nd July, 1878.

In the Museum of Sir J. Soane is an Egyptian funeral tablet, cut out of hard limestone, of which I have endeavoured to make a translation. It is nineteen and a-half inches high, by eleven and a-half wide, and of the usual pattern, rounded at the top and square at the base. Its surface is beautifully smoothed, the figures and characters are carefully cut, but the edges of some of the latter are slightly chipped.

The tablet consists of three parts. The upper one containing the two eyes of Horus—found on so many funeral tablets — with the ring, the symbol of eternity, placed between them.

Various conjectures have been formed with regard to the meaning of these eyes, but the most probable one is that they represent the sun and moon—

"His right eye is the sun, (and) his left eye is the moon," and being combined with the ring, symbolize an eternity of days and months.

The middle part of the tablet contains a double inscription, arranged in seven perpendicular lines, the four to the left being a petition to the god Anubis in his form of Ap-uat, or opener of the ways of the sun; the three on the right hand side contain a petition to the god Ptah-Sekar, continued on a perpendicular line, which separates the lowest part of the tablet into two portions. The one on the right contains two human figures—one male, the other female, squatting, each with the left hand across the chest and the right extended towards a large figure placed in the opposite portion of the tablet, and seated on a chair. This large

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 INCHES

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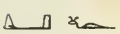
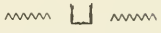
figure represents Senaaab, the female is Horemheb, and the man sitting below her Senbetfi. These are the persons on whose behalf the royal tables of offerings are petitioned.

1.

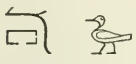
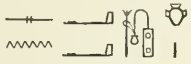
Suten hotep ta Ap-uat neb Abtu

A royal table of offerings grant Ap-uat, Lord of Abydos;

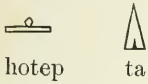
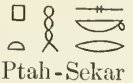
ta-f per χeru ta heket en χeft en mat

may he grant sepulchral gifts, bread and beer to the image of the chamberlain

  2.

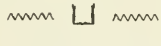
mer per ura Senāā-ab mā χeru Suten

major-domo senior Senāāab the justified. A royal table of

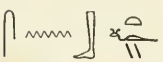
hotep ta Ptah-Sekar ta-f her χeru ta heket

offerings grant Ptah-Sekar, may he grant sepulchral gifts bread and beer



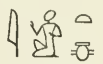
ahau aptu en χeft en nebt per Horem-heb

oxen and ducks to the image of the lady of the house Horem-heb.

(*and*) 

en χeft en mer [naut(?)] Senbetfi

to the image of the superintendent of rolls Senbetfi



mes en neb per Atab mā χerut

born of the lady of the house Atab, justified.

ASSYRIAN INCANTATIONS TO FIRE AND WATER.

By Ernest A. Budge, M.R.A.S.

Read 2nd July, 1878.

The original text from which this translation is made is to be found on a tablet numbered K 4902 of the British Museum collection, and is lithographed in W.A.I. IV, 14.[1] In this fourth volume are many copies of bilingual fragments and entire tablets, most of them relating to "spells" or incantations, and hymns, &c. These texts being bilingual, the advantage is very great, both in a scientific and a philological sense, for the old cuneiform language of the Accadians is arranged with an Assyrian translation (as Prof. Sayce has already remarked) on the Hamiltonian principle. Neither are the lessons learned from the Accadian few or insignificant, for sometimes the Accadian text remains without an Assyrian translation, and the meaning of the whole sentence can then only be made out by means of the Accadian. This, therefore, is one advantage of bilingual texts. Another is, that the Accadian may sometimes help us to determine the obscure meaning of a Semitic root, or it will give us an ideograph perhaps very rarely used, and underneath an Assyrian translation; this again is very valuable, for we cannot know the sound of an ideograph except by these means.

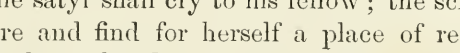
But to turn to the translation which is offered here. It appears to be an incantation, and a magical one. M. Lenormant has remarked, in La Magie chez les Chaldeens,[2] "The great magical work, of which the scribes of Assurbanipal had made

[1] Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, vols. I–IV.

[2] Page 13 (Eng. Transl., p. 13).

several copies according to a pattern existing from very remote antiquity in the famous sacerdotal school of Erech, in Chaldæa, was composed of three distinct books. We know the title of one of the three volumes—'The Evil Spirits,' for at the end of every one of the tablets which have come to us, and which have been preserved perfect, we read—'Tablet No. —, of the Evil Spirits.'[1] As this title points out, it was exclusively composed of formulæ of conjuration and imprecation destined to drive away demons and other evil spirits, to avert their deadly power, and to protect persons from their attacks. As much of the second book as now remains is in the form of a collection of incantations to which was attributed the power of curing divers maladies. Finally, the third embraces hymns to certain gods, hymns to the singing of which was attributed a power supernatural and mysterious, and which, however, have a very different character from the hymns, properly liturgical, of the official religion, of which some have come down to us."

The hymn now under consideration appears to have been of the last series. According to the ideas of the users of the cuneiform writing, the earth and sky were full of spirits, and to these incantations were offered. Very often a whole list of gods was invoked.[2] There were good and evil spirits. The desert was the chief place for the evil spirits; and, as Prof. Sayce and M. Lenormant have pointed out, this was a general belief with the Chaldæans, Mesopotamians, and other ancient nations. This view is supported by Isaiah xxxiv, 14, where our version says: "The wild beasts of the desert shall also meet the wild beasts of the island, and the satyr shall cry to his fellow; the screech owl shall rest there and find for herself a place of rest." The Hebrew original translated by "screech-owl" is *Lilith* (Heb. לילית), or night-demon;[3] she plays a considerable part in Jewish tradition, which represents her as the demon-wife of

[1]  , "Tablet No. 5 of the demons (spirits) evil."—W.A.I. IV, 2, col 6, line 35.

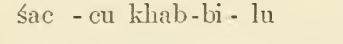
[2] W.A.I. IV, 1, col. 3; 2, col. 4.

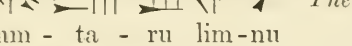
[3] Records of the Past, Vol. V, p. 172.

Adam, and a feminine night-spirit that wanders about in deserts. These people also believed that all diseases were the work of demons.

A small tablet fragment[1] enumerates six evil spirits:—

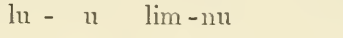
a śac - cu khab-bi - lu *The spirit destructive.*


nam - ta - ru lim-nu *The evil Namtar (plague).*

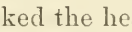

u -tuc-cu lim-nu *The evil Utuc.*

a - lu - u lim-nu *The evil Alû.* Accad.
a - lal

e - cim - mu lim-nu *The evil Ecimu (spirit).*

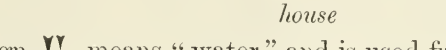

gal - lu - u lim-nu *The evil Gallu.*

The first attacked the head of man; the second, the life of man; the third, the forehead; the fourth, the breast; the fifth, the viscera; the sixth, the hand. And as the Accadian mind was so full of the idea of spirits being everywhere, whatever good was done for him by nature, earth, air, fire, water, or heaven, was the action of a good spirit. To him, the overflowing of the river that watered his land, and brought forth his food, was caused by a good spirit; the rush of waters that destroyed his crops was caused by an evil spirit; thus plainly showing that to him a good and evil spirit presided over the same object, each seeking to have the mastery.

In line 4 of the Water Incantation we meet with the god Hea (). This was one of the most important of the gods of the Assyrians and Chaldæans. The first

[1] W.A.I. IV, 29, 2.

sign is the usual prefix of divinity, the second in the name , means "house," and we obtain its phonetic value from W.A.I. II, 2, No. 364, where we find it given thus:—

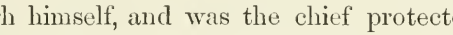


e bi - i - tu (Heb. בית.)

house

The third sign, , means "water," and is used frequently in historical and astronomical texts. The whole name, then, reading—"The god (of the) house of water," or "The god of the dwelling of water."[1] Hea was also lord of the surface of the earth,[2] the region of the atmosphere; and all that existed, lived and moved through him. He existed eternally through himself, and was the chief protector of men. A list of twenty-four of the attributes of Hea is to be found in W.A.I. II, 58.

The wife of Hea was called Damcina, or Davcina ("Lady of the Earth"). The son of Hea was called Marduk ( ), meaning "the brilliance of the sun." His Accadian name meant "the protector of the city, who benefits mankind."[3] The daughter of Hea was called Nina. The sentence in which this name occurs is found in W.A.I. IV, 1, col. 2, line 38, where the Assyrian reads:—



nis D.P. Nina mar - ti D.P. Hea lu - u- ta -ma- ta

Spirit of Nina the daughter of Hea, mayest thou remember.

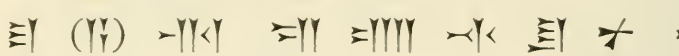
Among the Assyrians and Babylonians the number "seven" was regarded as mystic, and it must have been a number of considerable importance, for it is so often mentioned in these incantations. It is well known that the temple of Bel at Borsippa was built in seven stages. In

[1] In W.A.I. IV, 18, No. 3 obv., line 54:— , *D.P. Hea sar ap-śi-i*, "the god Hea, king of the waters."

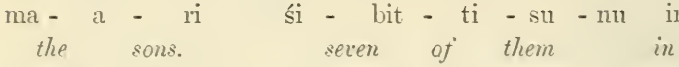
[2] Le Magie, p. 146:— , *D.P. Hea* ZIN (Accad.), "Hea (of the) desert."

[3] Prof. Sayce, Records of the Past, Vol. III p. 147.

the incantation we are now considering, line 5 says, "the sons of the abyss (there are) seven of them." There also appears to have been a "seven" inhabiting the earth, for in W.A.I. IV. 15, line 67, we read:—

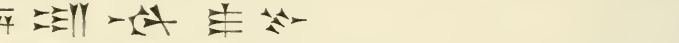


ma - a - ri śi - bit - ti - su - nu ina
the sons. *seven of them* *in*



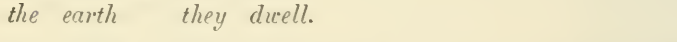
ir - tsi - tiv yas - bu
the earth *they dwell.*

The "seven" of the abyss appear to have been wicked, and in W.A.I. IV. 2, col. 5, line 30, we find:—

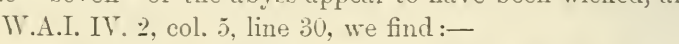


śi - bit - ti - su - nu śi - bit - ti - su - nu
An incantation to the seven of them. *the seven of them.*

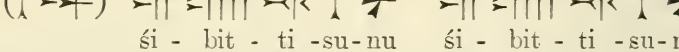
Again, in line 57:—



lim - nu - ti - su - nu lim - nu - ti - su - nu
wicked (are) they, *wicked (are) they*



śi - bit - ti - su - nu śi - bit - ti - su - nu śi - bit
seven (are) they, *seven (are) they,* *seven*



a - di si - na - su - nu
twice *again (are) they*

There are seven mentioned as being in heaven.[2]

Another formula of very frequent occurrence is used in line 2 of the Incantation to Fire:—

"*(This) enchantment O spirit of heaven mayest thou remember, ... O spirit of earth mayest thou remember.*"

[1] See Prof. Sayce, Babylonian Literature, p. 37.

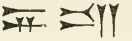
[2] W.A.I. IV, 1, 26.

And not only is the spirit of heaven and earth invoked, but often several gods,[1] and the Anunnaci ( ) or "Spirits of Earth."[2]

Tiglath-Pileser, in the first column of his famous inscription (line 3), says of the god Bel:—

Belu bi- lu nis gi - mir D.P. A-nun-na - ci

Belu the lord, spirit of all the Anunnaci (spirits of earth).

Very many of these incantations end with this formula. A doubt might have arisen concerning the reading of the sign *nis*, in this line, but W.A.I. IV, 1, col. 3, 62, settles the matter, for the Assyrian equates  *ni-is*, with the Accad. *zi*, "a spirit"; and the Accadian equivalent of *tamāti*, is , which is explained in W.A.I. II, 7, 49, by *zacaru*, "to remember" (Heb. זכר).

I am told by Prof. Sayce that lines 6–9 of the Incantation to Fire have been translated by Mr. Smith, but I have not seen his translation.[3]

M. Lenormant has printed translations of these incantations in his interesting work on Chaldean Magic (Eng. Trans. pp. 183–185), but I have in no way made use of his labours. A comparison will show that we differ in opinion as to the rendering of some passages; my reasons for such differences are embodied in the analysis.

I cannot conclude without taking this opportunity of thanking most heartily my good and kind friend, Prof. Sayce, for his very learned and valuable help, most generously given to me.

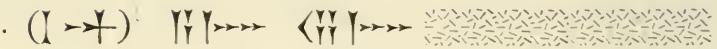
[1] W.A.I. IV, 1, col. 2, 10–25; col. 3, 61–69.

[2] W.A.I. IV, 2, col. 4, line 5; here they are called "the great gods."

[3] "North British Review," January, 1870.

INCANTATION TO WATER.

OBVERSE.

1. 

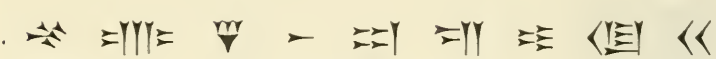
(siptu) mie elli . . . . . .

An incantation to the waters pure . . . . . .

2.

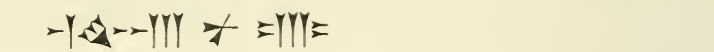
mie pu - rat - ti sa ina as - ri . . . . . .

the waters of the Euphrates which in the place . . . . . .

3. 

mu - u sa ina ap - śi - i ci - nis

the water which in the abyss firmly is



cun - nu - u

established

4.

pu - u el - lu sa D.P. (H)e - a

the mouth noble of Hea

yul - lil su - nu - ti

shines on them

[1] The sign occurs in the Accadian line of this incantation, but it is explained in W.A.I. II, 4, No. 656, thus :—

en si - ip - tuv,

which shows its phonetic value to be "en," and its meaning "incantation" (*śiptuv*) ; Heb. אשף.

5.

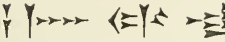
abli ap - śi - i śi - bit - ti - su - nu

the sons of the abyss (there are) seven of them

6.

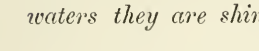
mie yul - li - lu mie yub - bi - bu

waters they are shining (clear) waters they are bright,



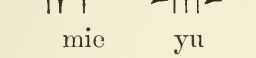
mie yu nam - me - ru

waters they are bright

7. 

ina ma - khar a - bi - cu - nu D.P. (H)e - a

in the presence of your father Hea

8. 

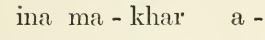
ina ma - khar um - me - cu - nu D.P. Dam - ci - na

in the presence of your mother Davcina

9.

li - lil li - bi - ib li - im - mir

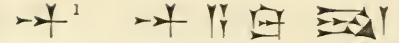
may it shine, may (it) be brilliant, may it (be) bright

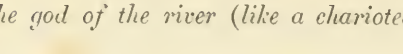
10. 

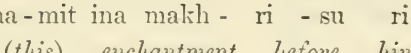
CA - CA - MA III essuti kirban - nu

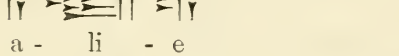
conclusion (three) times a prayer

[1] There are a few signs that I have omitted here; they appear not to be necessary.

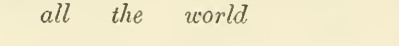
11. 
D.P. nahri id - di - su - u
the god of the river (like a charioteer)[2] *put him to flight*

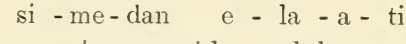
12. 
ma - mit ina makh - ri - su ri - cim - sa cima
(this) enchantment before him its onset like


a - li - e
a demon

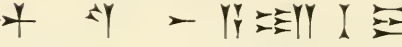
13. 
nab - khar ma - a - ti i - kham - mi cima
all the world blackens like

si - me - dan e - la - a - ti
the zenith lofty

14. 
D.P. Shamas ina a - tsi - su da - um - mat - su
the sun god in his going forth his darkness


(iś) - śukh va ina bit Ai ic - ca - li
he removed and in the house of Ai he devours.

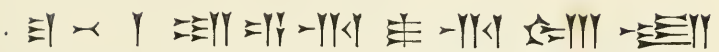
[1] This sign *siptu* (fresh paragraph) occurs in the Accadian line only.

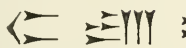
[2] The Assyrian line omits "like a charioteer"; the Accadian is  , where = "man," = "chariot-front," and = "like"; thus, "like a man of the chariot," "charioteer."

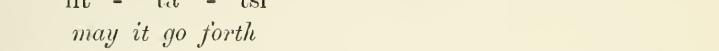
[3] Prof. Sayce has offered this restoration.

INCANTATION TO FIRE.

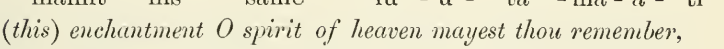
REVERSE.

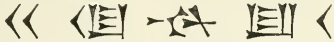
1. 
mamit ana tsi - e - ri as - ri el - li
Incantation: to the desert places holy

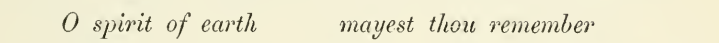

lit - ta - tsi
may it go forth

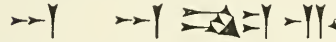
2. 
mamit nis same lu - u - ta - ma - a - ti
(this) enchantment O spirit of heaven mayest thou remember,

nis irtsi - tiv lu - u - ta - ma - a - ti
O spirit of earth mayest thou remember

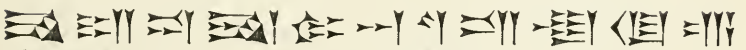
3. 
siptu D.P. BIL - GI es - cal - luv sa ina
Fresh paragraph. the fire god, the prince who (is) in the


ma - a - ti sa - ku - u
lofty country

4. 
kar - ra - du mar ap - śi - i sa ina
the warrior, son of the abyss, who is in the


ma - a - ti sa - ku - u
lofty country

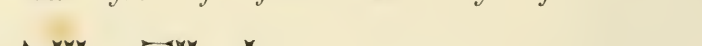
[1] The sun is called "warrior" in W.A.I. IV, 17, obv. line 4:—


kar - ra - du id - luv D.P. Shamas is - tu ci - rib
the warrior, hero, the sun-god from the midst.

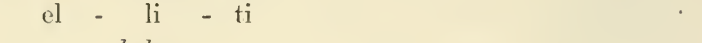
5.

D.P. BIL - GI ina i - sa - ti - ca
the god of fire with thy fires

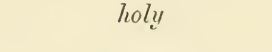
el - li - ti
holy

6. 

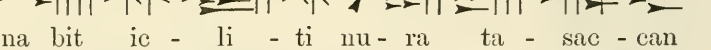
ina bit ic - li - ti nu - ra ta - sac - can
in the house of darkness, light thou art establishing

7. 

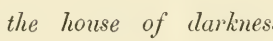
NIN - GAR su va na - bu - u sim - ta
all that is his also proclaimed, (his) destiny



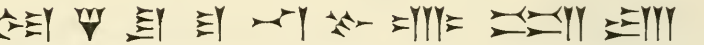
ta - sa - ma
thou art establishing

8. 

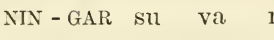
sa e - ri - i u a - na - ci mu - pal - lil - su-nu
of bronze and lead the mixer of them



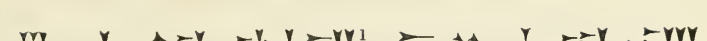
at - ta
thou (art)

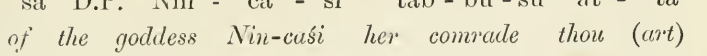
9. 

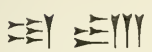
sa tsar - pi khu - ra - tsi mu - dam - mi - ik - su-nu
of silver (and) gold the blesser of them

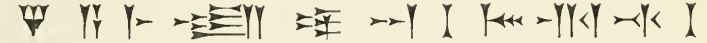


at - ta
thou (art)

10. 
sa D.P. Nin - ca - śi tab - bu - su at - ta
of the goddess Nin-caśi her comrade thou (art)

11. 
sa lim - ni ina mu - si mu - tir ir - ti - su
of the wicked (man) in the night changing his breast


at - ta
thou (art)

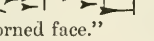
12. 
sa a - vi - li abil ili - su mes - ri - ti - su
of the man the son of his god his limbs

li - tab - bi - ba
mayest thou make brilliant

13.
ci - ma same li - lil
like the heaven may it shine

14.
ci - ma irtsi - tiv li - bi - ib
like the earth may it be bright

15.
ci - ma ci - rib same lim - mir
like the interior of heaven may it shine

[1]  *Nin-ca-śi;* Accadian meaning, "the lady (with the) horned face."

The last three lines are written in a different manner. In the others, the Accadian is interlinear, but in these, a part of the Accadian comes first, then the whole of the Assyrian portion of the line, and lastly the other part of the Accadian. There appear to have been more lines, but they are broken; only a few signs remain to show their existence. The last lines of this class of tablet usually show the number of the tablet in the series, the king's name; and the sentence "O spirit of heaven remember." "spirit of earth remember," usually concludes *each* paragraph.

ANALYSIS.

OBVERSE.

LINE

1. *mie*, plur. masc. of *mu*. "a drop of water"; Heb. מֵי.
   elli, plur. masc. of *ellu*. "noble, pure"; Heb. הלל.

2. *puratti;* Heb. פְּרָת; this usually occurs with the D.P. *nāhr* (*nahar*), "river," (Heb. נהר). See W.A.I. II, 51, line 26.
   asri, sing. masc. of *asru;* Chald. אַתַר; Syr. ܐܬܪ.

3. *apśi*, sing. masc. of *apśū*, translation of Accadian *zuap* ( ).
   cinis, adverb in *-is*, from *cunu;* Heb. כּוֹן.
   cunnū, 3rd pers. plur. Permansive Palel; Heb. כּוֹן.

4. *pū*, sing. masc.; Heb. פֶּה.
   yullilsunuti, 3rd pers. sing. masc. Pael, with plur. masc. pronoun; Heb. הלל.

5. *abli*, plur. masc. of *ablu*
   śibittisunu, plur. fem. of *śibu;* Heb. שֶׁבַע.

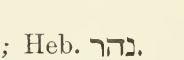
LINE

6. *yullilu*, 3rd pers. masc. plur. aor. Pael; Heb. הלל.
yubbibu, 3rd pers. masc. plur. aor. Pael; probably Heb. אבב.
yunammiru, 3rd pers. masc. plur. aor. Pael, from *namiru*.

7. *ina*, prep.
makhar or *pani*, prep.; Heb. מחר.
abicunu, gen. sing. masc. of *abu* (Heb. אב), with affix pers. pronoun.

8. *ummecunu*, gen. sing. fem. of *ummu* (Arab. أم), with affix pers. pronoun.

9. *lilil*, 3rd pers. masc. sing. prec. Kal.
lilīb, 3rd pers. masc. sing. prec. Kal.
līmmir, 3rd pers. masc. sing. prec. Kal.

10. CACAMA, compound ideograph; Assyr. *amanu;* Heb. אמן; perhaps in Accadian pronounced *dudhdhuma*. See W.A.I. II, 32, line 62, where Accad. is explained by the Assyrian  , *a-ma-nu-u*.
essuti, plur. fem. of *essu*.
Kirbanu, ideograph with phonetic complement; Heb. קרבן, from קרב.

11. *nahr*, gen. sing. constr. masc. of *nahru;* Heb. נהר.
iddisū, 3rd pers. sing. Iphtael aor. of נדא.

12. *mamit*, sing. fem. deriv. from אמן.
ricim-sa, sing. fem., with fem. pers. pron.; cf. Heb. רגם.
cima, conjunction; Heb. כמו.
alie, sing. masc.; cf. אלוה; Aram. אֱלָהּ

13. *nabkhar*, Niphal form from בחר.
mati, gen. sing. of *mat*, literally "land"; Aram. מתא.
ikhammi, 3rd pers. sing. pres. Kal; Heb. חום.
simidan, sing. masc. collective of שמד.
elāti, plur. fem., from עלה.

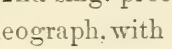
14. *daummat-śu*, sing. fem. plur.; Arab. دمم.
iśśukh, 3rd pers. masc. aor. Niphal of נסח.
bīt, for *bayit*, sing.; Heb. בית.
iccali, 3rd pers. sing. masc. pres. Kal, with *i* suffix; Heb. אכל.

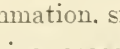
REVERSE.

LINE

1. *ana*, prep.
   tsieri, sing. masc. of *tseru;* Arab. صَحْرٌ.
   asru, plur. masc. of *asru.* See line 2 obv.
   littatsi, 3rd sing. prec. Ittaphal יצא.

2. *nis.* The Accad. gives *zi*, "a spirit," as the equivalent of *nis;* Heb. אנש.
   same, ideograph, with phonetic complement; Heb. שמים.
   lūtamāti. 2nd sing. prec. Pael.
   irtsitir, ideograph, with phonetic complement; Heb. אֶרֶץ, and mimmation, sing. fem.
   apcallur, sing. masc., with mimmation. (Perhaps to be read *escallur*, שכל.—Prof. Sayce.)
   sakū. plur. masc. of *saku;* Accad. *sak*, "a head." See W.A.I. II, 30, 1, obv. line 1.

4. *karradu*, sing. masc.
   maru, sing. masc.; Arab. مَرِيٌّ. And see W.A.I. III, 70, 120, where we find  *ma-ru* = "son."

5. *isati-ca.* plur. fem. of *isu.* "fire." with poss. pronoun, אֵשׁ, It is rather rare to find this word spelt phonetically. It is found thus on the Michaux Stone, No. III, 1, 34. Sennacherib uses  in Col. IV, 20; the usual ideograph is .
   elliti, plur. fem. of *ellu.*

6. *icliti*, fem.; cf. Arab. كَلِيٌّ.
   nura, acc. sing. of *nuru*, "light"; Heb., Aram., and Arab. נר.
   tasaccan, 2nd masc. pres. Kal; Heb. שכן.

7. *ningarsu;* Accad. NIN-GAR.
   nabū, 3rd sing. Permansive; Heb. נבה.
   simta, acc. sing. of *simtu*, fem. deriv. from שום.
   tasama, 2nd masc. pres. Kal from שום.

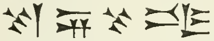
LINE

8. *erī*, gen. sing. of *eru*, "bronze."
   anaci, gen. sing.; Heb. אנך.
   mupallilsunu, Pael part., with pers. pronoun; Heb. בלל.
   atta, pers. pronoun 2nd masc. sing.; Heb. אַתָּה.

9. *tsarpi*, gen. sing. of *tsarpu*; Heb. צרף.
   khuratsi, gen. sing. of *khuratsu*; Heb. חרוץ.
   mudammiksunu, Pael part., with pers. pronoun.

10. *tabbusu*; probably from Accadian *tab*, "double."

11. *limni*, gen. sing. of *limnu*.
    musi; Arab. مسي.
    mu-tir, part. Aphel, Heb. תור.
    irti-su, gen. sing. of *irtu*, with pers. pronoun; Heb. עור. (See Prof. Sayce, Assy. Gram., p. 123.)

12. *avili*, sing. masc. of *avilu*. (See W.A.I. II, 24, 24*b*, where  *te-ni-se-tuv*, a Tiphel form of אֱנֹשׁ, is explained by *avilutuv*.)
    ili, gen. sing of *ilu*, "a god"; Heb. אל.
    mesriti, fem. plur.; perhaps Heb. שרין.

NOTE ON A BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION, LATIN AND ARAMAIC, RECENTLY FOUND AT SOUTH SHIELDS.

By Professor William Wright, LL.D.

Read 3rd December, 1878.

According to a paragraph in "The Academy" for November 2, 1878, extracted from the "Shields Daily Gazette," there was discovered at South Shields, on Saturday, October 19, in digging out the foundation for a building at the back of some premises in Bath Street, a gravestone, about six feet long by two feet six inches wide. On it is carved the figure of a woman sitting on a chair or throne, with flowers in her lap and a basket of fruit at her left side. With the exception of the face, which is broken away, the carving is in excellent preservation, and of remarkably good workmanship. At the base of the stone is a well executed Latin inscription, which runs as follows:—

DM. REGINA . LIBERTA . ET . CONJUGE .
BARATES . PALMYRENUS . NATIONE .
CATUALLAUNA . AN . XXX .

Below this is a line of writing, conjectured to be in Syriac characters. The stone was unfortunately broken in lifting it. Beneath it was a small quantity of the bones of some animal, probably a horse.

This account, though in the main correct, is not perfectly accurate. According to more precise information, furnished me by Robert Blair, Esq., of South Shields (who has also most kindly sent me carefully executed squeezes of the inscription, and a drawing of the entire monument),[1] the

[1] I have also to thank Llewellynn Jewitt, Esq., F.S.A., for an early copy of a plate representing the entire monument, which is to appear in "The Reliquary" for January, 1879.

MONUMENT DISCOVERED AT SOUTH SHIELDS 1878

stone was found "at the site of the Roman cemetery, not far from the Castrum, and by the side of what is supposed to have been the course of the Roman road stretching to St. David's in Wales, locally known as the Recken or Wreken Dyke." It was discovered "lying face up, contrary to the usual way in which monuments are found." The mutilation of the face of the figure is supposed to have been the work of some early Christians. The right hand rests upon what may be intended for a small altar. The precise dimensions of the stone are :—

Height over all, to apex ..	4 feet.
Width over all	2 feet 3½ inches.
Height of seated figure ..	2 feet 6 inches.

The Latin inscription is accurately given above, but its style is vulgar and incorrect in the extreme. It states that the tombstone was erected to the memory of a woman named Regina, of the British tribe of the Catuvellauni, who died at the age of thirty, the freedwoman and wife of one Barates, a Palmyrene. Regina, and its masculine form Reginus ("*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*," t. vii, 907, 914, 1336). are, as my friend Professor Hübner, of Berlin, informs me (see also his letter in the "Shields Daily News" of November 2), not uncommon names in all Celtic lands. The husband Barates probably was, as the same authority has suggested, a Syrian merchant, who traded with the Roman soldiers in Britain. A legionary Barates could not be, being a foreigner; and of the Syrian "socii," only the "cohors I Hamiorum" (if the name be really derived from Ḥamāh, חֲמָת) occurs in England, stationed at Magnae, or Carvoran, on the Wall. The British tribe of the Catuvellauni ("*Corpus Insc. Lat.*," t. vii, 863) is well known.[1] Dio Cassius, 60, 20, writes *Κατουελλανοί*. Our inscription seems to offer a somewhat older form of the name, with the sound of *a* instead of *e*, Catuallauni.[2] Professor Hübner ascribes the

[1] See Dr. Bruce's "Roman Wall," 3rd ed., p. 275, and his "Lapidarium Septentrionale," p. 202.

[2] The stonecutter seems to have been rather uncertain as to the spelling of the name, for there is an O faintly visible over and between the U and A of the second syllable.

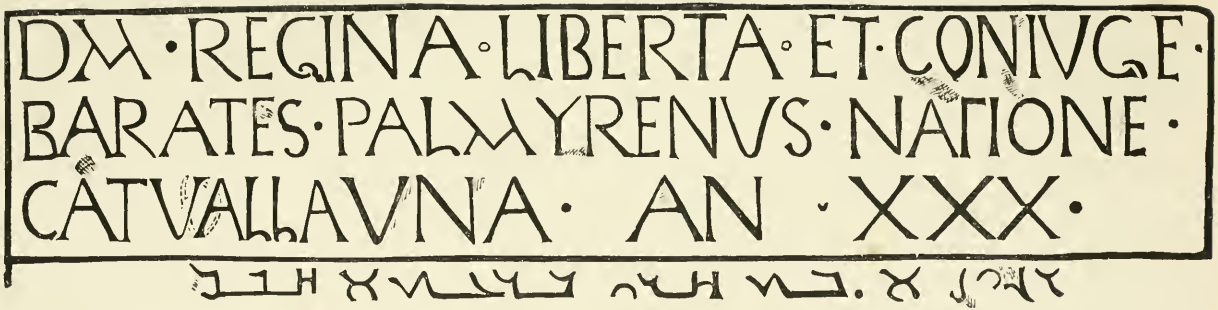
monument to "the end of the second or beginning of the third century." Dr. Bruce, as Mr. R. Blair informs me, "judging from the form of some of the letters, such as M, G, and L, is inclined to place it later, though the absence of ligatures is perhaps against this."

The line of Aramaic writing is in the cursive Palmyrene character, such as was in use at Tadmor in the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, possibly even earlier. See Lenormant, "Essai sur la Propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien," t. i, 2me livr., pp. 238–249, and Planche XIII; De Vogüé, "Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions Sémitiques," especially Nos. 115–121, pp. 71–73, and Pl. 11. Transcribed into Hebrew letters, it runs thus :—

רגינא בת חרי ברעתא חבל

Regina, the freedwoman of Barate. Alas!

The words בת חרי, if correctly read by me (others read בת חדי, see below), seems to be equivalent to "liberta." The Aramaic word for "daughter" generally appears in the Palmyrene inscriptions in the fuller form ברת, Syriac ܒܪܬ (with *r* written, though not pronounced); but בת is found occasionally in proper names (see Nöldeke in the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft," vol. xxiv, p. 101). So here in a compound noun, in common Syriac ܒܪ ܚܪܐ, *a free man*, ܒܪܬ ܚܪܐ, *a free woman*, but also used of slaves who have been *set free*, *e.g.*, Jeremiah, xxxiv, 9, 10; 1 Maccabees, x, 33; Judith, xvi, 24. In so-called Chaldee the corresponding word is בַּר חוֹרִין or בַּר חוֹרִי. The form בת חרי (probably pronounced *bath ḥērē*) seems to be intended for a construct state before the following genitive. ברעתא, *Bar-ʿAtē* (*Barates*), is a proper name of the same class as בֶּן־הֲדַד, בר־הדן *Bar-Hadad*, *Βαραδάτος*; בר־לחא *Bar-lāhā* (for *Bar-ʿAlāhā*); and בר־בעל־שמין *Bar-Baʿl-shĕmīn* (for *Bar-Baʿl-Shĕmīn*); in which the second member of the compound is the appellation of the deity (*Hadad*, *Alāhā*, *Baʿl-shĕmīn*) specially worshipped by the person so named. The name of the god ʿAtē or



Bilingual Inscription on monument found near South Shields, 1878.

'Athē, usually written עתא or עתה, is well known (see Nöldeke, loc. cit., p. 92). In Greek it is transcribed *Αθη*, as in עתעקב, *Ἀθηάκαβος* (De Vogüé, op. cit., p. 48), זבדעתא or זבדעתה, *Ζαβδααθῆς* (ibid., p. 47). To classical scholars it is familiar as the second element in the name of *Ἀταργάτις*, *Ἀτεργάτις*, *Ἀτταγάθη*, that is, עתרעתה (De Vogüé, op. cit., p. 7), the 'Attar of 'Atē, the female counterpart of 'Atē (עַתַּר, *'Attar*, for עַתְתַּר, *'Athtar*, = עַשְׁתֹּרֶת, *Ἀστάρτη*; compare עשתר כמש in the stêlê of king Mēsha' of Moab, l. 17; and see M. Clermont-Ganneau in the "Journal Asiatique" for 1878, pp. 529, 530).[1] The last word of the inscription, חבל, has been regarded by Nöldeke (loc. cit., p. 105) as a verb in the third person singular of the perfect, to be pronounced חָבֵל, "periit," "mortuus" or "defunctus est"; and so it is rendered by De Vogüé, op. cit., pp. 21, 46, 52, 159, "défunt" or "mort." See also the articles of Levy in the "Z. d. D. M. G.," vol. xii, p. 214; vol. xv, p. 622. In all these cases the tombstone is that of a man, and therefore חָבֵל might very well mean "he is dead"; but here, where the departed is a woman, we should have expected the verbal form to be feminine, חָבְלַת or חֶבְלַת. I prefer therefore to regard it (with Levy, in the latter of the two passages cited) as an interjection, in so-called Chaldee חֲבֵל, חֲבִיל, "woe! alas!"[2] This seems to be a more appropriate ending to the inscription on a gravestone than the bald and wholly superfluous piece of information that the person who lies buried there "is dead."

[1] It is curious to note that the name of 'Athtar, or 'Attar, has survived in Arabic to the present day, in the form of عَثْتَرِي *'aththarī*, or عَثَرِي *'atharī*, which Lane explains by "*such as is watered by the rain alone*, of palm-trees or of seed-produce." This observation was first made, I believe, by my friend Professor G. Hoffmann, of Kiel. Compare a similar use of بَعْل *ba'l* (*i.e.*, Baal), and its derivative بَعْلِي *ba'lī*.

[2] Nobody, I should suppose, would be silly enough to connect this חבל with either *ἄβαλε* or *vale*.

Another interpretation of this inscription has been proposed (see Professor Hübner's letter in the "Shields Gazette" of October 31); viz.:—

רגינא בת הדי בר עתא חבל

Regina, filia Haddaei filii ʿAtā, defuncta.

I venture, however, to say that, when compared with the Latin context, it condemns itself. Apart from other objections, this reading turns the British Regina Catuallauna into a Syrian woman, whose father Ḥaddai and grandfather ʿAtā are named, and thus loses sight entirely of the husband Barates.

Postscript. More than one person has surmised that the last word might be read חֹבֵל, in the sense either of "sailor" or of "ropemaker" (حَبَّال); but an examination of other inscriptions in which it occurs shows that this is out of the question. Much more plausible is another suggestion, first made, I believe, to Mr. Blair by the learned Jewish Rabbi of Shields; namely, that the letters חבל may be a contraction of some eulogistic or other formula in common use when speaking of the dead (like the Jewish זֹל, זֹצֹל, נֹעֹ, תֹמֹכֹ, תֹנֹצֹבֹה, and the like). If so, Dr. Schiller-Szinessy thinks that it might be read חוּלְקֵיהּ [חוּלְקָהּ] בְּחַיֵּי לְעָלַם, "may his (*or* her) portion be in the life everlasting." Be this as it may, such contractions were certainly in use at a very remote period. For example, in the Phœnician inscription commonly called the "Melitensis Quinta" (see the "Transactions" of this Society, Vol. III, p. 389), the difficult phrase at the beginning of line 4, בעתר אדר ערכת, is really to be read (as pointed out to me by Dr. Euting) בעת ר אדר ערכת, "in the time of our most worthy magistrate" (ר for רבן, *i.e.*, רַבֵּנוּ).

LE TESTAMENT DU MOINE PAHAM.

Par M. Eugène Revillout.

Read 4th February, 1879.

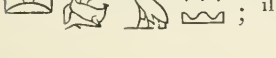
La pièce, dont je donne ici la traduction littérale, encore inédite, porte le No. 2 parmi les papyrus Coptes de Boulaq, dont M. Mariette a bien voulu me prêter à Paris les originaux. J'en ai publié le texte copte, page $\overline{\text{KA}}$ de mes *Papyrus Coptes*.

Ce document remonte au siècle même de la conquête de l'Égypte faite par les Arabes, ainsi que bon nombre d'autres papyrus coptes qui se trouvent tant au Louvre qu'au British Museum, à Turin, à Berlin, à Boulaq et chez des amateurs anglais (tels que M. Glennie), et qui, tous, proviennent également du bourg de Djème (ⲭⲏⲙⲉ), appelé en grec bysantin, *χαστρον Μέμνωνιων*, et en démotique *Djem*.[1]

Un grand nombre de papyrus démotiques et grecs concernant les choachytes de Thèbes, font déjà mention de ce bourg, que nous trouvons aussi nommé dans les papyrus coptes découverts en ce lieu et dans la vie de St. Pesunthius, évêque de Coptos au 7e siècle, dont la correspondance autographe se trouve au Louvre, et la vie au Musée du Vatican. Pesunthius a, en effet, longtemps habité Djème, où il s'était réfugié pendant les occupations persanes et arabes de l'Égypte, sous Héraclius. Dans la traduction memphitique de sa biographie, Djème est orthographié ⲥⲏⲙⲓ au lieu de ⲭⲏⲙⲉ.

"Le Testament du moine Paham.

"Au nom de la sainte et consubstantielle Trinité. Le 6 du mois d'Athyr de l'année des Arabes . . . . . moi, Paham, moine, fils du bienheureux Epiphane (prêtre de St. Colluthe

[1] Dans le papyrus M. de Leyde, de l'an 4 de Soter II, il est nommé aussi *το εν τοις Μεμνονειοις φρουριον*, et en hiéroglyphes on l'appele  ; il etait près de *Medinet-Habu*.

à Psenantonios), dans le nome de la ville de Coptos (j'ai décidé) dans mon cœur . . . . . et cela d'une volonté pleine et immuable, sans qu'aucune nécessité m'ait été imposée, sans qu'aucune violence ou subreption m'ait été faite, mais de ma pleine volonté, par une résolution inébranlable et un dessein bon et irrévocable, ayant mon esprit et ma raison bien assis, et mon cœur paisible, j'ai décidé, dis-je, de tout cœur et par une intention sans retour, de t'écrire à toi, mon fils Jacob, mon bien aimé, de t'écrire un contrat bien solide et indestructible à jamais, en forme de testament, pour toi et tes enfants et les enfants de tes enfants, et tous ceux que tu choisiras et qui t'écouteront. Moi, Paham, j'ai écrit ce testament de ma propre main. Habitant sur le mont de Djème (ϫⲏⲙⲉ) comme moine, j'ai vu que je n'avais aucun parent près de moi en ce lieu ; j'ai pensé : Personne ne connait sa voie. Et, je me suis dit : Peut-être qu'une maladie viendra sur moi, en sorte que je mourrai tout-à-coup sans avoir personne à l'entour de moi pour lui transmettre mes volontés, au sujet des petits biens qui proviennent de mon père et de ma mère, et de leurs lieux d'habitation.—J'avais trois enfants. Je m'en suis allé. Je me suis fait moine. Je les ai laissés tous les trois. Ils sont restés dans le monde. Quant au fils ainé, Paphnuti, (ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ,) il a pris une femme contre ma volonté. Je me suis affligé beaucoup, beaucoup *(sic)*. Sa voie ne fut pas droite depuis qu'il a pris cette femme. Il y eut des querelles et du trouble dans son affaire. Ils s'en vinrent, dans le midi, vers moi. Ils me racontèrent la querelle et me dirent que la virginité de cette femme n'existait plus[1] (lors des noces). Je dis que je n'avais plus affaire avec lui (avec Paphnuti), car il avait été désobéissant envers moi. Je confiai la chose à Dieu,[2] le juge véritable, et aux prières de mon père saint.[3] Lorsqu'il se fut en allé d'auprès de moi, on dupa son esprit par des paroles de flatterie : il prit cette femme avec lui ;—Il engendra des enfants avec elle ; mais son cœur

[1] ⲁ ⲧⲉⲥⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲟϫ ⲁⲛ ne pourrait décemment se traduire littéralement.

[2] ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲡⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲙⲉ, mot-à-mot *je laissai la place à dieu, etc.*

[3] Un patron céleste, St. Pachome, sans doute.

restait toujours affligé en lui, et il venait souvent me confier son chagrin, en sorte qu'il affligeait mon cœur beaucoup. Cependant je ne voulais pas le renvoyer, à cause de Dieu. Car c'était mes entrailles. Je lui donnai un petit lieu pour y habiter, dans ma maison; et tous ses objets mobiliers, soit d'argent, soit d'or, soit d'airain, soit même ses vêtements, enfin, tout ce que je lui donnai, se trouve écrit ailleurs. Ensuite Dieu vint le visiter, comme il fait pour tous les hommes; il mourut, ainsi que ses enfants ensemble, d'un seul coup. Il ne laissa aucune germe vivant.

"Maintenant de même que Dieu l'a rendu étranger à ce monde, ainsi que ses fils, moi aussi je le déclare étranger, ainsi que sa femme, à tous mes lieux d'habitation, qui me viennent de mes pères, et à tout l'héritage qui est à moi maintenant. Qu'aucun homme le représentant n'en reçoive rien. Quant à la maison que je lui ai donnée, et dans laquelle il habitait jusqu'à sa mort, que sa femme ne puisse en hériter et y habiter en qualité de maîtresse, ni aucun homme la représentant. C'est mon fils Jacob qui la recevra de sa main et en héritera, ainsi que ses fils, à jamais. Les objets mobiliers que je lui ai donnés pendant sa vie, à lui Paphnuti, quand il est mort, je les ai recherchés; je les ai trouvés intacts, sans que rien ait été détérioré pendant sa vie. J'ai même trouvé qu'il possédait en outre deux holocots[1] et demi. Voici que maintenant je te donne pouvoir spécial, à toi Jacob, mon fils de choix, mon bien aimé. Tu es le maître de rechercher tous les objets que j'ai donnés à Paphnuti et ce qu'il a acquis lui-même, et cela jusqu'au moindre objet précieux ou vil. Ensuite porte toi comme son créancier pour les deux holocots et demi. Tu es le maître d'interroger sa femme par serment, en tout lieu que tu voudras, même pour un tesson de poterie. Car c'est moi qui l'ordonne, pendant que je suis encore vivant; et de plus lui-même il m'en a fait donner le pouvoir par ceux qui étaient auprès de lui au moment où il allait mourir. Sa femme elle-même, qu'elle prête serment au sujet de ce qu'elle a apporté chez

[1] L'holocot est une monnaie d'or sans cesse mentionnée dans les documents bysantins d'Egypte. Ducange en avait du reste déjà parlé dans son *Thesaurus mediæ et infimæ græcitatis.*

lui, et qu'elle emporte ce qui lui revient. Toi Jacob, fais pour elle comme il est de coutume de faire aux veuves qui t'environnent, dans ton bourg, alors qu'elles sont sans enfants. Renvoie-la! Qu'elle s'en aille chez elle au plus vite, et qu'elle retourne au bourg d'où elle sort!

"Quant à Thatre, ma fille, je lui ai partagé sa part en toutes les choses dont je suis le maître, selon ce que Dieu a inspiré à mon cœur, et cela tant pour ce qui provient de moi et de mes parents, que pour ce qui provient de sa mère même. Elle n'a aucune réclamation à faire à Jacob, son frère, pour aucun objet, à partir d'aujourd'hui, de mon chef, à moi, Paham, son père. Mais si quelque chose leur vient de leur mère, Jacob et Thatre le partageront en trois parts, dont l'une sera pour Jacob, l'autre pour Thatre et la troisième pour faire des *agapes* en faveur de l'âme de ceux qui sont morts, c'est-à-dire de Paphnuti, de Susanne, sa mère, et de Martyria, la mère de Susanne.

"Si, après ma mort, toi, Jacob, ainsi que Thatre, vous trouvez le temps d'entrer en procès avec les frères de votre mère, Susanne, (c'est-à-dire Jean et les héritiers de Pesunthius, qui repose déjà,) et qu'ils vous disent: "Votre mère et votre père ont reçu leur part; ils ont partagé avec nous pendant leur vie"; voici que je place ici le saint serment, en jurant par le Dieu tout puissant Paneinob (*sic*) admirable,[1] à savoir: Lorsque votre sœur Susanne est venue vers moi, Paham, elle ne m'a jamais rien apporté, ouvertement, dont j'aie le souvenir; ses parents ne lui ont rien donné pour son entretien, et elle ne m'a rien apporté non plus en cachette. Quant aux objets que nous nous sommes partagés, moi, Paham, et Guerra, et Jean, et Pesunthius, nous en avons laissé d'autres de coté et à plus tard,[2] au moment où nous avons partagé. Mais moi, Paham, et Guerra, nous avons

[1] ⲉⲓⲱⲣⲕ ⲙⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ ⲡⲁⲛⲉⲓⲛⲟⲃ ⲛⲥⲩⲛⲏⲣⲉ. J'avoue ne pas comprendre la qualification ⲡⲁⲛⲉⲓⲛⲟⲃ ⲛⲥⲩⲛⲏⲣⲉ. C'est soit un reste de quelque formule sacramentelle antérieure au christianisme, soit une expression d'origine gnostique.

[2] ⲉⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲩ. ⲉⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ signifie *en arrière*. Quant à ⲡ-ⲁϫⲟⲩ, c'est un mot nouveau, un ἅπαξ λεγομένον jusqu'ici.

souscrit (une demande) afin que Tsibla[1] nous prête serment sur le reste des objets. Quant à l'or qu'ils se sont adjugé, ils ne nous en donnèrent rien du tout, à moi, Paham, et à Guerra. C'est Jean et Tsibla qui l'ont pris.

"En conséquence, en tout temps où vous voudrez entrer en procès avec eux, au sujet de l'or et des autres objets, c'est à vous qu'il appartient d'ordonner ce que vous voudrez. Moi, je vous ai satisfait par l'adjuration du Seigneur, de peur qu'ils n'apportent des prétexes, en disant : nous avons partagé avec votre père, pendant sa vie.

"C'est moi, Paham, qui ai écrit tout ce qui est ci-dessus, de ma propre main. J'ai écrit ce testament de ma main seule; et j'écris encore à Jacob, mon fils : la maison qui me vient de mon père, le prêtre Epiphane, du chef de son père, Paham, maison qui, depuis sa mort, m'est advenue à moi, le fils du prêtre Epiphane, voici que maintenant je te la donne, à toi seul et à tes enfants, pour que tu en hérites, ainsi que ceux qui viendront après toi et qui t'obéiront. Qu'aucun homme ne puisse venir t'inquiéter jamais, soit fils, soit fille, soit petit fils, au sujet de cette maison, qui est placée à l'occident de St. Colluthe. L'un de ses murs donne sur le rue de St. (Colluthe); un autre, celui de la grande salle,[2] sert de limite à la maison de l'aveugle; le troisième mur, donnant sur la fumier qui est devant la porte, est tout intérieur. Quant au dernier mur, du coté du midi, il touche à la maison du ⲃⲟⲉⲓⲧ,[3] c'est-à-dire de Samuel, et à la maison d'Abraham de Touba. (Je nomme les anciens noms qui existaient pour

[1] Tsibla était sans doute la belle-mère de Paham, c'est-à-dire la veuve du père de sa femme. Celui-ci avait laissé quatre enfants : Susanne, femme de Paham, Guèrra, Jean, et Pesunthius. Guèrra parait être mort sans enfants; Pesunthius mourut également avant ce testament de Paham, mais il laissa des héritiers qu'indique sommairement Paham un peu plus haut.

[2] ⲧⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲕⲁⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲉ, ⲕⲁⲙⲁⲣⲉ est une déformation du mot de basse latinité *camera*. C'est le synonyme de ⲥⲓⲛⲡⲟⲥⲓⲟⲛ que l'on rencontre dans d'autres papyrus (pour *συμποσιον*) et qui désigne la *salle à manger, la grande salle, le poêle* comme on dit en Franche Comté.

[3] ⲡⲏⲓ ⲙⲡⲃⲟⲉⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲏⲗ. J'ignore la signification de ⲃⲟⲉⲓⲧ, qui est un mot nouveau, qu'il ne faut pas confondre, je crois, avec ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲧ, stèle ou colonne.

ces maisons-là bien avant aujourd'hui). Quant au mur, qu'Abraham à construit par ruse, parceque nous ne pouvions avoir notre franc parler, puisque nous étions à l'étranger, si Dieu te donne le moyen de bâtir sur ses assises, interroge les maçons, ils te diront à qui est mon mur : 'Il n'est pas à vous; et mes pères ne vous ont pas permis de construire dessus.' Et il n'en est pas seulement ainsi pour ce mur, mais pour tous les autres qui servent de limites. Ils appartiennent à la maison.

"Quant au clos, (ⲡⲁⲛⲉ) qui est à l'intérieur du lieu de construction du canal, il sera à toi tout entier jusqu'à ses limites. Si tu veux y construire, tu es le maître de faire ce que tu voudras.

"Quant au tiers de maison, que j'ai reçu de ma mère, au sud du bourg de Tathuré, et au tiers du clos attenant à ce lieu et qui me vient également de Thatre, ma mère, du chef de Sara sa mère, voici que moi, Paham, je te les donne à toi, Jacob, mon fils. Qu'aucun homme ne puisse t'inquiéter à ce sujet à jamais.

"Quant à Thatre, ma fille et ta sœur, il ne t'est pas permis de la renvoyer jamais du lieu qu'elle occupe, pendant tous les jours de sa vie. Mais il ne faut pas que son fils prenne une femme qui ne s'accorde pas avec elle et que cette femme puisse venir habiter dans ce lieu; car personne ne sait ce qui peut lui arriver. De plus si elle meurt, soit pendant ta vie, soit après ta mort, il ne faut pas qu'elle puisse en disposer et dire : je le donne à mon fils, ou à qui il me plait. Si elle le dit, elle est étrangère à Dieu, et celui qui commandera dans ce temps-là, si il lui permet de faire cela, il sera lui-même étranger à Dieu. Car j'ai vu mon père, qui a agi ainsi à l'égard de sa sœur jusqu'à sa mort, et ne lui a pas permis de laisser personne d'étranger dans sa maison, excepté pendant sa vie. J'ai fait cette disposition afin qu'il n'arrive pas de scandale et qu'elle ne t'oblige à occuper seulement ce qui est à toi, mais que d'une autre part tu n'y laisse aucun étranger après sa mort. Car il n'y a eu auparavant aucune difficulté pour ce lieu. Moi, Paham, j'écris à Jacob : tous les biens, qui me viennent de mes pères, soit maison, soit clos, soit objets meubles depuis le plus précieux jusqu'au plus vil,

tout sera à toi, et à tes fils, et à ceux qui viendront après toi, jusqu'à un seul *nummus*.

"Que personne ne puisse t'inquiéter pour aucune chose (je te donne tout, tant ce que j'ai écrit) que ce que je n'ai pas écrit, ce que je n'ai pas pensé à écrire, ou ce dont je ne me suis pas rappelé pour l'écrire. Toutes ces choses, j'en suis maître, moi, pendant ma vie, moi, Paham, ce tout petit. J'ai dit : De peur que pendant ma vie je tombe dans une maladie et que tu m'oublies, je veux que, si tu fais seulement ma volonté pendant ma vie, tu hérites de tout ce qui est à moi après ma mort. Voici que j'ai fait ce testament comme une garantie pour toi et pour ceux qui viendront après toi.

"Que personne ne vienne t'inquiéter pour ce testament, ni disputer avec toi. Celui qui viendra ainsi t'inquiéter, soit parent, soit allié, soit homme quelconque que nous ne pouvons préciser, sera étranger au Père, au Fils, et au Saint Esprit, Trinité parfaite que nous adorons en tout temps ; et ce testament restera ferme, inébranlable ; car il m'a plu ainsi. Je l'ai voulu et je l'ai établi, selon ce que Dieu a inspiré à mon cœur, et cela de ma propre main. J'habite sur le mont de Djème au moment où je fais ce testament.

"Si, soit pendant ma vie, soit après que je serai mort, selon la destinée réservée à tous les hommes, quelqu'un vient t'inquiéter, Toi, Jacob, pour ce testament, en voulant le faire annuler : soit frère, soit sœur, soit femme de frère, soit héritier, soit homme quelconque : il est d'abord étranger au Père, au Fils, au Saint Esprit, et à la communion des chrétiens, et ensuite il devra payer une forte amende à l'*archôn*, qui gouvernera en ce temps-là, selon ce que Dieu inspirera à cet *archôn*, et cela parcequ'ils ont voulu penser dans leur cœur à détruire ce testament, sur lequel le nom de Dieu est écrit, ainsi que l'adjuration terrible que nous y avons placée. L'évêque qui sera établi en ce temps-là, s'il veut négliger son devoir, toucher à ce testament ou dire qu'il ne tient pas, en voulant l'annuler et le faire renverser par des paroles de duperie, ou par l'intermédiaire d'hommes insensés, ou par traités d'accomodement, ou par l'autorité d'aucun personnage de l'ordre sacerdotal : soit évêque, soit prêtre, soit diacre, soit lecteur (ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲛⲱⲥⲧⲏⲥ), soit laïque : celui, dis-je, qui voudra

annuler ce testament sera étranger au Père, au Fils et au Saint Esprit.

"Qu'il vienne donc pour que j'entre avec lui en jugement devant le tribunal terrible de Dieu!

"De plus *l'archôn* qui gouvernera en ce temps-là: soit ⲡⲣⲟⲡⲟⲏⲧⲏⲥ, soit ⲗⲁⲩⲁⲓⲧⲉ[1] de bourg, soit homme quelconque: s'il permet à quiconque de renverser ce testament, il est étranger au Père, au Fils, et au Saint Esprit, consubstantiel et vivificateur.

"Moi, Paham, j'ai fait ce testament de ma main. Il est solide et souverain dans tous les lieux où on le montrera.

"Moi, Théophane, fils du bienheureux Jean, habitant de la ville de ⲕⲱⲥ, l'*apa* Paham m'a demandé; je suis témoin au testament selon sa demande.

"Moi, Nabornucius, cet humble prêtre de la catholique (église paroissiale) de Pisinai, je suis témoin à ce testament, selon la demande du moine Paham.

"Moi, Cyrille, fils du bienheureux Phébamon, l'hégumène de Pisinai, je suis témoin.

"Moi, Isaac, fils du bienheureux Phébamon de Pisinai, je suis témoin.

"Moi, Philothée de Meus à Pisinai, je suis témoin à ce testament tel qu'il est écrit.

"Moi, Paham, cet humble moine, fils d'Epiphane, prêtre de St. Colluthe à *Psenantonios*, moi, Paham, (dis je,) j'ai écrit ce testament de ma propre main. J'ai souscrit à tout ce qui y est écrit, et ensuite j'ai appelé d'autres hommes dignes de foi; ils y ont témoigné; et celui qui viendra pour annuler cette acte, contrairement à ma volonté, sera étranger à toute communion des chrétiens."

[1] Le ⲗⲁⲩⲁⲓⲧⲉ de bourg était analogue à l'ancien *πρεσβύτερος* d'époque ptolémaïque. Il y en avait un, et parfois deux par bourg. Djème était ainsi gouverné par des ⲗⲁⲩⲁⲓⲧⲉ. Le *pronoete* était un magistrat plus élevé.

UN PROCÈS PLAIDÉ DEVANT LES LAOCRITES SOUS LA RÈGNE DE PTOLÉMÉE SOTER.

Par M. Eugène Revillout.

Read 1st April, 1879.

En l'an 9 d'Alexandre fils d'Alexandre, une femme, nommée Tséchons, fille de Péthorpra, cédait au choachyte Pchelchons, fils de Pana, une maison qu'elle possédait à Thèbes. L'acheteur laissa pourtant Tséchons occuper, au moins en partie, cette maison pendant le reste de sa vie, mais quand, en l'an 8 de Ptolémée Soter, sa vendeuse mourut, il voulut entrer en possession de la propriété entière, et en disposer à son tour. Alors intervinrent des *tiers évicteurs*[1] prétendant que Tséchons n'avait pas le droit de céder une propriété dont elle n'avait, parait-il, que la jouissance, et la réclamant eux-mêmes. Pchelchons alla aussitôt trouver les deux fils de Tséchons (nés de deux pères différents), et les pria de lui assurer la possession du bien qui lui avait été cédé par leur mère. L'un d'eux, Thot, renouvela, à sa demande, la cession faite par Tséchons, et l'autre, Anachamen, promit d'en faire autant et de ne pas inquiéter le possesseur actuel. Mais cela ne suffisait pas à Pchelchons, qui, en vertu de la loi égyptienne de la βεβαίωσις, (déjà indiquée par le papyrus 1er de Turin,) *cita*, (dans le texte démotique que nous traduisons ci-contre,) Anachamen et Thot, en leur qualité d'héritiers de Tséchons, sa vendeuse, afin qu'ils vinssent eux-mêmes soutenir le procès qui lui était intenté par les *tiers évicteurs* dont nous avons parlé précédemment. C'est là *l'action* que les Athéniens nommaient βεβαιώσεως δίχη, et à laquelle les Romains faisaient allusion dans leurs *duplex stipulatio*, "hominem quem de te emi habere recte licere mihi heredique meo nec evinci eum hominem mihi heredive meo. *et si is homo a me heredive meo petatur, tamen de ea re agendum esse, et eam rem recte defendere,*

[1] Les tiers évicteurs sont les *tiers* qui revendiquent un bien possédé par un autre, et veulent provoquer l'*eviction* de cet autre, c'est-à-dire son expulsion.

ut denunciatum tibi erit, aut si ita factum non erit, quanti res erit, duplum prestari." Au fond l'affaire de Pchelchons a la plus grande analogie avec celle d'Hermias, qui nous a été conservée par le papyrus grec 1er de Turin. Mais l'affaire d'Hermias fut plaidée devant la juridiction grecque, et celle de Pchelchons devant les *laocrites*, selon l'expression du papyrus de Turin, c'est-à-dire, devant les 30 *suteni* hiéroglyphiques, dont nous entretient également Diodore de Sicile. Aussi Pchelchons perdit-il la maison qu'il avait achetée, à cause d'un vice de forme égyptien qui est au contraire excusé devant les juges grecs d'Hermias.

Il fallait en effet pour qu'une vente fût légale qu'elle eût été faite en trois contrats successifs : 1. *L'écrit pour argent* ou *le reçu du prix ;* 2. *L'écrit d'adjuration* (demandé aussi sous le nom d'ὅρκος chez les Athéniens). 3. *L'écrit d'abandon*, ou de *tradition* définitive de la propriété. Or *l'adjuration* (appelée dans le papyrus 1er de Turin στυριωσις, du mot copte ϣⲧⲱⲣⲓ *fidejubere*), avait été omise dans la vente faite à Pchelchons comme dans les ventes faites à Horus et consorts, les adversaires d'Hermias. L'avocat d'Horus plaida devant les juges grecs la question de *bonne-foi*, et fit excuser cette illégalité, toute égyptienne, en remarquant que la cause n'était pas portée devant les *laocrites* et ne devait par conséquent pas être jugée selon les loix égyptiennes. Mais il n'en fut pas de même pour Pchelchons, qui, jugé par les *laocrites*, vit déclarer la vente nulle et se fit dédommager comme il put par Anachamen et Thot. Donnons maintenant le texte de la *citation* qu'il leur avait adressée dès le début du procès, et qui porte au Louvre le numéro 2434. Nous remarquerons que cet acte est fait en faveur d'une femme Neschons, car par un autre acte rédigé la même année, (No. 2428 du Louvre.) Pchelchons avait cédé ses biens à cette femme. Cet acte de cession était ainsi conçu : "L'an 8, χοiak, du roi Ptolémée, fils de Ptolémée. Le pastophore d'Ammon Api de la partie occidentale de Thèbes, Pchelchons fils de Panas, dont la mère est Taaou, dit à la femme Neschons, fille de Teos, dont la mère est Taba, surnommée Set-hek-bau, je te fais cession (abandon complet) de la totalité des biens sur lesquels je t'ai fait un *écrit pour argent* auparavant, biens qui sont désignés

sur l'écrit ci-dessus. Desormais ils sont à toi : tes maisons, tes terrains nus, tes catacombes situées sur la nécropole de Djème, tes constructions d'Hermonthis, bref toutes les donations faites en ma faveur, tant dans le domaine sacré que dans le pays tout entier, ainsi que toutes les habitations et tous les biens quelconques qui sont à moi et que je posséderai à l'avenir. Je n'ai plus aucune réclamation à te faire à leur sujet. Depuis le jour ci-dessus, quiconque viendra t'inquiéter à cause d'eux, soit en mon nom, soit au nom de quiconque au monde, je le ferai s'éloigner de toi. Que je te fasse garantir ces biens par tout acte, toute parole au monde, en tout temps. A toi appartiennent les écrits et les actes de donation les concernant en quelque lieu qu'ils se trouvent. A toi de plus appartiennent mes maisons sises à Djème. Je t'ai donné l'écrit qu'avait fait en ma faveur la femme Taaou, fille de Pahor, ma mère. A toi tout ce dont je justifierai à ce sujet, ainsi que le droit en résultant. Tu m'as fait reconnaître le droit de *l'écrit pour argent* que je t'ai fait sur ces biens antérieurement, ainsi que *l'écrit d'adjuration* que j'ai encore à te faire, ce qui fait deux écrits, dont je dois respecter le droit en tout temps. en dehors de l'écrit ci-dessus, pour complèter trois écrits. Que j'observe leur droit en tout temps." C'est la une cession de tous biens entre mari et femme, comme nous en avons bon nombre, Pchelchons garantissait ses biens à sa femme. Il fallait donc qu'à son tour il s'addressât à ses vendeurs pour en obtenir la βεβαίωσις. La βεβαίωσις etait ainsi au second degré. Voici maintenant l'acte qui fait le principal sujet de cette note.

Papyrus 2434.

"En l'an 8 au mois de χοiak, du Roi Ptolémée,[1] fils de Ptolémée, le pastophore Ammon Api à l'occident de Thèbes, Pchelchons fils de Pana, dont la mère est Taaou. *fait lien* sur

[1] La série des papyrus du Louvre comprenant les papiers d'une famille de choachytes Thébains, depuis la règne du dernier Darius jusqu'à l'an 20 d'Evergete 1er, nous apprend *avec certitude* que Soter s'intitulait, "Ptolémée fils de Ptolémée." Lagos était seulement un surnom de son père, surnom dont les Lagides n'étaient pas fiers. C'est pour cela que selon M. Lumbroso le lièvre n'est jamais nommé *lagos* dans les Septantes ni dans les autres documents rédigés en Egypte.

Anachamen, fils de Téé-e-amen, et Thot, fils de Thotmen, dont la mère est Tséchons, les deux frères, en faveur de Neschons fille de Teos, dont la mère est Taba.

" Titre en faveur de Neschons,[1] fille de Teos, dont la mère est Taba."

" —— En l'an 9 au mois de χoiak du roi, à vie éternelle, il arriva que la femme Tséchons, fille de Pethorpra, leur mère, (la mère d'Anachamen et de Thot,) fit en ma faveur un *écrit pour argent* et un *écrit de cession* sur une maison batie, couverte, et sa cour, le tout situé dans l'Ammonium au nord de Thèbes dans le quartier de Naret. Ses voisins sont: au sud le terrain du pastophore d'Ammon Api, de la région occidentale de Thèbes, Osoroer fils de Teos, et le terrain du scribe Hor-no-fré, fils de Petamen, et le terrain de vignes en friches[2] ce qui fait trois terrains situés de l'autre côté de la rue du roi;—au nord, le terrain du pastophore de la maison d'or d'Ammon Petamen, fils de Ereius, dont les murs sont mitoyens avec la propriété; et la terrain de Pet-ammon-api fils de ..... Erpi;—à l'orient le terrain de la femme Ta-nofré-hotep, fille de Teos, dont les murs sont mitoyens avec la propriété; —à l'occident le terrain du pastophore de la maison d'or d'Ammon, Aou, fils de Ereius, dont les murs sont mitoyens avec la propriété. ——Tels sont les voisins de la maison entière et de sa cour, conformément aux écrits que Tséchons a faits en ma faveur sur elle. Celui qui viendra vers toi, (Neschons), pour t'inquiéter à ce sujet, soit en mon nom, soit au nom de quiconque au monde, je le forcerai de s'écarter de toi. Que je te garantisse cette maison par toute action, toute parole au monde en tout temps!

" Parla[3] Anachamen fils de Téé-é-amen, son fils, sur les écrits susnommés, en disant; ——'je te garantirai cette ' maison par toute parole au monde en tout temps.'

[1] Neschons est aussi surnommée Tahet, comme sa mère Taba était surnommée Set-hek-ban, ainsi que nous l'apprend expressément le papyrus 2428. Neschons ou Tahet est la mère de Patma, dont nous avons au Louvre le contrat de mariage (Pap. 2433.) (*Vide* Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., vol. VI, p. 284). Nous possédons une dizaine de papyrus la concernant.

[2] Le propriétaire de cette vigne en friches était inconnu.

[3] Après avoir raconté la vente faite en sa faveur par Tséchons, (vente qu'il cède à Neschons), Pchelchons en vient, dans cette partie, aux témoignages postérieurs d'Anachamen et Thot, fils de sa vendeuse Tséchons.

"——Et de plus Thot, fils de Thotmen, m'a fait un *écrit de cession* sur cette maison et sur sa cour. Il a dit:—'Que je 'te garantisse cette propriété par toute parole au monde. 'Je suis venu pour faire abandon de cette maison, indiquée 'plus haut, et de sa cour.'

"Voici[1] que cette obligation est sur la tête de Thot d'abord et de tout autre homme le représentant. Je fais fonds sur lui; car j'ai sa parole, formant titre de possession, pour une amende à verser en ma main, pour toute entreprise sur ma maison, indiquée plus haut, et sur sa cour. Cette amende est de 10 argenteus, 50 sekels, 10 argenteus en tout. —Qu'on me la fasse donner et qu'on me fasse faire cession de la propriété. Cette obligation est sur la tête de Thot d'abord et de tout autre homme, à mon égard, pour ma maison, indiquée plus haut, et sa cour. Qu'ils me fassent faire garantir cette propriété selon les écrits qui m'ont été faits. —Ma[2] garantie (*βεβαίωσις*)[3] à son sujet en tout temps est Anachamen, fils de Téé-é-amen, et Thot, fils de Thotmen, en tout deux personnes, susnommées. Je leur signifie le droit des écrits qu'ils m'ont faits sur cette maison, indiquée plus haut, et sur sa cour, afin qu'ils accomplissent le droit en résultant, en tout temps.—Si non, j'invoquerai contre eux les paroles qu'ils m'ont dites, et en vertu desquelles on ne pouvait revenir sur cette affaire.[4] J'ai fait cette déclaration pour attacher sur eux mon lien!"

[1] Pchelchons insiste sur les conséquences à tirer des adhésions des deux fils de Tséchons. L'un d'eux, Thot, a même fixé une amende qu'il doit payer si l'on inquiète Pchelchons. Cette amende, qu'il la paie! Quant au taux de l'amende, nous avons dit ailleurs que le *sekel* equivalait à la drachme d'argent ptolémaïque et que l'argenteus valait 5 sekels ou drachmes. Notre texte évalue l'amende dans les deux monnaies de compte les plus usuelles.

[2] La conclusion de Pchelchons était facile à tirer des prémices indiquées plus haut.

[3] Le mot démotique que nous traduisons par *garantir* et *garantie* correspond toujours à *βεβαιόω*, *βεβαίωσις* des textes grecs de même époque. C'est pourquoi nous avons mis *βεβαίωσις* entre parenthèses.

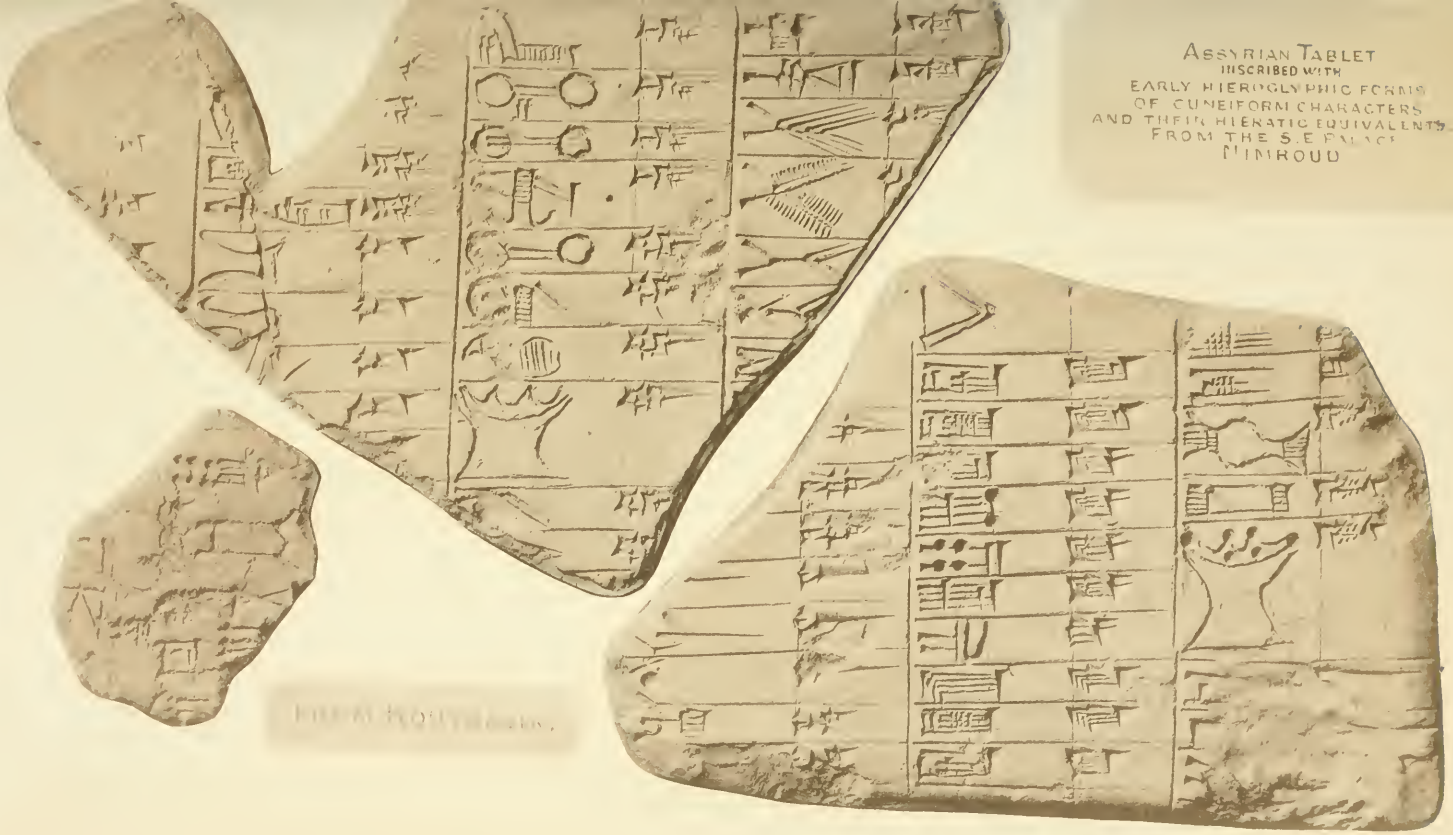
[4] *Revenir sur cette affaire* pour l'attaquer en justice; par exemple: les vendeurs étaient, comme nous l'avons dit, personnellement responsables de la vente qu'ils avaient faite, et, si cette vente était attaquée même par des tiers, ils se chargeaient de la défendre.

ON THE HIEROGLYPHIC OR PICTURE ORIGIN OF THE CHARACTERS OF THE ASSYRIAN SYLLABARY.

By Rev. William Houghton, M.A., F.L.S.

Read 4th June, 1878.

There is strong evidence to believe that all written language—"the art of recording events and sending messages," thus well expressed by Tylor—originated in pictures representing objects or ideas. The hypothesis is rendered probable by *à priori* reasons, by the well-known fact that among savage or semi-barbarous people in many parts of the world picture-writing is still found, and by the connection which exists—as in Egyptian, for instance—between the more modern writing and the ancient hieroglyphic system. On *à priori* grounds, it is natural to believe that in the infancy of mankind men would represent objects or ideas by rude and simple figures of the objects themselves, or of certain combinations of objects expressing ideas. Indeed, analogous in this respect is the method employed by children and persons who are unable to read or write. A child will draw a rude image of a man if he wishes to express the idea of a man by writing: a picture of a house stands for a house, that of a dog for a dog, and so on. An adult, whether educated or not, if unable to converse with people of whose language he is ignorant, will at once endeavour to express himself by pictures and gestures. "Picture-writing," as Tylor tells us, "is found among savage races in all quarters of the globe, and, so far as we can judge, its principle is the same everywhere. The pictures on the Lapland magic drums, of which we have interpretations, serve much the same purpose as the American writing. Savage paintings



ASSYRIAN TABLET
INSCRIBED WITH
EARLY HIEROGLYPHIC FORMS
OF CUNEIFORM CHARACTERS
AND THEIR HIERATIC EQUIVALENTS
FROM THE S.E. PALACE
NIMROUD

or scratchings, or carvings on rocks, have a family likeness, whether we find them in North or South America, in Siberia or Australia." ("Early History of Mankind," p. 88.) It is necessary to bear this fact in mind, because, as we shall presently see, we are often considerably helped to an interpretation of some unknown Accadian or Assyrian ideograph by comparing it with some known symbol of another nation or language, be it Egyptian or Chinese for instance. The interpretation of picture-writing, where ideas more or less complex are attempted to be delineated, is often a difficult task in the absence of any key to explain them; but simple figures of animals or other objects—"mere pictorial utterances without any historical sense," to use again Dr. Tylor's happy expression —are often able to explain themselves. The ancient Mexicans appear to have attained to the highest development of picture-writing, but even here very little progress in deciphering them would have been made, "were it not that there are a number of *interpretations* made in writing from the explanations given by Indians, so that the traditions of the art have never been wholly lost." In the earliest ages of the world, therefore, it seems highly probable that the mere delineation of objects, rude drawings of their form, stood for things or ideas, and were understood more or less by the barbarous races who used picture-writing; but they must often, one would imagine, have had great difficulty in expressing or interpreting such writing wherever they desired to give anything like a full and correct idea of some complex story which the mind wished to express. Hence, in process of time, "necessity being the mother of invention," there grew up a phonetic system of writing, which did not at first supersede the old picture form, but which supplemented and served to explain it. By hieroglyphic or picture-writing, properly so called—pure and simple—we understand any representations or symbols denoting objects or ideas, but not sounds: the phonetic system arose out of the hieroglyphics, which came to be used as letters of an alphabet, or as syllables, whether open or closed. The syllables in Egyptian, for instance, were sounded according to the initial sound of the hieroglyph, or the primitive pronunciation of the symbol;

thus, *e.g.*, *ru*, a month, stood for the letter *r* (or *l*); an owl (*moulad*) for *m*, its initial letter, and so on. M. Aubin, of Paris, discovered the interesting fact that phonetic hieroglyphs were in use amongst the Aztecs, an early Mexican race.

Fig 1.

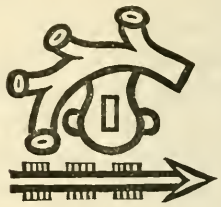


Fig. 2.

Fig. 1 is a picture of a snake with stone knives on its back. It represents ideographically, but not phonetically, the name of a certain king called Itzcoatl, *i.e.*, "knife-snake." Fig. 2 is the name of the same king phonetically spelt. The arrow armed with blades of obsidian has the sound of *itz* (tli); but the second part of the word *coatl*, "a snake," is not represented as a snake, but by an earthern pot *co* (mitl) and the sign of water, *a* (tl), above. Ideographically, we should interpret the symbol "knife-kettle-water," but it is to be read phonetically according to the sound of the Aztec words, Itz-co-atl. (Tylor. "Researches," &c., p. 94.)

In process of time the hiero-phonetic system (of Egyptian, for instance) showed symptoms of decay, for it was followed by the cursive hieratic, which had fewer symbols than the hieroglyphic, and the hieratic was followed by the demotic or enchorial, which at length lost all resemblance to the older forms.

The symbols employed by the Chinese in their written language are degenerated hieroglyphics. Their 214 radicals represent lines, names of animals, plants, implements, clothing, inanimate objects of nature, names of measures, colours, &c., &c.,[1] but they very rarely bear the slightest resemblance to their original pictures. How then do we know that they have descended from such originals? In Egyptian there is a gradual process of decay from the early

[1] Edkins' "Introduction to the Study of the Chinese Characters," p. 41.

picture-writing through the hieratic to the demotic, the transitional hieratic bridging the chasm which seems to separate the other two extremes. Occasionally the ancient forms of the Chinese characters do bear a certain resemblance to their original pictorial types; moreover, ancient Chinese authorities inform us that such and such characters do stand for certain objects, so that we may take it for a fact that Chinese writing in the long course of time has developed from an ancient hieroglyphic or pictorial type, although the resemblance has almost ceased to exist between the two. Let me give two or three instances. The character (*t'u*) means "a hare"; a more ancient form is the following ; and one more ancient still, , may, with a little play for the imagination, be taken to be a picture of a "hare sitting upright." The forms , , are supposed to represent "a rhinoceros." The information rests on reliable Chinese authority, and we are told that the ancient Chinese used the rhinoceros horn as a drinking cup, and that they knew the animal well. The next three characters, , , , of which the last form is the most ancient, represent a pig, which has literally "gone the whole hog," the bristles of the animal being all that is left, whilst *mâ*, "a horse," has the more ancient form of , in which the head, hair, legs, and tail of the noble quadruped are represented. With this may be compared a figure of a "horse" from a Babylonian cylinder, which, though exceedingly bad, is better than the Chinese character.

Amongst the Chinese the native tradition traces the art of the invention of writing to B.C. 2700, a date which, if it refer to the origin of picture-writing amongst them, must be far too recent. The small resemblance that the ancient Chinese forms bear to the objects themselves, would lead us to infer that a long course of time must have elapsed between the primitive picture-writing and the forms which sometimes, though even in a very trifling respect, represent them. The

most barbarous modern savage, I suspect, if he had ever seen either a horse, a pig, or a rhinoceros, would be able to depict any of those animals more like life than the old Chinese characters show them. A little child in a country village school gives a better picture of a man when he draws a grotesque figure of his master on his slate than that which the Chinese character (Rad. 9) gives as "picture of a man." But if we could get far enough back and see the earliest picture writing of the Chinese, we should doubtless find much greater resemblance between the object and its picture. In the character above, for instance, we have only the man's legs represented; the body and head have vanished altogether.

As in spoken language, whether inflectional or agglutinative, we meet with what philologists aptly term phonetic decay, so in written language, whether pictorially or phonetically expressed, we meet with great alterations and modifications of form from the original type — pictorial evanescence, if I may be allowed the expression; and doubtless this pictorial evanescence manifests itself in all written language. The time required for the change in form of written symbols or characters will probably be found to vary amongst different nations according as influences of one kind or another have been brought to bear upon the people themselves. The Egyptian hieroglyphics are not mere pictures, pure and simple, without any mixture of phonetics. The hieroglyphic system of this ancient and remarkable people would seem to point to a long antecedent period, in the earlier portion of which they were in a rude and semi-barbarous state—if, that is to say, they had developed within themselves the sources of intellectual culture and progress, not greatly influenced by extraneous agencies from some more enlightened nation. The degree of perfection to which, as the Egyptian monuments show, glyptic art had arrived, and which it long maintained, pre-supposes a high degree of civilization. The forms of the objects represented are well designed, and executed with marvellous skill and truthfulness to nature. But, as with other nations, so with the Egyptians probably; their

primitive state, we may suppose, was rude and barbarous, and their earliest endeavours to express objects or ideas by writing were more or less clumsy and untrained.

Let me now proceed directly to consider what is the subject of the present paper. Have the characters of the Assyrian syllabary a pictorial origin? If you will examine all the 522 ordinary Assyrian characters in Professor Sayce's Grammar, you will find a very few indeed that may be seen to exhibit their primitive form at the first glance: from the preliminary remarks I have already made we should anticipate such a result. I am now speaking solely of the simple characters: the composite forms may often distinctly reveal themselves and their meanings by giving the elements which compose them;—thus (*ca*) means "a mouth," and (*gar*) amongst several other significations, denotes "food"; therefore in (*cu*) we have the symbol for "food" placed within the symbol for "mouth" —the whole signifying "food" or "eating." But though we are certain of the meaning of this and many other compound ideographs, it by no means follows that we know the *original signification and form of the simple elements* which compose them. Again, we may be sure of the *meaning* of the simple elements, but may be quite in the dark as to their original *picture-form:* we may know the fact, but not the reason of it. I say, then, that with regard to these simple characters, there is scarcely one in the whole of the ordinary syllabary—with the exceptions of such as denote numbers, such as for "one," for "two," for "three," for "six," and so on—that clearly reveals its original form. But when we go back to the older forms of the characters, light soon begins to dawn upon us, and we are able to trace out in many instances their primitive form and meaning. If, therefore, we can thus trace back certain simplified forms of the ordinary Assyrian characters to their archaic and more elaborate type, and are able in these ancient forms to detect an unmistakeable likeness to the objects which the characters are known to denote—if we discover that the archaic signs are evident pictures of the objects—then we are justified in con-

cluding that all the characters of the syllabary have primitively a picture origin, though in many cases we may be unable to discover what that picture was.

I will now give a few instances of characters which will at once satisfy you of their hieroglyphic or picture origin. No. 442,[1] (*kha*), we know, signifies "a fish"; but in this form it no more resembles a fish than it resembles Polonius' "camel," or "weazel," or "whale"! Let us look at the hieratic Assyrian, which has , ; no one would suggest herein a picture of a fish. Let us try the Babylonian ; there is nothing piscine here. Will the hieratic Babylonian help us? Here there are several variants; I will select this ; now we see distinctly shadowed forth a fish-like form in the body, fins, and tail, which is double, as if to make up for the want of a head! Another form gets rid of one of these tails. We will next take a still older form, the archaic Babylonian ; and here is a rude but unmistakeable picture of a fish, which we also find in the oldest form of all, the linear Babylonian, which presents us with this picture.

Our next example shall be No. 110, , which means "a month," though no one would see how. The Babylonian has ; archaic Babylonian, ; the linear Babylonian, , which we may represent in a circular form—thus the compound ideograph being , "ten" × 3 = "30 (days) within the circle of the sun," or "a month." No. 109, (*nit*, Accadian), *ardu*, Assyrian, "man," "servant," has nothing human about it in this form. More ancient characters are , , . Let us make the last two stand up and speak for themselves like , , "men." Here we have a rude figure of a man, just such a figure as a modern school child would draw on his slate. But the above forms can explain, I think, their especial

[1] The references are taken from Sayce's "Grammar," 1st edition.

occupation and position in life. Fig. 1 has two bars across his thorax, which may represent folded arms, just as figures of men occur in early cylinders; see, for instance, Smith's "Chaldean Genesis," pp. 159, 283; so here probably we have an official, or overseer, head of the works, standing with folded arms, superintending the builders, himself under authority, but having also servants under him. Fig. 2 works in a meaner capacity, as is signified by the ordinary ideograph for a "captive" () placed within his breast; he has been taken a prisoner of war, and made to serve as a slave perhaps. The way of representing men by giving the head, breast, and legs, as shown above, may be seen in Indian picture-writing, as in Fig. 3, which contains a letter written on the bark of a tree.[1] I wish to draw particular attention to the small groups in the accompanying figure

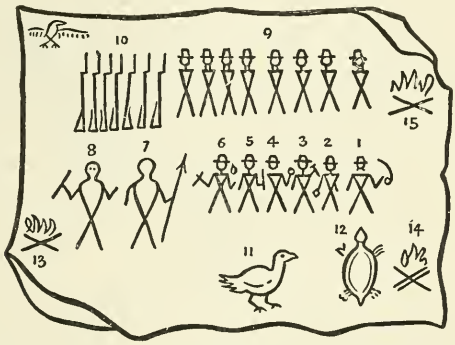


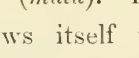
Fig. 3.

marked 13, 14, and 15, all of which denote "encampments," as indicated by the picture of fire ("flames"), and

[1] The following is the interpretation of this Indian bark letter, which I take from Lubbock's "Origin of Civilization" (pp. 42, 43): "On one occasion a party of explorers, with two Indian guides, saw one morning, just as they were about to start, a pole stuck in the direction they were going, and holding at the top a piece of bark, covered with drawings, which were intended for the information of any other Indians who might pass that way. No. 1 is the subaltern officer in command of the party; he is drawn with a sword to denote his rank. No. 2 denotes the secretary; he is represented as holding a book, the Indians having understood him to be an attorney. No. 3 represents the geologist, appropriately indicated by a hammer. Nos. 4 and 5 are attachés; No. 6 the

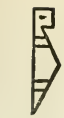
with what I take to be pieces of wood placed crosswise, as shown by the cross lines under the fire . I shall allude to this again when I come to consider the oldest Babylonian ideograph which represents "fire."

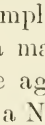
No. 169, , is more fully expressed in the archaic forms thus, *i.e.*, three stars, and denotes "brilliancy," or "a bright star." The modern form of , denoting "a star," or "a deity," shows pictorial evanescence, thus . The Egyptian () determinative has a like signification of "a star," or "a deity."

No. 193, , or shorter form , the Assyrian ideograph for "king" (*śarru*), is read phonetically in Accadian as *un-gal* = "man" + "great"; also *lugal* for (*mu*)*lugal* or "great lord" (*mulu*). In the oldest or linear Babylonian, No. 193 shows itself thus ; the first part is the Assyrian (*rabu*) "great," but what object it represents pictorially I do not know.[1] The second part of the character is the equivalent of the Assyrian , *nisu*, "man," and is an exceedingly rough and rude picture of a man, thus  , which I will place

interpreter. The group of figures marked 9 represent seven infantry soldiers [the woodcut above is taken from Schoolcraft's "Indian Tribes," where eight infantry soldiers are represented], each of whom, as shown in group No. 10, was armed with a musket. No. 15 denotes that they had a separate fire, and constituted a separate mess. Figs. 7 and 8 represent the two Chippewa guides; these are the only human figures drawn without the distinguishing symbol of a hat. This was the characteristic seized on by them, and generally employed by the Indians, to distinguish the *red* from the *white* race. Figs. 11 and 12 represent a prairie hen and a green tortoise, which constituted the sum of the preceding day's chase, and were eaten at the encampment. The inclination of the pole was designed to show the course pursued, and there were three hacks in it below the scroll of bark to indicate the estimated length of this part of the journey, computing from water to water."

[1] Mr. Rylands suggests that this character may be a rude figure of a crown or umbrella; so that the "king" is the "crowned man." I think this a very probable explanation.


upright. Now where lines meet as at *a*, they may be supposed to cross, as variant forms of other characters show, so that we may, by continuing the lines which meet forming the angle *a*, complete the figure, thus and now we have a figure of a man with head and eye, body and legs. Here again we may compare with this legless man a North American Indian, whose form is very similar.[1]



No. 232, , "an ox," represents the horned head of that animal; in hieratic Assyrian the character shows itself thus ; if we set it upright, we may see a faint resemblance to an animal's head with two horns, thus ; the linear Babylonian has , *i.e.* , where an ox's head is clearly intended; the part being put for the whole; the ideograph denoting an "ox," "cattle," "bull," as we say so many *head* of cattle, head of game, &c.

No. 242, , a wild-bull, is merely another form of the preceding, as the archaic forms show; there is however this difference, that whereas No. 232 denotes the domestic animal, this one stands for the wild one, as is shown by the form of this character in the archaic Babylonian which has upon the head the D.P. of "country," ; so that this ideograph would designate "the long-horned bull of the country," *i.e.*, "the wild bull," which I have elsewhere endeavoured to show is the *Bos primigenius* of palæontologists.

No. 509, (*su*), a "foot," as Sayce has shown, was originally the picture of a "leg," and this is partly indicated by the older forms as , , , where we have a rude drawing of a man's leg. Now in all these instances, I think, we have been able to trace back the characters to their undoubted original form and meaning, and they are sufficient to show that the various signs of the Assyrian

[1] The two marks on the abdomen mean "fasting for two days"; the four on the part representing the legs, "sitting still for four days." (Tylor's "Res.," p. 86.)

syllabary, or to speak more correctly the signs of the Accadian inventors of that syllabary, were originally *pictures* representing objects and ideas. We cannot, however, in all cases be certain that we are correct in our explanations of the signs; some will commend themselves as very probable, others may appear doubtful, whilst some—which come to us in "such questionable shapes" that we cannot but speak to them over and over again—persistently refuse to give any account of themselves whatever, keeping most obstinate silence, like Horace Smith's "incommunicative" mummy! I will now take a few more characters, the interpretation of which is not so obvious, though I think probable. No. 73, , (*khu*), is a very interesting character; it must be considered in company with No. 77 (*nam*, *tsim*), which besides denoting "destiny" also means "a bird," especially a "swallow." The archaic forms of No. 73 are almost identical with the ordinary Assyrian, and give no clue as to original form. In No. 77, however, we have a great many variants in the archaic forms, and from some of them I shall be able to give a probable explanation of both these characters. The sign , which has the phonetic values of *khu*, *pak*, was known to the Accadians under the technical name of *musen*, as being composed of the two characters, *mu* "to give," and *se* or *sen*, "seed." Now this sign shows no trace of such a composition in any of its forms, so far that is as I am aware, but No. 77, , is clearly an ideographic compound of No. 73 and No. 320 , which equals "bird" + "seed" or "eggs." The archaic forms of this character (No. 77) are numerous; in the hieratic Assyrian we have , in hieratic Babylonian with variants; in archaic Babylonian or , with variants; the linear Babylonian has the form . Both Nos. 73 and 77 are, I think, mere variants of the same character, and go back to the same original picture. Perhaps the first part of No. 77 was

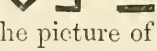
the figure of a "bird" with expanded wings dropping seed or eggs; thus . The archaic form is very similar to , one of the variants of *mu*, "to give"; hence perhaps the name of this character, *musen*, *i.e.*, "giver of eggs,"—in allusion to the prolific nature of many birds, as, by the way, is implied in our English word "bird," the Anglo-Saxon "brid," the young of birds; hence the words "brood," "breed," &c. But we have yet to seek an explanation of the latter part of the ideograph in No. 77, thus represented , , . Now the middle form is identical with No. 199, *cas*, *ras*, and denotes "two roads crossing one another"; or simply "the number two"; the first and third characters have a similar picture of roads crossing, contained within two or more lines forming part of a square. Let us take the older linear Babylonian sign, which I interpret to mean "roads crossing within the canopy of heaven" , with which latter form we may compare the Egyptian , determinative for "heaven"; the whole compound ideograph therefore, , I suggest, may mean "bird + roads + vault of heaven," *i.e.*, bird leaving the country in its aërial flight and returning, implied by the sign . Here I think we have a rude picture or hieroglyph of some migratory bird, such as a swallow or a swift. In the Deluge Tablet the Babylonian Noah is represented sending out from his ship a dove, a swallow, and a raven. Now the Accadian character for "swallow" is sign No. 77—the one we are considering, —with the addition of the usual determinative affix for a "bird." Its Assyrian equivalent is phonetically spelt thus   , *śi-nun-tu*, which in Aramaic, סְנוּנִיתָא *śenunitha*, means a "swallow" or "swift." This bird it would appear the Accadians called the *nam-khu*, or "destiny bird," "the foretelling bird," probably because by its visiting and leaving the country at special seasons of the year, it "proclaimed" (*nabu*) or foretold the approach or the

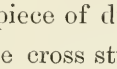
departure of heat and cold. I may mention that the common swift (*Cypselus apus*) has been frequently observed in great numbers at Erzerum from May to September.

In No. 74, , a phonetic compound of No. 73 and No. 138, resolvable into "bird + making," but which has the meaning of "left hand" or "middle," there may be some allusion to a swallow in augury.

No. 78, , is compounded of Nos. 77 and 403, and signifies "bird + soldier," and I think specially refers to the bird which feeds on the slain in battle, birds of prey, as eagles or vultures, which are frequently depicted on the monuments accompanying armies; when the same character signifies "insects," we may interpret it as meaning "winged creatures" + "hosts" or "multitudes," in reference more particularly perhaps to the numberless swarms of locusts, with which the people would be familiar.

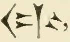
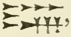
Any ancient hieroglyphic representing "fire" is of great ethnological interest. Fire-worship, so universal amongst savage and primitive races, arose partly from the beneficial perception of the heat of the sun, an appreciation of the universal value of fire, from the difficulty in obtaining a light when the fire was allowed to go out, and from a belief in its divine origin.

No. 244, , is the usual Assyrian character for "fire," and I think I am able to give a satisfactory solution of this sign, and to deduce an interesting historical fact therefrom. The Assyrian word for "fire" is *isatu;* Heb. אֵשׁ (*êsh*); the Accadian is *gi-bil.* Many different forms of this character occur in nearly all the older inscriptions, but none of them are able to kindle any thought which will throw light upon the meaning of the ideograph, till we come to the most ancient form of all, the linear Babylonian, where it is thus represented—  . The centre figure I take to be the picture of a circular bit of wood with a hole in the middle, ; the sign is the character ( ), which signifies "wood"; the cross-lines denote two bits of stick placed crossways; the

horizontal lines facing the perforated wooden disc signify lines or sparks of fire issuing from the disc, and caused by the rapid rotation of the piece of dry wood  within the hole of the disc. The cross sticks are dried pieces to serve to keep the fire in when once kindled, precisely similar in this respect to what every modern housemaid in the land is in the habit of doing. When she "lays the fire" she places the bits of wood crossways; we have already seen in the Indian picture-letter above that fire is represented by "flames" and "cross-sticks." If this in the main point be the true interpretation of the picture, we have an interesting illustration of the use of the "fire-drill" amongst the early Accadians.[1] It will be appropriate here to quote a few remarks from a most excellent and trustworthy authority on such subjects, the justly esteemed author of "Primitive Culture," &c., and "Researches into the Early History of Mankind," Edward Burnet Tylor:—"The geographical range of the simple fire-drill is immense. Its use among the Australians forms one of the characters which distinguish their culture from that of the Polynesians, while it appears again among the Malays in Sumatra and the Carolines. It was found by Cook in Unalashka, and by the Russians in Kamschatka, where for many years flint and steel could not drive it out of use among the natives, who went on carrying every man his fire-sticks. There is reason to suppose that it prevailed in India before the Aryans invaded the country, bringing with them an improved apparatus, for at this day it is used by the wild Veddahs of Ceylon, a race so capable of resisting foreign innovation that they have not learnt to smoke tobacco. It prevails, or has done so within modern times, through great parts of South Africa, and it was in use among the Guanches, inhabitants of the Canary Islands,

[1] Since the above was written, I have been pleased to find that my interpretation of this old Accadian hieroglyph receives confirmation from Mr. Boscawen's discovery of the use of the fire-stick in kindling the fires for temple worship among the Accadians (p. 279, present vol.). I am also glad to find that so good an authority as Mr. Boscawen, who has independently turned his attention to some of these original picture-forms, has in several instances come to the same conclusions as myself. ("Prehistoric Civilisation of Babylonia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, viii, 21.)

in the seventeenth century. In North America it is described among Esquimaux and Indian tribes. It was in use in Mexico, Central America, in the West Indies, and in South America, down as far as the Straits of Magellan" ("Researches," &c., pp. 238–239).

No. 367,  , appears to be an ideographic compound of Nos. 232 and 329, and ; this we shall find to be the case when we compare with this character its equivalent archaic forms. But in all attempts to interpret the characters of the syllabary, it is absolutely necessary to trace back the more modern to the more ancient forms of representation: we must move very cautiously in drawing conclusions from similarity of form between two modern characters, because we find that two or more similar modern characters have sometimes grown out of a very different original hieroglyphic. Let me here give one illustration only; it would be easy to adduce others. No. 287,  , "man," looks as if it must be connected with No. 288, , "a brother," "to help," "light". The family likeness is most striking; the kindred ideas of "man" and "brother" would seem to point the way to a community of thought represented by the same original picture. But let us see. It has already been shown that the oldest form of No. 287 is , a rude figure of "the body and head of a man"; but No. 288 has its most archaic form thus . What it means I know not; but it cannot be related to the other form, nor be intended for "a man." Now the similarity of form between the ordinary and more modern Assyrian characters points to a time when the difference exhibited by the archaic types became less marked, and a certain approximation to similarity of form arose; and this we find is an existing fact. One of the variants of the hieratic Babylonian for No. 288 is whilst the hieratic Babylonian for No. 287 is . To revert to No. 367, , the idea suggested above as to its being composed of Nos. 232 and 320, is borne out by archaic forms, , , . Here we have , "bull's head with two horns," and the sign , which

pictorially may represent "the vault of heaven above," thus ; the primary meaning of this character is "a star," "brilliancy." The compound ideograph, I think, has reference to the constellation Taurus, "bull in the heavens." Taurus, besides the stars whose triangular arrangement has given its name to the constellation, includes Aldebaran and the Pleiades in modern astronomy; but I suspect that the constellation Taurus, as known to the early star-gazers of Babylonia, was only that portion of it which is bovine, and has the aspect of a bull's head. In modern almanacs the astronomical symbol for Taurus (♉) and the Accadian sign for "bull" are identical in form. Taurus is a very bright and striking constellation, and I suspect that *the star* (*cacabu*) which the character specially refers to, is ζ in Taurus, which forms one of the angles of the bull's head, and is remarkably brilliant. The signification of "wooden ship" which this sign also has, is most likely a subsequent idea; it may have reference to some vessel having the figure-head of the constellation Taurus; but this is mere guess-work. I believe the original picture form of is, as I have said, that part of the constellation which has the aspect of a bull's head , with , "the canopy of heaven overhead."[1]

Nos. 402, , and 403, , are kindred both in form and meaning, and have descended from the same original picture of the "sun," archaically represented thus , , (⊙), each character is a good instance of pictorial evanescence or decadence from the primitive type, as well as of differentiation of one original form. No. 301, (*id*), though apparently connected with (*gar*), has no real relationship with it. In its most ancient form it appears to be the picture of a double-toothed comb , , as is shown by

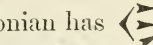
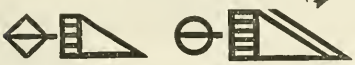
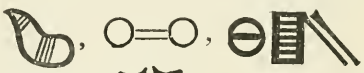
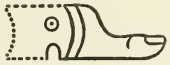
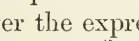
[1] The old technical name of this character is *gis-pu-guttu*, showing that at the time the name was given, the form of the character resembled a combination of , , and . was also called *gis-pu*.—A. H. S.

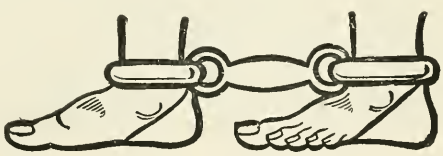
a tablet in the British Museum.[1] The alterations in form which this character has undergone are great, as may be seen from the following selected signs. The hieratic Assyrian has , Babylonian , hieratic Babylonian , , the archaic Babylonian or ; there are other variants. In the British Museum tablet this curious figure is given as an equivalent of the same character *id;* on another part of the tablet a similiar figure, minus the knobs, , is explained by the sign , the archaic form of *ner*, "a foot." The character has the meanings of "hand," "power," "throne," and "one." Now, was the original picture that of a "hand" or a "comb"? The ideas of "power" and "throne" which the character denotes are probably offshoots from the idea of "hand" implying "force," "capability"—thus we have in Accadian   *id-an*, "a general," literally "hand" + "high," "ruling with a high hand." But was the character primarily a pectinated hand or a digitated comb? On the principle of "fingers before forks," I think the outstretched hand is the original idea embodied in the character, and that as the hand would be the first instrument for combing savage locks, the idea of a comb was suggested thereby. The idea of "unity" implied in the character, probably originated, as Mr. Sayce suggests to me, in the primitive man holding up his hand to denote "one."[2] But what the knobbed figure can mean, or what the other figure, in what way "a comb," in what way "a foot," is to me at present a puzzle.

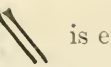
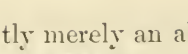
Let us next take the character No. 353, (*ner*), the usual meanings of which are "a foot" and "a yoke." Here, again we have very decided pictorial evanescence; for with the exception of one of the forms of the hieratic Assyrian, (dual number), none of the rest, so far as I am aware,

[1] *Vide* plate of Assyrian Tablet, Nimroud.

[2] Sir H. Rawlinson, in speaking of the devices on the tombs of the Lurs, mentions the double-toothed comb as the distinctive mark of the female sex.

bear much resemblance to the ordinary Assyrian. The archaic Babylonian has  ; the linear Babylonian  ; while the British Museum tablet has the curious signs  , and, as we have seen above, of . I think we are pretty safe in taking the linear Babylonian forms to be rude pictures of the human foot with sandals round the insteps—thus,  , showing the ankle, instep, and great toe, with a strip of leather as part of the sandal, while the horn-like figure , turned the other way, may represent the great toe alone, the part being put for the whole. But the character denotes not only a "foot," but a "yoke," and here I suggest that we have not a figure of any actual object as such—like the yoke of a chariot, or the ox-yoke for ploughing—but the idea of subjugation or servitude implied in the foot of a victorious monarch, and which conquered kings of other nations were made to kiss in token of submission, so that the frequent expressions in the Assyrian historical records, such as "to my presence they came and kissed my feet," "to my presence they came and took my yoke," are synonymous. This explanation seems to be supported by the fact that wherever the expression "they took my yoke," occurs, the dual number  *sepi-ya*, "my two feet," is used. But there is still another equivalent of to be accounted for in the curious spectacle-shaped figure of the British Museum Tablet. May we not have here the same idea of subjugation depicted in the actual representation of fetters or manacles for the feet with which prisoners of war were frequently bound? May we not see in the rude form of ("a yoke") a portion of the fetters so well drawn on the Assyrian monuments?



The other figure  is evidently merely an abbreviated form of the linear Babylonian  just mentioned.

Another character, No. 516, of frequent occurrence in the historical inscriptions, (*sutul*, *sudun*, Accadian) *nîru*, Assyrian, is an ideographic expression for some form of "fetter" different from the one figured above. It was made of wood, as the D.P. in the inscriptions shows, and not of iron like the other. I have not met with any archaic forms of this character, which in its ordinary form appears to resolve itself into "foot" + "girdle" + "two," and to imply some wooden manacle encircling the two feet—some ancient form of "stocks," for instance. In the Book of Job, xiii. 27, we read, "Thou puttest my feet also in the stocks" (וְתָשֵׂם בַּסַּד רַגְלָי). See also xxxiii. 11. The LXX (Vat.) renders this passage, ἔθου δέ μου τὸν πόδα ἐν κωλύματι, "And thou hast placed my foot in an impediment"; the Alex. has ἐν κυκλώματι, where the idea of "encircling" is shown. Aquila explains סַד, ὡς ἀπὸ ξύλου εἱρκτῆς. Sch. interprets ἐν ζυλοπέδῃ, ἐν ποδοκάκῃ, lit. "foot-plague"—some kind of "stocks." There is little doubt that some wooden fetter is here denoted by the Hebrew word סַד, which encircled the foot, and it is probable that the Assyrian character denoted originally such a fetter, though it may have also been used figuratively to imply "subjugation."

The sign which in the British Museum tablet stands for "foot," "yoke," is, in the linear Babylonian, given as the picture-form of (No. 352) *cis*, "a multitude." Perhaps the idea implied in this case is that of a "bond of union," "the uniting of bodies," hence "multitudes," "collections of people." No. 351, , may, I think, explain itself. It occurs in a bilingual tablet which gives the names of various animals (W.A.I. II. 6, 7,) and is there phonetically expressed , *di-ta-nu*. Here is an archaic form of this character *i.e.*, as we have seen,

"a foot," with *a-si* subscript, the compound ideograph apparently reading "foot" + "water" + "eye," or "tear." We are certain that some animal is intended, and I think we may approximately tell what it is. The subscript character *a-si*, "tear," is expressive of what exists in certain deer (*cervidæ*), and antelopes (*antilopeæ*). I allude to the *lachrymal* or *sub-orbital sinus* or "tear-pit," characteristic of many deer and some antelopes. This *sinus* is a fold of the skin near the animal's eye, containing at the bottom a gland which secretes a sebaceous or fatty wax, capable of being shut or opened at the will of the animal. Its function, I believe, is not known; but so manifest an organ could not have escaped the observation of the Accadians, who thus as it seems ideographically represented such deer or antelopes as possessed these sub-orbital tear-pits by a sign denoting "swiftness," as implied in the character for "foot," and "tears" or "weeping" as denoted in the subscript sign.[1]

The old forms of (*gi*, *śa*), No. 81, I think clearly tell the story of its original meaning and picture, which, however, could not be seen from the ordinary Assyrian. The Babylonian form is identical with the Assyrian; the hieratic Assyrian has , , the hieratic Babylonian , , the archaic Babylonian , or , the linear Babylonian , which we will place upright (*a*), where we have a rude representation of one of those gigantic reeds (*b*) so common in the marshes of Mesopotamia, frequently depicted on the monuments.

a. *b.*[2]

[1] If I am right in this explanation, we must exclude the chamois as the animal denoted by *di-ta-nu*, because that antelope is destitute of tear-pits.

[2] A comparison of the linear Babylonian form of this ideograph with that of the ideograph which denotes "life" (, or , linear), seems to show that the latter originally represented a flower growing up with open leaves, and hence "life" in general.—A. H. S.

The composite character meaning "mother," , No. 146, is another interesting form, and helps perhaps to explain the high position a woman occupied, and the honour in which she was held by the Accadian inventors of the syllabary. Here the ordinary Assyrian is able to explain itself, and the meaning is fully established by the archaic equivalents. The ideograph is a compound of No. 142, "a cavity," "house," "receptacle," and No. 4, , "deity" (Divine germ). Archaic forms are , . No. 147, , is merely a fuller form of the same character, whose archaic sign is , the whole being interpreted as "Divine germ," or "Divine germ of heaven implanted within the womb."[1] The Assyrian monarchs as well as the Accadians regarded themselves as indirectly the offspring of the gods. Thus Nebuchadnezzar (W.A.I. I, 59, 24) says of himself, "at the time Merodach, the Lord, the God my creator made me, he placed a germ (*nabniti*) in the mother." So too Assurbanipal says of himself, "I whom Assur and Sin . . . . in the body of the mother had made to govern Assyria" (Smith's "Assurbanipal," 4). Nos. 148, 151, 152 readily explain themselves, thus, = "house + tears," "lamentation," though no such actual signification is known to occur; = "house" + "propitious eye," *i.e.*, "mercy," "favour." (*remu*) = "house + woman," *i.e.*, "grace" or "favour," again implying the idea of dignity and grace, "which among the Accadians always attached itself to the woman." No. 155, , "a locust," may be a compound of No. 154, , "to cover," hence a "swarm"; while the contained signs may refer to

[1] I think it rather points to the high estimation in which the mother was held in the Accadian family, she was as it were the "deity of the house."—A. H. S. The ideograph has the meaning definitely of "mother" and "large," the latter involving the idea of pregnancy; so perhaps both ideas may be intended.

"devouring" and "smiting," aptly expressing that insect scourge, the "locust."[1]

No. 320, , "corn," "seed," is represented in the archaic forms as , which explains its meaning of "corn," "seed"; similarly No. 274, , —in the old form, —is a picture of "corn-grains," and shows that the idea of "giving," "weighing," "placing" (which the sign denotes), originally referred to the act of giving or weighing out corn.

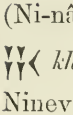
The ideograph of the city of Nineveh, , phonetically expressed—

, or ,

D.P. Ni - nu - a Ni - na - a

(Ni-nâ,) is composed of No. 167, = *lab*, and No. 442, *kha*, "fish." Its archaic picture is , so that Nineveh was the "fish-town."

No. 177, , Assyrian *eru*, "bronze," of which the older form is , may be intended for a representation of a bronze dish, which we know, from specimens in the British Museum, the Assyrians used. The form is circular, and it has also a moveable circular handle. (See a figure in Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 183.)

The archaic form of No. 285, *ra*, "to inundate," "enlarge," "overspread," shows us that the original picture was probably one representing "channels of irrigation," thus  [2] No. 374, *mi*, "darkness," of which an older form is , gives us a picture of the vault of heaven darkly shaded, . With this we may compare the Egyptian determinative , "storm," "clouds," though this character has also the opposite meaning

[1] is "a blade," "sting," or pointed tail; is "food."—A.H.S.

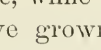
[2] Was not this a picture of drawing up the irrigation bucket?—A. H. S.

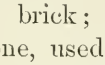
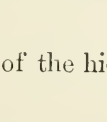
of "lightning," "brilliancy"; the descending lines in this case standing either for rays of light (sunbeams), or lines of obscuring rain and tempest.

As a rule, of course, the oldest forms of the characters are the nearest approximations to the original pictures; occasionally, however, a more recent form will give the clue which we are unable to detect in the archaic. Thus, for instance, No. 342, , *di*, whose primary signification seems to be that of "resting," "ending," "setting" (of the sun), refuses to give any account of itself in all its numerous variants. The linear Babylonian has this form ; but in the hieratic Babylonian, among other forms, one occasionally meets with this one , which appears to be a picture of the sun setting behind the mountains, , , .

No. 408, *lib*, *sâ*, always with the meaning of "that which is interior," as the "heart" of a man or the "middle" of a city, &c., has suffered from pictorial metamorphosis to a great extent; for no one could form any idea of the original hieroglyphic from its original form. It is apparent enough, however, in the hieratic Babylonian , the archaic Babylonian , and the linear Babylonian , "something placed in the middle," corresponding with our ⊙ "centre of a circle."

No. 160, *tak*, Assyrian *abnu*, "a stone," is a very puzzling character; I can merely suggest an explanation. None of the ancient forms of this sign, as , hieratic Assyrian; , , hieratic Babylonian; linear Babylonian, bear a most distant resemblance to "a stone" properly so called—I mean any natural product, such as rock or pebble—whether rounded or angular. In comparing this character (No. 160) with No. 170, —which has also, as one of its phonetic values, that of *tak*—I think we may be able to form

a reasonable conjecture as to the original picture. Now the meaning of this latter sign is rather that of "a brick" than a stone, while its archaic forms show that both it and No. 170 have grown out of the same hieroglyphic. The linear Babylonian has this form  . The early inhabitants of Chaldea (the inventors of this alphabet) came, it must be remembered, from the high lands of Elam, where wood rather than stone would be their general building material; but when they came down to the alluvial plains of the lower country, they would naturally avail themselves of the excellent clay with which that land abounds. Doubtless the idea of baking clay in a kiln, in order to form bricks, was suggested by what the people saw taking place under their eyes, namely, the hardening process of the clay, and its rapid conversion into brick-material by the influence of a hot sun—just as, to a certain extent, we may see taking place in the "stiff land" of the agriculturist during very hot weather in our own country. Soon the people copied nature in her clay-hardening, and, moreover, improved upon it by adding layers of reed-matting to consolidate and keep together the dried clay. But besides these sun-dried bricks, they used as well kiln-burnt bricks, which contained no reed-matting at all. Perhaps in Nos. 160 and 170 the pictures show bricks of this latter description, namely, kiln-burnt material; whilst Nos. 506, 507, and 508, , , , refer more particularly to sun-dried bricks.

The kiln bricks are almost as hard as stone, and very durable, being nearly one foot square, and about two inches thick. I think that the archaic form  [1] represents a brick and half a brick; the square whole brick, and the half triangular one, used for the corners of walls, &c. Or the picture may be meant to represent portion of a brick pavement, which, when viewed diagonally, would give the appearance of the hieroglyph  . This idea seems to derive support from No. 327,

[1] The old name of is *suridu*.—A. H. S.

, an old form of which character is , "floor," "foundation stones," *i.e.*, "quarries and half quarries of brick or tile," viewed diagonally, . Of the characters , , , we have no recorded meaning in the first form; perhaps the three figures are all allied, and the known meaning of one may throw light on the unknown meaning of another. No. 507 denotes "brick," or "brickwork," and "the month of Sivan," the brickmaking month of the year, when the sun was hot, and the weather favourable for sun-dried material.

No. 506, , is thus represented by older forms. In hieratic Assyrian we have , ; in hieratic Babylonian , ; in archaic Babylonian we have ; and in linear Babylonian , in which last picture there may be intended "bent reed matting," which we know entered largely into the composition of sun-dried bricks. Canon Rawlinson says: "In the first place, at intervals of four or five feet, a thick layer of reed matting was interposed along the whole extent of the building, which appears to have been intended to protect the earthy mass from disintegration by its projection beyond the rest of the external surface." ("Ancient Monarchies," vol. i, p. 73.) Perhaps therefore , , may represent matted reeds. In No. 507 we appear to have + with which latter form we know No. 274, , "to give," "to lay," is connected. Now one of the meanings of the last sign is "a tablet" made of something; but the inscription is here broken, and a character lost. May therefore the compound ideograph be read as "reed-matting + layers of clay"? Compare with this character that of *ak*, "to build," No. 87; the oldest form of which appears to be a rude picture of brickwork and reed matting, as described by Rawlinson.

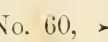
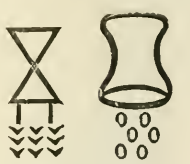
No. 508, , seems to be made up of *gu*, doubled, and may denote "strong land" suitable for a "foundation," which the Assyrian word *ussusu* signifies.

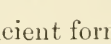
No. 66, , , (*nun*, *zil*), *rabu*, Assyrian, "a prince," is thus shown in one of its archaic forms, . Professor Sayce gives me the following very satisfactory explanation of this character. If we turn to the archaic form of *gusur* (No. 143), "a beam of wood," which is , it is clear that the ideograph is compounded of , "a door," and , which must therefore represent "a beam of wood," or "staff." Standing by itself, would therefore be the "sceptre" carried by a prince, and hence "the prince" himself. One of the archaic Babylonian forms of is , where , "the hand," is added to show that in this instance the staff of wood was carried in the hand. But what is the original picture of ? No. 241, *uku* (Accadian), "people," *calama*, "country," as represented in the archaic Babylonian , or , may be resolved into the picture of "house" + "sceptre," or "ruler," and the whole stand for "a people," "a ruled nation," "an inhabited country."

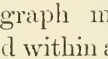
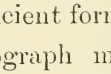
No. 230, , meaning "hero," "chain," "shaft of a tree," "to measure," may, I think, be fully explained in all its meanings by the archaic form of the character, which I take to be the picture of a "back-bone," and with which we may compare the Egyptian determinative , "backbone." A similar ancient form of this sign will also stand for the back or loins.[1]

No. 239, , "a house," seems to point to the time when the Accadians dwelt in the wooded high land of Elam (before they descended into the alluvial plains of Chaldea), where timber rather than brick was the material

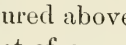
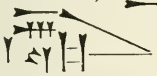
[1] I would rather explain as "a staff of wood," or "a flowering reed."—A. H. S.

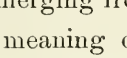
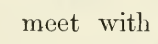
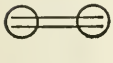
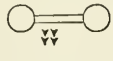
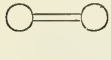
with which they constructed their dwellings, as the linear Babylonian sign = "wood + cavity" clearly shows. No. 60, , "to descend," was, I think, originally a picture of "grain falling from a vessel," as shown in the linear Babylonian thus  ,  and then came to have the meaning of "descending" generally; it is used of the sun "setting," and the dove is called *tu-khu*, "the descending bird"; compare the New Testament expression "descending like a dove."

The meaning of No. 417, , "a small worm," is not apparent in its ancient forms  . I might perhaps suggest the ideograph may now represent "a star" or "brightness" placed within a circle, and the whole be referred to some species of glow-worm of the family *Lampyridæ*.

No. 418, , "a worm," which only differs from 417 by the addition of two vertical strokes in the Assyrian, is, in the old Babylonian forms  , suggestive enough of an annelid, both in a lengthened or larval form , and in a spiral attitude , the ideograph being "an elongated worm that can roll itself up." No. 196, (*cip*, *kip*), the meaning of which is unknown, has deteriorated considerably when compared with its archaic forms. The hieratic Assyrian has ,  , the linear Babylonian . The ordinary Assyrian , is one of the elements in the compound ideograph , meaning "huntsman," "beater," or some such sportsman. Phonetically spelt it shows itself as *dam-gar*, which is probably Accadian, as is also *ibira*, its other name. In the inscription recording a hunting expedition of Tiglath-Pileser I, *dam-gar* is preceded by the D.P. for "official," as . In the compound , the enclosing part of the character signifies a "mouth,"

"enclosure." Assyrian kings were in the habit of capturing wild animals, as deer and the young of wild cattle, alive; and this must have been effected by nets or pit-falls; may the old forms figured above represent a net? the first square picture being that of a net showing the meshes, while the curved figure may refer to the mode of setting the net, which we know was done in a curved line, closed at one end, and open at the other, for the entrance of the game; or the hollowed out figure may be intended to denote pit-falls, much made use of in olden days.

No. 173,  (*uk*), is thus represented or  in archaic Babylonian; the form therefore seems here to be represented by , "the sun," or "the day"; and that portion of the character still survives in the ordinary Assyrian. Here then perhaps we have the rude picture of a "foot" or "base" with "day" or "sun" subscript; the whole ideograph representing "light" or "day-break," by a picture of the sun emerging from the base of the earth.

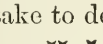
I believe that the meaning of the character  (*az*, *ats*, *aś*), which has the Assyrian rendering of *atsu*, is at present unknown; the ancient forms of this sign, however, clearly point to the fact that the original picture was one representing a yoke for cattle in ploughing, or for horses, mules, or asses in drawing carriages or chariots; the Babylonian differs but slightly from the Assyrian; in archaic Babylonian we have ,  ; in the British Museum tablet we meet with these four forms,  ,  ,  , and . Now we have already seen that denotes a "yoke" or "fetters"; the first form, , I believe is a rude picture of a portion of the yoke of a chariot or other vehicle, with the sign of "four," , under its curved part; the whole being intended to represent "a yoke for a horse or other

quadruped"; with this we may compare the figure given by Canon Rawlinson ("Ancient Monarchies," i, p. 410), or that of a Roman jugum (Smith's "Greek and Roman Antiquities," p. 652, 2nd ed.) Similarly the sign denotes "some four-footed animal trained to the yoke," though one fails to obtain this idea from the character . However, the determination of No. 172, , helps us to give a probable explanation of another character, viz., No. 220, , *'imiru*, "beast of burden," which in the Babylonian is thus given, ; this is clearly compounded of No. 172 and No. 222, , or perhaps No. 221, . If the latter, the whole would signify "a quadruped trained to the wooden yoke"; if the former, perhaps "a strong quadruped trained to the yoke";—, "sceptre," denoting "power"—or it might be read, "that which has power over the yoke," *i.e.*, able to draw the vehicle; or better still, as suggested by Mr. Sayce, the ideogram may be that of "a whip or goad + yoke."

The archaic Babylonian has not the subscript sign of . The character when it stands alone denotes the domestic ass, and seems to show that this animal was from very early times trained to serve; but when accompanied by another character it denotes either the horse or the mule or the camel; the former "being the beast of burden from the East," the latter "that from the sea." The character for a mule, , seems to resolve itself into "beast of burden + foot + brightness," or divinity, as implied by the three stars, , and I think the idea is that of the unequalled , sureness of the tread of the mule, which in the mountainous districts of Elam, must have struck the attention of the Accadian inhabitants. The notion of excellence being expressed by a term denoting divinity is probably common to many people of different races. Arrian writes of his

favourite greyhound "Hormê" as being the swiftest and cleverest animal, and one altogether divine" (ἱεροτάτη).

Mr. Sayce has kindly added the explanation of two other characters. He writes: "I have lately made out the pictorial origin of two very puzzling characters, , 'father,' and , 'food.' The archaic Babylonian form of the first is , that is, the ideograph of making, (or), inside the ideograph of 'nest,' . The father, therefore, was pictorially represented as 'the maker of the nest,' or 'family,' 'the builder of the house,' as the mother was 'the ornament' or 'divinity of the house. The archaic Babylonian representative of is , in linear Babylonian , which I take to denote a 'loaf of bread.'"

No. 494, , "dog," "lion," or other beast, is far from being a striking likeness to any ,  animal even in its ancient form, which, however, may be a rough picture of some animal couchant.

NOTE.—I must again gratefully express my obligation to my friend Mr. Sayce, who has read through my MS. and proof-sheets, and added valuable suggestions. I am also greatly indebted to Mr. Rylands, for having made, at a cost of much care and trouble, many very accurate drawings of characters which serve to illustrate this essay.

REMARKS ON BABYLONIAN CONTRACT TABLETS AND THE CANON OF PTOLEMY.

By Theo. G. Pinches.

Read 2nd July, 1878.

It will be remembered that the greater part of the tablets obtained by the late Mr. George Smith on his last expedition to Assyria, are of the class known as Contract Tablets. These tablets are of the greatest importance in fixing the chronology of the period between the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar III, B.C. 605, and Darius Hystaspis, B.C. 517, until lately in a very unsettled state.

In June last year[1] Mr. Boscawen, in a very able paper, gave the results of his examination of about two thousand of these documents, and discussed the chronology of the period to which they refer, giving a table containing the dates of the tablets, the names of the witnesses, and a genealogical table of the house of Egibi. By tracing the succession of the heads of the firm, he showed the exact succession of the kings of Babylon at this period, and for ever set its chronology on a firm basis.

During the last few weeks, having been employed in examining these interesting and important tablets, I have found some of the greatest importance which had escaped, through his being pressed for time, the observation of my able predecessor. I should have preferred very much to defer the publication of these new tablets until I had gone through the whole collection; but as this is the last meeting of the session, it has been thought better that I should publish them without delay, in order that chronologists may be able at once to think over and re-arrange any part of the

[1] Printed in the present volume, pp. 1–78.

chronology that may be thrown into confusion by these intruders. We expect a further instalment of about 420 tablets of this class in a few months, from which may be obtained a rich harvest. Large as the collection in the British Museum is, some points still remain about which we should like to have more precise information, and that can only be supplied by continually adding to the collection we already have.

The following is a list of the more important of the new dates:—

No. 1,166. Dated 7th Marchesvan, accession year of Nebuchadnezzar III.	Witnesses or contracting parties—Ikisu son of Nadina-Nabu, son of Egibi, and Marduku-Edhir son of Idina-Marduku, son of Epes-ili.
No. 906. 25th Kislev, 1st year; Cambyses king of Babylon, in this day also Cyrus his father, king of countries.	
No. 425. Dated 11th Tebet, 8th year of Cambyses, king of Babylon and countries.	
No. 377. 7th day,, 11th year of Cambyses, king of Babylon.	Itti-Marduki-baladhu son of Nabu-akhi-iddin, son of Egibi.

I was at first very reluctant to accept this date of the eleventh year of Cambyses, in consequence of the way in which it is written: indeed, seeing that it would overthrow the perfect agreement of Mr. Boscawen's list with the Canon of Ptolemy, I did not intend to publish it at all. A short time after its discovery, however, I came across the tablet dated 11th Tebet, in the eighth year of Cambyses; this, prolonging his reign by nine months, and making him to reign eight years and four months instead of seven years and seven months, induced me to test the whole list of dates. Mr. Boscawen, in his paper upon these tablets, makes the reigns of the false Bardes and Nebuchadnezzar to be contemporary with the accession year and part of the first year of Darius—in other words, that Darius did not date his reign from the overthrow of the pseudo-Nebuchadnezzar, but from the death of Cambyses, that is, a year and a-half earlier.

On adding together, however, the dates supplied us by the tablets, thus—

42 years 11 days of Nebuchadnezzar, with an interval of 6 months 10 days not represented by the tablets;

2 years 3 months 14 days of Evil-Merodach, with an interval of 9 months 20 days;

4 years 3 months 17 days of Neriglissar, with an interval of 4 months.

17 years 1 month 23 days of Nabonidus, with an interval of 3 months 11 days;

8 years 8 months 6 days of Cyrus, with an interval of 24 days;

8 years 3 months 25 days of Cambyses, with an interval of 2 months 19 days, reckoning to the 1st day of Nisan, first year of Darius—

we obtain a period of 85 years exactly—2 years more than that of the Canon of Ptolemy.

This is the evidence of contemporary documents, written by the very people in question. If, therefore, the Canon of Ptolemy does not agree with them by two years, it is quite possible for the Canon of Ptolemy not to agree with them by five years.

The different statements of the various ancient historians seem to indicate great uncertainty in their minds as to the length of the reign of Cambyses—Africanus and Ptolemy being apparently nearest the truth. Now Africanus fixes the length of Cambyses' reign at eleven years, and Ptolemy at eight years; it occurred to me, therefore, that they might both, to a certain extent, be correct, it being well known what uncertainty there is whether Cambyses did really die from a fall from his horse in his eighth year or not.

As to the internal evidence of the document itself, it may well be asked—Is it the eleventh year of Cambyses or not?

The only doubt lies in the number, the signs composing which are written rather close together; but it was not the custom, in these rapidly-written tablets, to be very careful about the way in which the signs were written. As long as they expressed XI (which they undoubtedly do, and in this I am supported by several Assyriologists who have examined

it), that was sufficient. The importance of being able to bring forward the exact date of a transaction was fully recognized by the ancient Babylonians, and my belief is that, if any doubt were likely to arise in consequence of the liability of the number to be misunderstood, the scribe would have erased and re-written it distinctly, as was usual in such a case.[1] But there is not the faintest sign of any erasure, and the numbers, though written very close together, are perfect and distinct. The names of the witnesses also favour its being the eleventh year of Cambyses.

How are we to account for this being the eleventh year of Cambyses, and for not having found the ninth and tenth years?

Our esteemed President, Dr. Birch, suggests the following explanation—in fact, the only conclusion one can arrive at. It is this: In the fourth month of the eighth year of Cambyses the false Bardes came forward, and, representing himself to be the elder brother of Cambyses, and the legitimate monarch, ascended the throne. After having ruled about eight months he was overthrown, and the pseudo-Nebuchadnezzar, leading a new band of revolters, took possession of the throne. The tablets give 10 months 28 days (or more) to the reign of the pseudo-Nebuchadnezzar, which, with the eight months of Bardes, bring us to the end of the ninth year of Cambyses. A period of anarchy follows the overthrow of the two usurpers, at the end of which Cambyses is again recognized as king. During the latter part of the next year, his eleventh year, Cambyses dies, and Darius ascends the throne.

The succession of events is therefore as follows:—

B.C. 539. Cyrus ascends the throne of Babylon. In his ninth year (B.C. 530) Cyrus abdicates the throne of Babylon in favour of his son Cambyses, keeping for himself the dominion of the other provinces of the empire.

B.C. 528. Cyrus dies, and Cambyses reigns alone.

[1] There are many tablets showing erasures, where the scribe has made corrections, and in some cases the erased wedges may still be recognized as characters, and translated.

B.C. 522, the eighth year of Cambyses, Bardes takes possession of the throne.

B.C. 521. Overthrow of Bardes, and accession of the pseudo Nebuchadnezzar. From the tablets he would appear to have reigned only ten months, but it seems probable that he ruled for a longer period.

Cambyses again rules, or is regarded by the people as ruling, till 519 B.C., when he is succeeded by Darius.

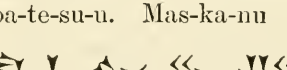
In the Behistun inscription the following words will be found concerning Cambyses: "Afterwards Cambyses died his own death" (lit., "Afterwards Cambyses death, his own, died,"[1])—that is, after the revolt of the false Bardes, which agrees with Herodotus. Cambyses' suicide must therefore have been at the beginning of the ninth year of his reign, which makes it not improbable that the people two years after should believe him to be still alive; a supposition which the varying statements of the ancient historians seem to confirm.

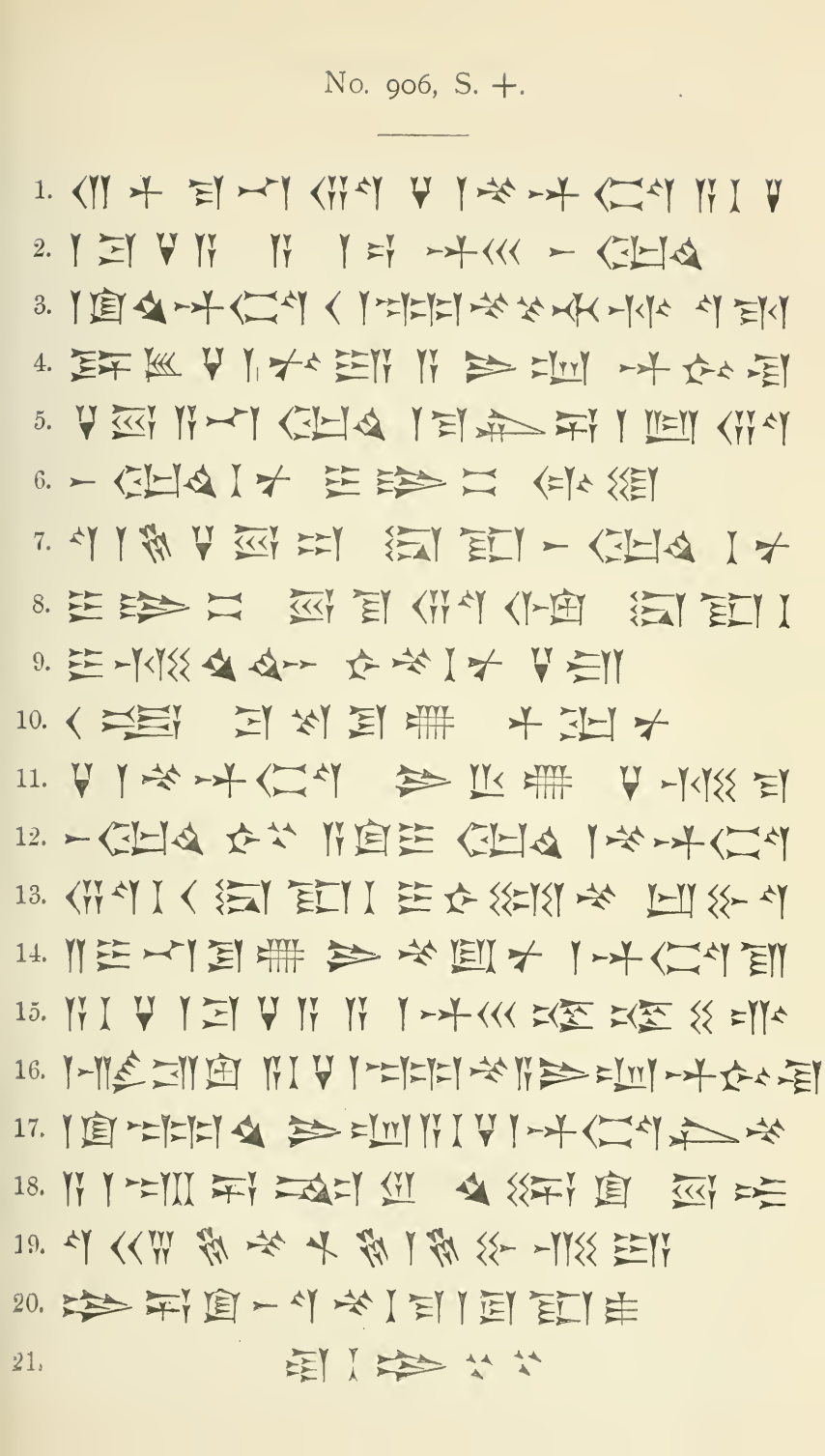
It is curious to notice that the name of one of the contracting parties, Nabu-rabi-abla son of E-Sagili-zira-epus, son of Irāni, does not occur in any other tablet dated either before or after the reign of Cambyses.

No. 906, S.+.

LINE

1. Sane-esru baru ma-na kaśpi sa D.P. Iddin- D.P. Marduku abli-su sa
2. D.P. Ba-sa-a abil D.P. Nur- D.P. Śini ina mukh-khi
3. D.P. Itti-baladhi- D.P. Marduku u D.P. Nabu-mu-se-ti-iq-ud-da
4. abli sa D.P. Ziri-ya abil D.P. sangu D.P. Gu-la
5. sa arakhi a-na makh-khi estin ma-ni-e estin *dhu* kaśpi
6. ina mukh-khi-su-nu i-rab-bi. Ul-tu
7. yumi makhri sa arakhi Dhabitu gur-ra ina mukh-khi-su-nu
8. i-rab-bi. Arakhu Tasritu kaśpa û gur-ra-su
9. i-nam-din-uh sal-mu-su-nu sa-alu
10. u arku ba-te-su-u. Mas-ka-nu

[1]  , *Arki D.P. Kambuziya mitutu, ramanni-su, mi'iti.*



LINE

11. sa D.P. Iddin- D.P. Marduku D.P. akhazu. Sa-nam-ma
12. ina mukh-khi sal-mat a-di-i mukh-khi D.P. Iddin- D.P. Marduku
13. kaśpi-su u gur-ra-su i-sal-li-mu ib-bu-tav
14. sani i-na-su-u. D.P. Mu-kin-nu: D.P. D.P. Marduku-irba
15. abli-su sa D.P. Ba-sa-a abil D.P. D.P. Sînu-niqi-magir
16. D.P. Gi-mil-lu abli-su sa D.P. Nabu-iddina abil D.P. sangu D.P. Gu-la
17. D.P. Itti-Nabi-baladhu, D.P. Sadhru, abli-su sa D.P. D.P. Marduku-bani-suma
18. abil D.P. Belu-e-dhe-ru. Din-tir-ki, arakhu Kiśilivu,
19. yumu khamis-esrē, sanatu makhritu D.P. Kam-bu-zi-ya
20. śar E-ki, ina YU-mu-su-va D.P. Ku-ra-as
21. abi-su śar Matāti.

TRANSLATION.

1. 12½ *mana of silver, from Iddin-Marduku son of*
2. *Basā, son of Nur-Sîni, unto*
3. *Itti-baladhi-Marduku and Nabu-musetiq-udda,*
4. *sons of Ziri-ya, son of the priest of Gula.*
5. *For a month, to (the amount of)* 1 *maneh* 1 *shekel of silver*
6. *it increases unto them; from*
7. *the first day of the month Tebet the interest unto them*
8. *increases. (In) the month Tisri the silver and its interest*
9. *they give (back), their receipt they ask,*
10. *and afterwards the bond* (?). *(Agreed in) the dwelling*
11. *of Iddin-Marduku, the owner.*[1] *Whoever*
12. *for the completion of the agreement unto Iddin-Marduku*
13. *his silver and his interest will pay, notice* (?)
14. *the two (men) shall send up. Witnessing: Marduku-irba*
15. *son of Basā, son of Sînu-niqi-magir.*
16. *Gimillu son of Nabu-iddina, son of the priest of Gula.*
17. *Itti-Nabi-baladhu, the scribe, son of Marduku-bani-suma,*
18. *son of Belu-ēdhĕru. Babylon, month Kislev,*
19. *day 25th, year 1st,*[2] *Kambyses*
20. *king of Babylon; in this day also Kyrus*
21. *his father, King of Countries.*

[1] That is, of the money lent.

[2] There is a doubt whether this is the 1st or the 11th year.

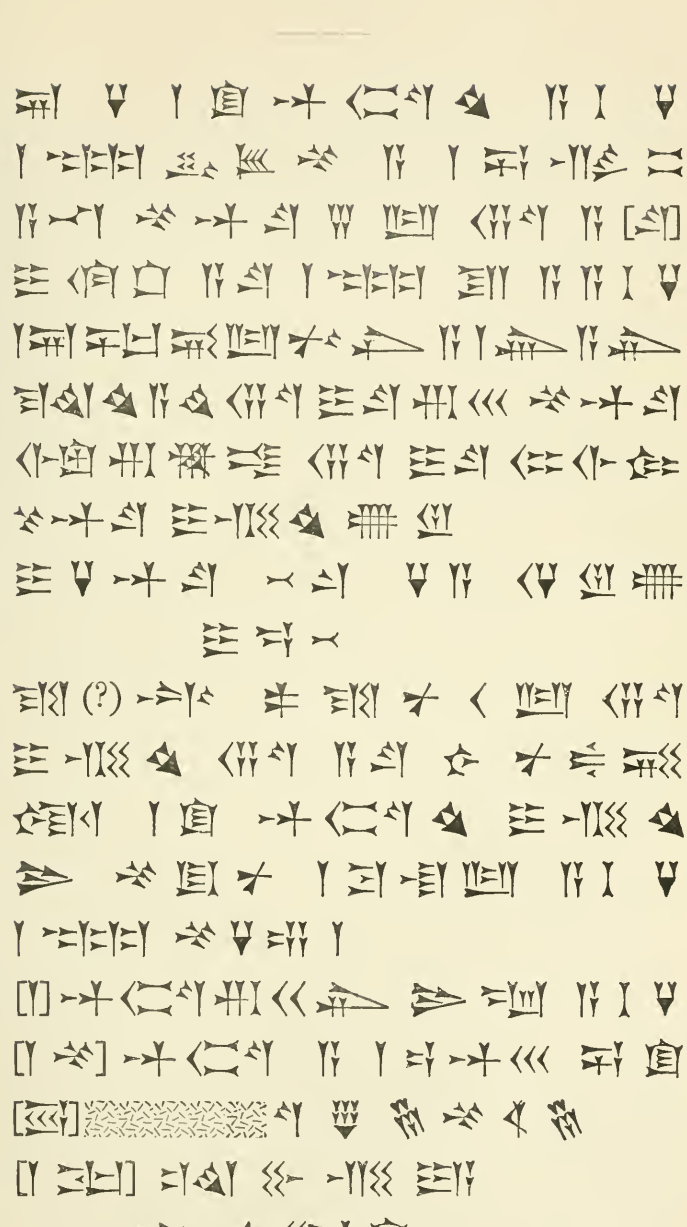
No. 377, S.+.

LINE

1. Bîtu sa D.P. Itti- D.P. Marduki-baladhu, abli-su sa
2. D.P. D.P. Nabu-akhi-iddin abil D.P. E-gi-bi
3. a-na S-an-na khamistu DHU kaśpi a-na
4. i-dhi-riv a-na D.P. Nabu-rabi-abla abli-su sa
5. D.P. E-sag-ili-zira-epus abil D.P. Ir-a-ni
6. id-din a-khi kaśpi i-na re-es S-an-na
7. û ri-ikh-tuv kaśpi i-na mi-si-luv
8. S-an-na i-nam-din u-ru
9. i-sa-an-na til-qa sa-a suk-ru-u
10. i-tsab-bat
11. sa-pal pa-sa-nu 'esrit *dhu* kaśpi
12. i-nam-din. Kaśpa a-na D.P. Nu-ub-takh
13. assat D.P. Itti- D.P. Marduki-baladhu i-nam-din.
14. D.P. Mu-kin-nu: D.P. Ba-la-dhu abli-su sa
15. D.P. Nabu-suma-ISK-un [abil] D.P. (*blank*).
16. [D.P.] D.P. Marduku-ri-man-ni, D.P. Sadhru, abli-su sa
17. [D.P. Iddin]- D.P. Marduku abil D.P. Nur- D.P. Śini. E-ki,
18. [Arakhu] . . . , yumu śabitu, sanatu estinesru,
19. ⌈D.P .Ka⌉-am-bu-zi-ya
20. Śar Din-tir-ki.

TRANSLATION.

1. *A house of Itti-Marduki-baladhu, son of*
2. *Nabu-akhi-iddin, son of Egibi, (let)*
3. *for a year. 5 shekels of silver for*
4. *the possession (the hirer) to Nabu-rabi-abla son of*
5. *E-Sagili-zira-epus, son of Irâni,*
6. *has given, besides the silver at the beginning of the year,*
7. *and the interest of the silver at the end of*
8. *the year (which) he gives. The agreement*
9. *they confirm, a deposit for the amount (the latter) takes.*
11. *As deposit* (?) 10 *shekels of silver*
12. *(the hirer) gives. The silver to Nubtakh,*
13. *wife of Itti-Marduki-baladhu, he gives.*
14. *Witnessing: Baladhu son of*



LINE
15. *Nabu-suma-iskun* [*son of*] (*blank*).
16. *Marduku-rimanni, the scribe, son of*
17. [*Iddin*]-*Marduku, son of Nur-Śini. Babylon,*
18. [*Month . . . . .*], *day 7th, year 11th,*
19. [*K*]*ambyses*
20. *King of Babylon.*

Notes.

No. 906, S.+.

LINE
1. *Abli-su sa Basā.* The literal translation of this curious phrase is, "The son of him who (is) Basā." It is almost always used in the Babylonian Contract Tablets to denote "son of," while *abil* has more the sense of "descendant of"; we also find the words *binut-śu sa*, "daughter of," as well as *binut*, "daughter (descendant) of." The form is sometimes used in the Assyrian inscriptions, but it then refers more to inanimate objects. Thus we find in the Kurkh Inscription of Shalmaneser II (W.A.I. III, 7, 24), the words *Al dannuti-su sa D.P. Arame*, "the stronghold of him who (is) Arame (king of Ararat)." It may be called the *immediate genitive.*

3. *Itti-baladhi-Marduku*, "with life (is) Merodach." This appears to be another form of the name *Itti-Marduki-baladhu*, "with Merodach (is) life." See No. 377, S.+, line 1, &c.

Nabu-musĕtiq-udda, "Nebo, sender of light." *Musĕtiq* is the shaphel participle of *etiqu;* Heb. עָתַק.

5. *Manē.* This is another form of *mana*, "maneh," and, whenever it occurs, it refers to the interest on a sum of money lent. It was probably of less value than the *mana* (which is only rarely used in connection with interest), as otherwise the rate of interest would often be most exorbitant.

LINE

7. *Gurra.* This is an Akkadian word, being the emphatic form of *gur*, as K. 4788, Col. II, line 39, tells us is to be pronounced, when translated by the Assyrian *gabru;* Heb. גָּבַר, "to be strong and tall," "to grow."[1]

9. *Inamdinuh*, for *inaddinuh*. The final *h*, a peculiarity of the Babylonian dialect, occurs frequently in these texts. In this case the vowel *u*, not being written, has to be supplied.

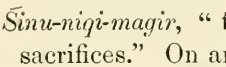
   Salmu, the token that the transaction is completed. *Salamu* or *śalamu*, "to complete"; Heb. שָׁלַם.

10. *Maskanu;* Heb. מִשְׁכָּן, "a dwelling." The Assyrian word seems to refer to the part of a house set apart for commercial transactions.

12. *Salmat*, a feminine kal participle noun from *salamu*. *Adī;* Heb. יָדַע.

13. *Ibbutav* I derive doubtfully from *nabu'u*, "to proclaim."

14. *Sani*, "two," the word "men" being understood. A similar phrase occurs also in 307, S.+, where two men, who seem to act as securities for the payment of some money, have to send notice to the woman Belilituv, seller of some slaves, upon the event of a similar settlement. The number is spelt in full *sa-ni* (*i-na-su-u*).

15. *Sīnu-niqi-magir*, "the Moon-god makes propitious the sacrifices." On another tablet the name is written with the more usual form of the sign for "victim," thus:  .

18. *Belu-ēdhĕru* (not *ēnĕru*) "Bel will enclose (to protect)," Heb. עָטַר.

19. *Khamis-esrē*. This form I conjecture from the word *khamisserit*, "fifteen," substituting *esrā*, "twenty (for *serit*), with the *ā* changed into *ē*, upon the model given for the ordinal number "thirtieth" (*salasē*), W.A.I. IV, pl. 23, No. 1, 4–5.

[1] Or, perhaps, it would be better to connect *gur* with the sign *gur*, "to return," meaning the extra money paid as interest when the loan was returned. The sign has also the meaning of *tírtu* in Assyrian, which may be connected with תּוּר, "to return," and not with רָאָה, "form." In this case *tírtu* would be derived from *ta'aru* in its meaning of "to become."

No. 377, S.+.

LINE

4. *Idhiriv*, Heb. עָתַר

5. *E-sagili-zira-epus*, "the temple of the High-head made posterity."

7. *Rikhtuv*, a doubtful word.

   Misiluv, Heb. מָשַׁל, *ina misiluv* (or *misil*) *sanna*, "at the standing of the year." (Mühlau and Volck's "Gesenius," Leip., 1878.)

8. *Uru.* This word I derive doubtfully from the Heb. הָרַר.

9. *Tilqa*, "that which may be taken," a tiphel noun from *laqu'u*, Heb. לָקַח, "to take."

   Sakrū, the amount to be given, from *sakaru*, "to give."

15. The father of *Nabu-suma-iskun* is given, No. 212 S.+, as *Assuru-zira-ibna*, a name manifestly Assyrian. The blank here is thus explained, and shows that the wounds caused by the fallen empire's former victories over the Babylonians were not yet healed up, though a century had elapsed since the time of Assyria's supremacy. From a comparison of these tablets, it seems as if Nabu-suma-iskun, and Belu-suma-iskun, the last king of Assyria but one, were one and the same person, but this is, at present, doubtful.

NOTE.—Since the above has been written, Prof. Schrader has also written upon the probability of the 11th year of Cambyses being correct. The view he adopts is one that will be more readily accepted, as it preserves the integrity of the Canon of Ptolemy, by making Cambyses to reign eleven years as king of Babylon, and eight years as King of Nations (see Tablet 906 S.+, and Prof. Schrader's article, "*Zeit. für Ægypt. Sprach.*," 1879, p. 39 *et seq.*)

ON THE TRUE SENSE OF AN IMPORTANT EGYPTIAN WORD.

By P. Le Page Renouf.

Read 4th March, 1879.

The discussion of questions of pure lexicography, however important or interesting in themselves, does not fall within the range of subjects aimed at by our Society, and it is only with the view of throwing a clearer light upon the archæology and religion of ancient Egypt, that I propose to make some observations on the true sense of a word which not only occurs very frequently in the composition of royal names, but meets us, as a common noun, in innumerable religious texts.

The universally accepted meaning of the word 𓎛 *ka* is given as follows in the Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Brugsch-Bey, "die Person als Substanz, Wesenheit, das Wesen, die Person, die bestimmte Person, la personne, l'individu, l'être."[1]

The meaning here given by Dr. Brugsch was first proposed and made probable in what the late lamented M. de Rougé most justly calls "une large et belle étude des emplois du mot 𓎛," by our revered President, Dr. Birch, in his "Mémoire sur une patère Egyptienne," published in 1858 in the Transactions of the Société impériale des Antiquaires de France. This was the first time that a large amount of inductive evidence was brought to bear upon the subject;

[1] Besides the word which forms the subject of this essay there are other groups homonymous with it, viz., 𓎛 , "bull," and 𓎛, "provisions," generally accompanied by the determinative . And in the latest period of the language *ka* also had the sense of "name."

although, sixteen years before this, Dr. Hincks, in his dissertation on funereal tablets, had suggested that was a compound preposition substituted on all tablets sculptured after the early part of the reign of Amenemhāt I, for the simple preposition (*en*, to), which is invariably used in all earlier tablets. The explanation given by Dr. Birch has ever since, as I have said, been accepted by all scholars. For although M. Chabas, in his work on the Rosetta Inscriptions, says, "On sait que le . . . . n'est qu'un support du pronom personnel," he at the same time refers to another work of his in which he says, " KA est la *personne*, l'*individu*, le *self* anglais"; "l'expression EN KA-SEN . . . . signifie simplement à leurs personnes, à eux."[1] And when certain texts of the Saitic period led me to consider the sign as ideographic of the word *χeft*, signifying "countenance," I never thought of questioning the sense "person," but, with the analogies of the Hebrew פנים and the Greek *πρόσωπον* before me, rather believed that my supposed discovery explained and confirmed the results of Dr. Birch's inquiry.[2]

The study of Egyptian texts has, however, convinced me (1), that although in numberless instances the signification of "person" will *satisfy* the context, there are many instances in which it will not; (2) that another sense which is suggested by the instances of the latter class will equally satisfy the instances of the former; (3) that in fact *never* signifies "person," and that this translation stands in the way of a right appreciation of the religious doctrine and practice of ancient Egypt. The true sense of is *εἴδωλον*, *simulacrum*, *image*, and the translation of as a compound preposi-

[1] *Papyrus Magique*, pp. 28, 29.

[2] *Zeitschr. f. aegypt. Sprache*, 1867, p. 32. A great many variants of proper names belonging to the oldest periods leave no doubt that the real phonetic value of is *ka* in this as in other words. The initial consonant is not . The Saitic variants quoted by me in *Zeitschr.*, 1866, p. 58, are however very remarkable, as showing that the scribes of this learned period did really consider as ideographic of *χeft*, "countenance," or upper part of the person. A much older authority for *χeft*, rather than *ka*, is the form in the Chonsu Temple at Karnak. *Denkm.*, iii, 243, 248 *h*, 250 *a*. Cf. iv, 11 *c*.

tion,[1] equivalent in reality to the simple , conceals the fact that the sacrificial offerings mentioned in the funereal tablets were intended to propitiate *images*, and that we have at least from the time of Amenemhāt I[2] to do with the worship of *idols* in the strict sense of the term. Nor is this all. The absurdity of propitiating a *lifeless* image must have been as apparent to the wisdom of highly-intelligent people like the Egyptians as it is to ourselves. Their practice must have been justified by a theory, and what that theory was we shall presently see. The notion of the Egyptian is not complete without it.[3]

The Christian Copts have in general avoided all terms derived from the religion of their heathen ancestors. It happens, however, that at least one instance occurs in their literature, which discovers a trace of the ancient . Zoega, in his great work on Coptic manuscripts, gives long extracts from a sermon against idolatry, written in the Sahidic dialect, and remarkable as containing a number of ancient words not found elsewhere. One passage makes mention of ϩεπειϩωλοπ ϩτω ϩεπκω, "idols and κω" made of wood, stone, and all other materials.[4] Zoega very naturally conjectures "statue" as the meaning of κω, and Peyron, in his "Lexicon," unhesitatingly admits the meanings "statuæ, idola." The more general notion "image" is, I believe, the correct one.

Let us now revert to Dr. Birch's dissertation. You must remember that the date of it is 1858, and that if it then exhausted all the evidence hitherto known, an overwhelming amount of fresh evidence has been gradually accumulating during the last twenty years. Even the publication of the "Denkmaeler" of Dr. Lepsius was too recent to have had

[1] Dr. Birch (*Zeitschr.*, 1867, p. 63) quotes an instance in which is substituted for . But this of course is not a phonetic variant, nor is it a "Sinn-Variante." The latter of these forms precedes the name *to which*, the former the name *on the part of which*, an offering is made. The two forms may occur in the same inscriptiou, *e.g.*, *Denkm.*, iii, 151 *b*.

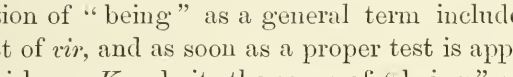
The form is very much more ancient (see *Denkm.*, ii, 15).

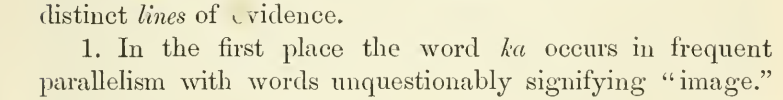
[3] I first proposed the sense "effigy" in the "Chronicle," 1867. Dr. Dümichen always translates the word by "Bild," and with invariable success.

[4] *Catalog. Codd. Copt.*, p. 599.

any influence on Dr. Birch's inquiry, which contains only two references to this great work. Champollion's "Notices" and Rosellini are the authorities chiefly referred to, and the evidence which they furnish is sometimes very imperfect. In the next place several of the most important texts quoted by Dr. Birch clearly require a sense different from those of "person," "self," "individual," and he himself unhesitatingly employs those of "genius," "spirit," "emblem," "type." Any one of these meanings will satisfy the requisitions of "making sense" in the texts generally, and in many places infinitely better than that of "person." But they have all been discarded, and some scholars have even given preference to such abstractions as "being," "existence," "essence," for which there is really not a particle of evidence. It does not follow that the true sense of the Latin *vir* is "being," because a hundred passages, or perhaps a thousand, may be found in which such a translation would not fail to produce absolute nonsense. The illusion is only possible, because the notion of "being" as a general term includes within itself that of *vir*, and as soon as a proper test is applied the illusion vanishes. *Ka* admits the sense of "being" exactly as every other common noun does, but only to the same extent.

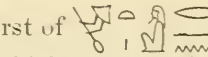
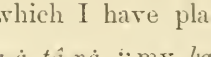
The sense of "image" was suggested to me by several distinct *lines* of evidence.

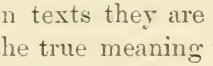
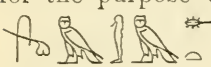
1. In the first place the word *ka* occurs in frequent parallelism with words unquestionably signifying "image." For instance,  [1] *āḥā-t ḥer kau ḥernse-t ḥer seχemu*, "thou risest with the divine *kau*, thou sittest with the divine *sechemu*." The word *seχem* is a very well known one, and the inscriptions of Canopus and Rosetta give us its Greek equivalents ἄγαλμα and εἰκων.

Again,  [2] *àaui en hrà-k hen en ka-k sen-tu en seχem-ek às*, "Hail to thy semblance, invocation to thy *ka*, adoration to thy glorious image." In a much older text, unfortunately

[1] *Denkm.*, iv, 51*e*.

[2] Dümichen, *Tempelinschr.*, i, 36.

imperfect, we read first of  [1] *χent-à ertā-nà āp ta*, "my image which I have placed upon earth"; then  *ka-à tâ-nà*, "my *ka* which I have placed." But here a wretched gap compels our imagination to finish the sentence as it best may. In the inscriptions in honour of Seti I at Abydos, the words *smu* and *ka* are all but identified. The full force of the texts I allude to will, however, be better understood later on. (See Note 4, p. 503.)

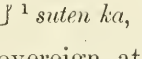
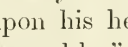
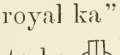
Parallelisms are not demonstrations, but to intelligent readers of Egyptian texts they are sure indications of the direction in which the true meaning is to be sought. Under this head I will include what at first was a stumbling-block to me. All the passages in which the word *ka* occurs in the Book of the Dead, readily admit "image" as its natural sense, with the exception of one, in the scarabæus chapter, where the deceased says,  [2] *entuk ka em χat-à*, "thou art a *ka* in my body," as the text is commonly understood. I do not believe that *em χat-à* means "in my body"; the preposition *em* properly signifies "from," but in certain contexts it may (like the Greek ἐκ) signify "on," "at." But whatever the passage means, it is demonstrably consistent with my hypothesis; for among the incantations which are found in the Leyden Papyri, there is one for the purpose of protecting a person from the effects of  [3] *smu em χat-ef*. Now, in this absolutely parallel passage the word *smu*, corresponding to the word *ka* in the scarabæus formula, unquestionably signifies "image." In both passages the reference is to some sacred figure traced by nature or by art, or perhaps accidentally placed *upon the body* of a person, and acting as a talisman either for good or for ill. In the 32nd chapter of the Book of the Dead, the infernal crocodiles are driven off from the deceased by his pointing to the potent talismans upon him:

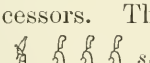
[1] *Denkm.*, iii, 72.

[2] Todt, 33.

[3] 341, xi, 8. The incantation is against the influence of the *smu* of a god or goddess, or a dead person, male or female.

"Back! crocodile of the West .... what thou abhorrest is upon me [*em χat-à*] ....; the asp Nāu is upon me." "Back! crocodile of the North; the scorpion goddess Selket is upon me."

2. From parallelisms (instances of which I could readily multiply) I pass on to the direct evidence of pictorial illustration. The Egyptians, as we know, very frequently wrote the name of the object over the picture of it. We can show, for instance, that from the earliest time *ka* signified bull, *baḥse* heifer, *kâf* ape, and so on. In like manner we have a long series of monuments, from at least the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty down to the emperor Vespasian, in which the words  [1] *suten ka*, "the royal ka" are written over the *bust*[2] of the sovereign, at the summit of a pole which is sometimes but not always borne by a human figure with the symbol of the upon his head, supporting the Horus title of the king. The "royal ka" is sometimes said in the accompanying inscription to be  *χent ṭebat*, "residing in the ark" or  *χent ṭuat*, "residing in the nether world," expressions quite inconsistent with the notions that *suten ka* means the "royal person" or the "royal self."

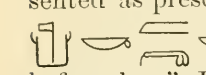
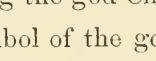
In another representation which occurs both at the Memnonium and at Medinet Abu[3] the statue of the sovereign is carried on the shoulders of priests together with the statues of his royal predecessors. This is described in the title as  *suten ka ānχ ḥenā sutenīu nàtiu*, "the royal living image with the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt." It is very clearly not the royal person or self who is being carried in procession, but his statue. There are several instances in which the *ka* mentioned in an inscription

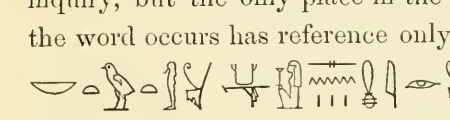
[1] *Denkm.*, iii, 20 *a*, 21, 34 *b*, and *passim*. It is worth mentioning that two of these pictures referred to by Dr. Birch in his dissertation give an imperfect notion of the subject. There is no inscription over the royal bust in Rosellini M. R., pl. x, and there is not even a bust in pl. cliv, though the pole is there.

[2] *See* the busts carried in a private funeral procession, in "Wilkinson's Manners and Customs," vol. 5, pl. 83.

[3] *Denkm.*, iii, 163, 164, and 212, 213.

is proved by the representation to have reference to a statue; and I am confident that a close inspection of the pictures in the ancient tombs and on the funereal tablets, will convince most persons that the figures either standing or sitting behind tables of propitiation, upon which offerings to them are lying, are *always* intended for statues.

In the two following instances the *ka* stands for a recognized symbol of divinity. In the first the king is represented as presenting to Horus a golden hawk and he says  [1] *ka-k em-baḥ-ek*, "thy divine image is before thee." In the second (which is quoted by Dr. Birch) the sovereign is presenting the god Chnum with the well-known vase, which is the symbol of the god. He says  [2] *χerp-à nek ka-k*, "I offer to thee thine image."

The bilingual texts do not lend us much aid in this inquiry, but the only place in the Rosetta inscription where the word occurs has reference only to statues,  *àri-t-sen àpi-ret neb tut en kau-sen mà àri em netàru sepu*, "let them perform every rite appointed for their statues as is done for the other gods."

Before proceeding any further, I ought to say that the word *ka* is very often accompanied by determinatives. It is very frequently followed either by the statue of a divinity, or by , the ideograph of a god. Another determinative, the sign , is distinctly meant to represent the *stand* upon which the sacred images were carried in procession.[3] One of the variants of the word *netàr* is , a hawk raised upon this stand; the sign *ḥen* admits this determinative when the king is spoken of as a god. The name of the god Ṭehuti (Thoth) is seldom written without it; the

[1] *Denkm.*, iv, 41.

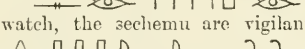
[2] Champollion, *Notices*, p. 235.

[3] The Egyptian word for this stand is *àat*, and admits the figure of a god as its determinative (Mariette, *Abydos*, I, pl. 50, l. 23).

names of *Ap-uat*, *Chonsu*, *Urhekat* frequently have it; those of the names of Egypt (for they were divinities) almost invariably. The Egyptian standards were divine images like the eagles of the Roman legions, which, as you know, were objects of divine adoration. The importance of these determinatives has therefore been greatly underrated in our speculations on the nature of the , and no notice whatever has been taken of the fact detected thirty-six years ago by the sharp-sighted Dr. Hincks, and which no evidence has yet contradicted, that the word itself is "confined to the forms of religion."

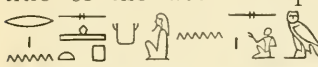
The Egyptian *ka* was not a *mere* image; it was conceived as endowed with life, intelligence, and will. There is a superabundance of evidence to show how all the religious images and emblems were supposed to be overflowing with divine vitality and energy.[1] There are pictures of series of busts and other symbols at the summits of poles, each of these images "bestowing life, stability, and power like the sun-god." And the very emblems of life, stability, and power are themselves constantly represented with human hands carrying standards of the gods in procession.

The Egyptians moreover believed that the unseen world contained realities exactly corresponding to those of this life, and that among these realities each man had his prototype or living image, who seems to have sprung into existence at the same time with himself under the creative hand of Ptah, to have grown with his growth, and generally to have stood to him in a relation very much resembling that of the *genius* in the Roman mythology. Three different scenes at Luxor represent Amenophis III at the moment of his birth, and by his side another infant, his exact image, which is represented as his *ka* or εἴδωλον.[2] The figure which bears the royal effigy

[1] Of the *sechemu* we are told  *res netàru nehes seχemu*, "the gods watch, the sechemu are vigilant" (*Antiquités*, V, 40, 6). Certain divinities, *χesef seχemu i em enen*, "keep off the *sechemu* which come by night" (Dümichen, *Tempelinschr.*, I, 10).

[2] *Denkm.*, iii, 75.

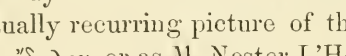
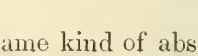
on a pole is himself, a royal *ka*. And in a series of pictures,[1] each of which in succession represents Thothmes III embraced and greeted by two divinities, we find his own *Suten ka* as one of the gods greeting him. Votive tablets are addressed to the royal *ka* in company with Ptah and Amen Ra, king of the gods.[2] The great Rameses and other kings are frequently represented in the act of propitiating their own images.

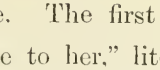
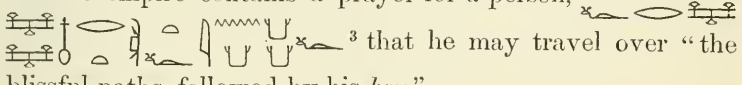
Not only royal personages, but every one of the faithful had a divine *ka*, which required to be propitiated. The title of the 105th chapter of the Book of the Dead is  . "Chapter of propitiating the *ka* of a person in the nether world." The vignette represents the person in an attitude of adoration before his own *ka*, which is raised on a stand, and loaded with sacrificial offerings. "I abominate filth," the person says in the 51st chapter; "I do not eat of it, in order that my *ka* may be propitiated." In another chapter (128, 6) we read, "O Osiris, thou hast come, and thy *ka* with thee,"[3] which, according to the rule laid down by some of our most eminent scholars, should be translated, "thou hast come and thou with thee," or "and thyself with thee." This absurd tautology does not exist according to my hypothesis, nor is there anything out of the way in the words if we take for their illustration the perpetually recurring picture of the Egyptian king followed by his εἴδωλον, or as M. Nestor L'Hote calls him, "son Sosie." The translation, "thou hast come and thy genius with thee," which appears in Dr. Birch's version of the chapter, admits of no improvement.

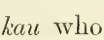
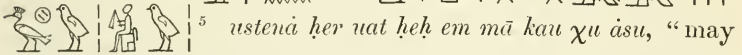
Out of many examples, in which the same kind of absur-

[1] *Denkm.*, pl. 34 *b*.

[2] *E.g.*, Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, I, 103.

[3] Cf.  *ba-k ḥenā-k seχem-ek er-mā-k*, "thy soul is with thee; thine image by thee" (Mariette, *Abydos*, I, 30). The Book of the Dead alludes to the journey  *en ka-k henā ba-k*, "of thy *ka* with thy soul."

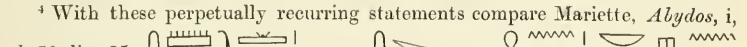
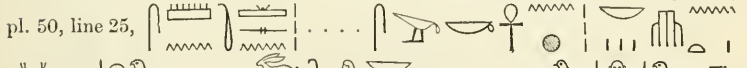
dity is found if we cling to the received hypothesis, I shall quote two or three. The first says  ,[1] "her image is close to her," literally "at the gate of her hands." This is surely better sense than "she is close to herself." Another text[2] speaks of Hathor enthroned upon the horizon, and adds that "her *ka* is with her protecting her limbs." There is a pictorial illustration of this, exhibiting Hathor enthroned upon the horizon, and having an image of herself both behind and in front. An inscription of the ancient empire contains a prayer for a person,  [3] that he may travel over "the blissful paths, followed by his *kau*."

The *kau* formed then a whole class of divine beings (very like the Roman *genii*, *manes*, and *lares*), and they are mentioned in thousands of inscriptions as the *kau ānχu t'eta*, "the *kau* who live everlastingly"; to which  *mà Rā*, "like Ra," is often added; and they are enthroned on the seat of Horus.[4] A well-known and interesting tablet has the prayer  [5] *ustenà ḥer uat ḥeḥ em mā kau χu àsu*, "may I journey upon the everlasting road, amid the *kau* and the glorious spirits" of the departed. But the gods had their *kau* as well as men, and so had localities. Dr. Birch has

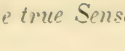
[1] *Denkm.*, iv, 60.

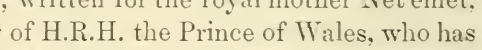
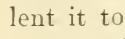
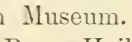
[2] Dümichen, *Resultate*, pl. 42.

[3] *Denkm.*, ii, 116 *c*.

[4] With these perpetually recurring statements compare Mariette, *Abydos*, i, pl. 50, line 25,  and  (*ib.*, pl. 23). In both these passages *smu*, though proved by its adjective to be a plural, has no sign to distinguish it from the singular. It is not less certain from these passages that *kau* and *smu* are things of the same nature.

[5] *Denkm.*, iii, 114.

quoted the  , "the royal ka of Chonsu-Ra." The living image of Hathor has just been referred to. In one of the chapters left out of the Turin Ritual, but of extreme antiquity, as is proved by its occurrence in the "Aelteste Texte" published by Dr. Lepsius, the *kas* of Osiris, Horus, Suti, Thoth and other gods are mentioned as distinct from these divinities: "Osiris with his *ka*," "Horus with his *ka*," etc., Some other instances might be supposed to refer to mere images. Such however is certainly not the case with the *ku* of the East, and the *ka* of the West, referred to by Dr. Birch in his dissertation. Nor is it the case at Dendera or at Edfu, where no less than fourteen personages are represented with the symbol on their heads; each of them being, as Dr. Birch with perfect accuracy described them, "the genius of a different function," power, stability, light, victory, etc. Mention is made of these fourteen *kau* in a magnificent papyrus of the XXIst Dynasty, written for the royal mother Net'emet, and now the property of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, who has lent it to the British Museum. It identifies these *kau* as those of the sun-god Ra: "Hail to thee, O Ra, four times; hail to thee and to thy soul, seven times; hail to thee and to thy *kau* fourteen times;[1] the deceased lady N. knows thy name, she knows the name of thy soul, she knows the names of thy *kau* . . . ." A few lines farther on the fourteen names are enumerated just as at Edfu. The text continues, "the deceased lady N. propitiates these fair names, she propitiates thy soul, and she propitiates thy *ka* that thou mayest shine graciously upon her," etc. We find this doctrine of the fourteen *kau* of Ra as early as the time of Rameses II. The great tablet of Ipsambul[2] speaks of

[1] Cf. *Tempelinschr.*, i, 29,  "Ra with his seven souls and his fourteen *kau* with him." The curious group  is no other than the preposition  (*ḥenā*, with) in phantastic orthography.

[2] *Denkm.*, iii, 194. Another copy of this text, but of the time of Rameses III, and with some remarkable varieties of reading, is given in Dümichen's *Hist. Inschr.*, vii–x.

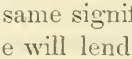
pa XIV *en ka en Rā er-tā en Tahuti er uat-ek neb*, "the fourteen kau of Ra, which Thoth hath added to all thy ways." In passages like these *ka* has a sense very similar to that of *spirit* in the 11th chapter of Isaiah, 5, "The spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord"—from the Latin version of which text mediæval christian theology derived its doctrine of the *seven gifts* of the Holy Ghost. It is in exact conformity with this process of thought that the royal title, *user ka Rā*, is translated ᾧ ὁ Ἥλιος ἔδωκεν τὴν νίκην in the Greek text of the Rosetta inscription. This however is not the literal sense of the Egyptian words in their primitive acceptation.

The first royal name in which that of Ra appears in the tablets of Saqara and Abydos also contains the word *ka*. *Nefer-ka-Rā*, a name of the IInd Dynasty, probably means "embellisher of the image of Ra,"[1] as *Nefer-ka-Seker* is "embellisher of the image of Seker," one of the names of Ptah. *Men-kau-Rā* is "he who makes steadfast the images of Ra," and *Men-kau-Hor* has a similar sense. *Tat-ka-Rā*, *Nefer-ka-Hor*, *Se-ānχ-ka-Rā*, *Sor-ka-Rā*, and ever so many others, receive at once a plain and intelligible meaning. I am not quite as sure of the sense of *Cheper-ka-Rā*, but it will most probably be interpreted like *Sebek-ka-Rā*, "Sebek, the image of Rā." Cheper, the divine scarabæus, has long been recognized by scholars as an image of the sun-god; "besondere Form des Ra unter dem Bilde eines Käfers," as Dr. Brugsch wrote eighteen years ago in his "Geography." The word *χeperu*, however, in the plural number, which is known to signify *forms*, frequently occurs in these royal names, and the singular no doubt occurs in the same sense.

[1] At this early date words like *nefer* and *men* probably had a transitive as well as an intransitive meaning. Although the proper names in which they enter remained in use, there are evident attempts at a later period to improve them into *se-nefer* or *àri-nefer*.

I think it worth while to call attention to the following parallelisms, which are certainly not undesigned:—

Men-ka-Rā	.. ..	Men-χeper-Rā
Men-kau-Rā	.. ..	Men-χeperu-Rā
Ka-en-Rā	.. ..	χeper-en-Rā
Nub-kau-Rā	.. ..	Nub-χeper-Rā
Xā-kau-Rā	.. ..	Xā χeper-Rā
Sor-ka Rā	.. ..	Sor χeperu-Rā

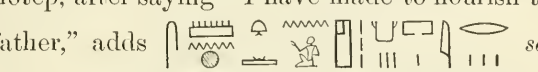
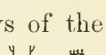
To these instances, all but one of which are taken from the tablet of Abydos, I will add two from the Chamber of Karnak. The 41st name here, as numbered by Lepsius, is *mer-seχem-Rā*, "he who loveth the image of Ra"; the 42nd is *mer-kau-Rā*, "he who loveth the *kau* of Ra." This also is not an undesigned parallelism. Parallelisms taken from a list of private names have not the same cogency about them. I will, however, place beside the proper name *ka-nefer*, "fair image," two others,  *smu-nefer* and *χent-nefer*, which have exactly the same signification.

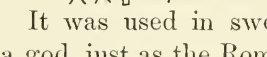
The sense which I now propose will lend new force to a considerable number of texts where the old translation appeared sufficient. An invocation, for instance, is found[1] to the following effect: "Mayest thou inhale the north wind breathing of spice (ānta) and of divine incense to thy *ka*." The best commentary upon this is M. Marriette-Bey's description of the ancient tombs. The interior of each tomb consisted of three parts—the open chamber, the *serdab*, and the well, at the bottom of which are the chambers containing the mummies.

The serdab (which is the modern name given to it by the excavators) is a sort of passage walled up and intended to be inaccessible, and the only communication between it and the rest of the tomb was through a small hole into which the hand can hardly pass. Its aspect is generally, though not always, *towards the north*. It contained one or more statues. Nothing but statues has ever been found in it. "Quant au conduit," says M. Mariette, "il servait aux

[1] *Denkm.*, iii, pl. 11 *a*.

personnes placées dans l'intérieur de la chambre à faire passer aux statues (qu'elles ne voyaient pas) la fumée d'un parfum."

This *serdab*, however, could not have been the , literally εἰδωλεῖον, "the chamber or house of the image," which is so frequently mentioned in the earliest inscriptions, for it would in this case be spoken of in the singular number only. But in the great inscription at Benihassan (line 82) Chnumhotep, after saying "I have made to flourish the name of my father," adds  *semenχ-nà hatu-kau àrn*, "I built the εἰδωλεῖα which were for him." The inscriptions mention the *ḥat-ka* of several sovereigns. The most renowned and frequently mentioned is that of the god Ptah at Memphis. His *kau* are sometimes spoken of in the plural number. The first of the seven divine cows of the 147th chapter of the Ritual bore the name of  *hat-ka Neb-t'er*, "the εἰδωλεῖον of the Lord of all."

I must not bring this paper to a close without noticing the very common formula  *uah ka*, which is of very remote antiquity. It was used in swearing "by the *ka*" of the king or of a god, just as the Romans swore "by the genius" of the emperor, or by some other genius.

However strange some of the notions of which I have been speaking may now appear to us, it is quite certain that very similar notions were prevalent among other nations of antiquity. The Fravashis in the religion of Zoroaster are very like the living *kau* of the Egyptians. They were the heavenly types of created beings, whether gods, men, mountains, streams, or other objects, and formed a divine society—the guardian angels, as it were, of the good creation. Each individual thing was provided with its Fravashi. In the Persian monuments, especially those of Persepolis, the king's Fravashi is represented close to the king, like the royal *ka* on the Egyptian monuments. The notion of the Greek δαίμων has been greatly confused by poets and philosophers, but there is no doubt that in the primitive Greek as in the

Roman religion everything visible had its invisible living and divine prototype. The "genius" was, as Servius says,[1] the *naturalis deus* of each place, or thing, or man. He accompanied everything from its origin to its end, "wie ein zweites geistiges Ich," as Hartung expresses it,[2] "neben dem körperlichen." The same learned author, writing upon the Greek religion, describes these beings as "geistige Doppelgänger der Menschen und sogar auch der Götter, gleichsam als deren reineres Selbst."[3]

> "Ere Babylon was dust,
> The Magus Zoroaster, my dear child,
> Met his own image walking in the garden.
> That apparition, sole of men, he saw.
> For know there are two worlds of life and death:
> One that which thou beholdest; but the other
> Is underneath the grave, where do inhabit
> The shadows of all forms that think and live
> Till death unite them, and they part no more."[4]

[1] In *Georgica*, 1, 302.

[2] *Religion der Römer*, 1, 32.

[3] *Religion und Mythologie der Griechen*, II, 8; cf. Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, 1, 737.

[4] Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound*, Act I.

THE VICTORIES OF SETI I, RECORDED IN THE GREAT TEMPLE AT KARNAK.

By E. L. Lushington, D.C.L., LL.D.

Read 1st April, 1879.

The famous temple of Ammon, at Karnak, contains, in addition to many other precious records of ancient times, several sculptures and inscriptions magnifying the exploits of Ramenma Seti Meneptah, son of the first and father of the second Rameses. These are frequently alluded to and in part quoted by recent historians of Egypt, but a consecutive translation of them has not, as far as I know, been laid before the public. I have attempted this in the accompanying paper, and have added a few notes on any expressions which appeared doubtful as to their meaning or deserving of special remark. The hand of time, although it has destroyed much, has left a considerable portion of these memorials in a fair state of preservation, and they have been copied by several competent hands. What was done by Champollion may be learnt from his "Monuments Égyptiens," in folio, and still more from "Notices Descriptives des Monuments de l'Égypte et de Nubia," the publication of which is unfortunately not yet complete; but by the associated labours of the late Viscomte E. de Rougé and his able successor, M. Maspero, has been continued to p. 720 of the second volume. Several plates of the "Monumenti Reali" of Rosellini, as well as the "Denkmäler" of Lepsius and the "Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens" of Brugsch, also inform us how the deeds of Seti were described by his admiring subjects, and invite comparison. In some few instances a variety of readings is found,

which, considering how much may have been at least partially effaced in the lapse of so many centuries, is not surprising.

My translation follows the order adopted by Lepsius, D. 3, 126–130; and there will be found also a further reference to the other corresponding texts which I have been able to consult:—

L. D. stands for Lepsius' "Denkmäler."
N. D., Champollion's "Notices Descriptives."
Br. Rec., Brugsch's "Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens."
D. H. I., Dümichen's "Historische Inschriften."
M. R., Rosellini's "Monumenti Reali."
M., Champollion's "Monuments Égyptiens."

The sculptures represent the king's figure as gigantic in comparison with that of other warriors, and often two rows of combatants or prisoners, one above the other, are placed opposite to him. His equipage is of proportional magnitude: sometimes the horses' names are engraved above or below them, as likewise the names of towns, fortresses, or waters by which the royal army pursues its march. Thus, on the fortress sketched in the first plate (L. D. 3, 126*a*), the words are legible, *tema en pa Kanana*, town of Canaan; and again, above the horses, "The great foremost charger of His Majesty 'Victory in Thebes,' *Nexţu-m-Uas*," a name also borne by one of the two horses of Rameses II. whom, in Pentaur's recital, he praises as having alone proved faithful allies to him when deserted by his troops and captains. In the second portion of the same plate (126*b*), a line above the reins names the king's great foremost charger, "Amen has ordained him victory": and a line below says "he is called *Anta-hruta*," which may be rendered "Bellona pleased" (Anta being a war goddess, probably of foreign origin, cf. Birch, "Gallery," p. 100; Bunsen, "Egypt's Place," i. 423), and recalls the name of Rameses' other horse, *Mut-* or *Nrau-hrta*. At the top of the picture, between Seti's bow and the plumes worn by the horses, an edifice stands, described as "town built anew by His Majesty, with the well . . . . *ta*." Underneath this, "The stronghold of Ramenma," with a cir-

cular piece of water just below, on which the name of *Rebita* is legible (cf. Rehoboth, Gen. xxvi, 22). Again, below the body of the horses, a fort, "the well of Ramenma fortress," beneath which a reservoir, of an irregularly oval shape, is entitled "the well of sweet water." Above the king's head is the disc with two crowned uræi, fringed beneath with the characters meaning life and strength, and the vulture of victory, with outspread wings, holding the symbol of countless panegyries.

L. D. 3, 126*a*; M. 290; Ros. M. R. 48, 2; N. D. 2, 86. Seti shoots from his chariot at the Shasu, who fly routed; the royal ovals are between his bow and the string, and the hawk of Horhut above him, in front, "gives life, stability, strength, health." The following inscription is in front of the horses prancing over the fallen foe, "Year 1 of King (Ramenma), the defeat made by the valiant sword of Pharaoh on the wretched Shasu from the fortress T'ar to the land of Canaan. His Majesty marched against them as a fierce lion, making them corpses in their uplands, overwhelming them in their blood; none escaped his fingers to tell his prowess to far lands; in the might of his father Amen, who ordained him strength and victory over the land."

126*b*. Ros. M. R. 49, 1; N. D. 2, 90. Seti looks back from the car on the suppliant enemy, holding bow and scimitar in his left hand, over which is the inscription, "He annihilates the chiefs of Kharu (Syrians) silences all opposition in their mouths, his sword is powerful in strength, his prowess as the son of Nut (Set or Sutech)." To the right before and above the horses' heads, are the words, "The gracious god took in his hands his bow, as Mentu within Thebes . . . . smiting down the Sati, making his frontiers at his pleasure, no staying his arm in all lands, victorious king, protecting Egypt, he overthrew the towers in rebellious countries."

127*a*. contiguous with the last, repeats the battle scene (Ros. M. R. 49, 2; N. D. 2, 91). Under the horses, amid the tumbled masses of the foe, appear three forts and two waters; the names are partly effaced, "The well of Seti Meneptah," "The well Absakaba," "The Tower (*beχen*) of Ramenma," "The strength of Seti Meneptah." Words

above: "The gracious god, sun of Egypt, moon of all lands, Mentu, over (foreign) countries, irresistible, stronghearted as Baru, whom none passes by on the day of arraying battle; he enlarged the frontiers of Egypt to the expanse of heaven, on every side of the rebellious tribes; countless came the caitiff Shasu invaders; His Majesty (brought them) to nought." Some words are effaced.

127*b*. Ros. M. R. 48, 1; N. D. 2, 89, &c.; Br. Rec. 49*c*. Seti brings captives in two lines. A mutilated inscription begins, "Coming of His Majesty from land of Upper Rutennu." In front of him are the words, "Bringing spoil by the king to father Amen, when he went from land of miserable Rutennu, of silver, gold, chesbet, mafek (1) . . . . . all precious stones, the chiefs of the people bound in his grasp to fill the treasury of father Amen, in the strength thou gavest me." Underneath these words are three stands of variously shaped vases containing the treasure. Facing the king, Amen sits on his throne holding the cucupha sceptre, and crowned with two high plumes. Above are the words, "Says Amen Ra, lord of the thrones of two lands, (2) come in peace gracious god, lord of the two lands Ramenma, I give thee victories over all countries, (thy terror) in heart of barbarians (nine bows), their chiefs come to thee all as one laden on their backs." Lower, between Amen's sceptre and face, "I give thee all lands under thy dread, the barbarians bowed down at thy roarings." Between Amen and Mut, "The great mother, lady of Aśeru, lady of heaven, mistress of all gods, the giver of all life as Ra," and "Chonsu in Uas Neferhotep, great god, lord of heaven." Between the two rows of prisoners, "Chiefs of lands knowing not Egypt, brought as live captives by His Majesty."

128*a*. M. 292; Ros. M. R. 50; N. D. 2, 93 and 92; Br. Rec. 49*a*, 48*d*. Seti in his car, preceded and followed by rows of captives, whose necks are tied by a string of papyrus; three bearded heads of slain foes appear protruding from the chariot wheels. In front above the horses and car is carved, "Year 1 of the renewer of birth, king, lord of two lands, Ramenma giver of life, they came to tell His Majesty; the vile Shasu plotted (3) mischief (?) their

chiefs of tribes stood all together on the borders of Charu (Syria), the curse of discord seized them, each slew his fellow; they were not ignorant of the ordinances (4) of the palace: (?) glad was the king's heart thereon." Behind Seti, above captives: "Then the gracious god rejoiced in taking his weapon, he exulted over the invader, his heart was at ease on seeing streams of blood, he hewed off the heads of the stubborn-hearted; he loves an hour of beating them down beyond a day of pleasure; His Majesty slew them at once, not leaving their offspring (5), the part that remained of them, as living prisoners, he brought to Egypt." Behind Seti's chariot-wheels, underneath the row of three captives, is a prince with bow in hand, stepping forward; above him the words, "Royal attendant on his march over uplands of Rutennu, prince duke, ... royal scribe, royal son loved by him." . . . . Ramessu, Seti's successor, Rameses II, is the name which should probably be supplied, as in a text given farther on. Between the prince and the chariot is a fort, with the name above, "Uati of Seti Meneptah." On it is engraved "the well" . . . . (illegible), a tree standing in a piece of water just beneath. Another fort, partly standing in water, has beside it "the castle of Ramenma" (Maktar, Migdol); and beneath, a well unnamed; and is placed close to the hind legs of the horses. Behind the forelegs is a fort, "the house of the lion," "Leontopolis," below which two trees enclose a space of water, and in front of the middle row of prisoners another, "the fortress of T'ar," (*Pa χtm n T'ar*), which Brugsch identifies with Etham, the station where the children of Israel encamped, journeying from Succoth (Exod. xiii, 20). A horizontal expanse of water full of fishes extends under the feet of the lowest line of prisoners, and a vertical line of water, peopled with crocodiles, bounds the picture to the right. The last, which is named the cut, or canal (*ta tena*), is crossed by a bridge with towers on each side. Under the buildings on the further side is the name, "the well of Hazina." On the various places named in the course of Seti's expedition, it may suffice once for all to refer to the works of the learned and indefatigable scholar, Brugsch-Bey, especially to "Dict. de Geogr.," pp. 177, 310,

589, 597, where he traces the successive stages of the royal march from west to east; also "Gesch. Aeg.," p. 458, and following. As to the tribes and countries designated by the names occurring in these sculptures, there is for the most part a pretty general agreement among scholars, while some questions still remain unsettled. On disputed points I do not propose to touch, merely remarking that the explanation of Remenen as Armenia, adopted by many high authorities, has been contested by Brugsch, who, in his History of Egypt, p. 463, expresses the conviction that it means Lebanon. The difficulty attending these geographical problems, even where the similarity of names appears conspicuous, is well pointed out by Mariette-Bey in his remarks on the word Fenex (pp. 11 and 50 of his "Listes Géographiques des pylônes de Karnak"), a name which occurs in the monuments of Thothmes III, and naturally suggests Phœnicia.

128*b*. Ros. M. R. 51; N. D. 2, 93; Br. Rec. 49*b*. Two lines, priests and others, a double procession in two lines, with uplifted hands and sound of music, some bowing low, welcome the king. Inscription over this: "Divine servants, chiefs, captains of south and north, come to render homage to the gracious god when he comes from the land of Rutennu, bringing spoil in great abundance; never was seen his like since the epoch of Ra; they say, glorifying His Majesty, extolling his prowess. Thou art come from the lands thou hast quelled; thy word has become true (6); thy foes are beneath thee; thy duration as king is as the sun in heaven, to slake thy heart on the barbarians. Ra has made thy frontiers; his hands are behind thee for protection; thy mace is over all lands; their chiefs fall to thy sword."

129. N. D. 2, 106; Br. Rec. 50*b*. The king, clutching by the hair a group of captives, uplifts his mace. Amen stands in front, stretching out the scimitar in his right hand, and holding in his left, together with the key of life, ropes passed round the necks of three rows of conquered enemies, their arms tied behind, with shields in front declaring their nationality. Three more rows below complete the picture; the two upper, containing nine shields each, are led by a deity, whose name has disappeared; the lowest, with twenty-

nine shields, fills the whole length. Amen addresses Seti in words of which some portion is lost both above and below. The frequent lacunæ often make the connection hard to discover. "Son of my loins, beloved, lord of the two lands, Ramenma, revered of diadems, ... (who vanquishes) his foes; I bring to thee all peoples who were invading thy frontiers . . . . (of thy land) on its north; thy spirits are beneficent; thy terror circles . . . . . thy victories. I put thy fear in their breasts; hew down the wretches. . . . . I make thee lord of their heads, Herusha. . . . (I put) my mace in (thy hands); thou hast quelled the obdurate. . . . . (There come) to thee their chiefs, bearing all the valuable tributes of their countries; we give thee Egypt . . . (slaves) for thy treasury; I grant that to thee comes the south ready to bend in homage, the north to crouch before thee; . . . . (the sea (?) under thy sway; I give thee dominion established on earth; I grant that thy roarings ring amid . . . . his territory (?) . . . . I open to thee the roads of Punt . . . . I give thee a ministering priest (7) to lead thee in solemn state, Chonsu-Horus; I give thee . . . . as thy servants; Hor-hut makes his hands a home of comfort to thee. The countries of . . . . (nations) knowing not Egypt, I grant that thy Majesty should tread them as in sport (8), as a jackal. . . . . I give thee possessions of the south and north regions, their powers; the domains of the two gods (9) made thy domains." The captives are portrayed lifting up their hands for mercy. In front of them a few words remain, forming part of the address to Seti by the figure leading the two upper rows: "We give thee all lands, all foreign countries, under thy sandals"; and beneath the feet of Seti and his victims: "List of the peoples of south and north whom His Majesty smote, making a great overthrow of them; countless numbers of them brought as living prisoners to fill the treasury of Amen Ra, lord of the thrones of the two lands and of all regions."

130*a*. M. 300; Ros. M. R. 57; N. D. 2, 102. To the right the Cheta fly in wild disorder. A line above them: "The wretched Cheta, of whom his Majesty made a great overthrow." Seti is pictured as in 126*a*; in front of his

horses an inscription: "Hor Ra, strong bull, crowned in Thebes, giving life to south and north; king, lord of the two lands, Ramenma, son of Ra; Seti, loved of Amen, the gracious god, dominant in prowess, going forth in strength as Mentu; power potent as he that begot him; illumining the two lands as Harmachis, great in prowess as the son of Nut, victorious lord of the two lands by the deed of his hands; coursing the battlefield (10) as the inmate of Nubti (Set), mighty in terror as Bar over foreign countries, uniting the two lands (11), standing firm in the nest; sheltering with his prowess the land of Kami, whose frontiers Ra has made far as the limits which the sun's disk illumes; hawk divine, darting splendour; traversing heaven as the Majesty of Ra; jackal who paces circling round this land in the morning; grim lion exploring the hidden ways of every region; strong bull with pointed horns beating down the Saṭi, trampling the Cheta, smiting their chiefs, overwhelmed in their own blood, entering into them as flame of fire, making them to nought."

130*b* continues the last, Ros. M. R. 58; N. D. 2, 103; Br. Rec. 46*c*, 46*d*, 46*e*.

To the left, first, a double row of prisoners; Seti's car follows, by which he stands, looking back to two captive chariots led in triumph; prisoners described: "Chiefs of lands not knowing Kami, bearing on their backs all choice produce of their lands." Above, the inscription, extending over the captives to the head of the king: "The gracious god, dominant in his changes, great of prowess as Mentu in Uas, young bull with pointed horns, firm in beating down hundreds of thousands, lion exploring the hidden ways of all regions, jackal of the south, whose steps circle round the land in the hour . . . . . (to destroy) his foes in every region; valiant warrior, to whom is no second, whose bow knows the place of his hand; putting forth his spirits as a hill of iron, he rests, and they taste his breath; Rutennu come to him with homage; the land of Tehi is prostrate; he stores corn at his desire in the land of the caitiff Cheṭa; their chiefs fall to his blows, pass into nothing when the greatness of his spirits is over them; as fire he ravages their towns." Behind Seti we again read: "Victorious king, great of

prowess, whose roarings are as the son of Nut, come in festival; he has ravaged the countries, trampled the land of Cheta; he has quelled the rebels (12); every land quails before him, reduced to peace; the dread of His Majesty has entered unto them, his fierceness has subdued (13) their hearts; chiefs of countries are bound before him; he spared not hundreds of thousands combined."

Here the representations in L. D. come to a close. The "Monuments" and "Notices Descriptives" of Champollion and Rosellini, add some scenes omitted by Lepsius.

M. 290; N. D. 87; Ros. M. R. 46. A forest is seen on the left, with workmen felling trees, some wield axes, others pull them down with ropes; some in front implore mercy with uplifted hands. The king, alighted from his car, listens to a prince who leads into his presence the Remenen: the words both of the prince and the prisoners are given. "Says the fanbearer, on the king's right hand, in answer to the gracious god, 'All is done as thou saidst, Horus, giver of life to upper and lower country, thou art as Mentu over every land; the chiefs of Rutennu are seen, thy terror in their limbs.' The chiefs of the country of Remenen say, adoring the lord of the two lands, extolling his prowess, 'Thou art seen as thy father Ra; there is life in beholding thee.'" Fragments of an inscription, of which the upper part is lost, say, "Remenen cut (wood for) a large boat on the river . . . . . likewise for the . . . . ." Behind Seti is another inscription, hopelessly defaced.

M. 293; N. D. 2, 94; Ros. M. R. 52; Br. Rec. 49*e*. Seti leads before Amen two lines of prisoners; vases of treasure placed in front. Above the prisoners we read: "Chiefs of countries that knew not Egypt, whom the king brought from his victory over the land of the caitiff Rutennu. They say, in extolling His Majesty with adoration for his victories, 'O hail! great is thy name, mighty thy prowess; joyous are peoples that do according to thy will; fettered they that invade thy frontiers; firmly established is thy dignity. We knew not Egypt, our fathers trod not on it. Grant us breath by the gift of thy hands.'" Above the second line of captives, "The spoil brought by His Majesty from the Shasu, cap-

tured by His Majesty himself, in the first year of renewal of birth" (*i.e.*, of his reign).

M. 294 and 294*a* form a single picture, closely resembling, but not identical with L. D. 3. 129, and much mutilated. N. D. 2, 95, 96; Ros. M. R. 60, 61; Br. Rec. 50. To the left Seti with his mace, holds down the captives cowering low; above him fragments of an inscription which once contained his royal titles remain: "Striking the Petti, trampling the Mena, making his frontier to the edge of earth, to the waterlands of Naharin." Above his left arm are the words: "Smiting the chiefs of Petti, Mena, all hidden countries, all lands of Fenchu, the watery districts, the great round of the vast green water." Opposite to Seti Amen stands holding out the scimitar in his right hand, and in his left the cord fastened to three rows of captive shields; three more below are led by a bow-bearing goddess, Uas, or the Thebaid. In front of Amen's outstretched arm and weapon is one line: "Take the sword, victorious king, smite with thy mace the Nine-bows." Under his arm eight fragmentary lines, each commencing, "I grant that they see thy Majesty as lord of heaven, thou shinest on their faces as image of myself. I grant that they see thy Majesty decked with bravery, grasping thy weapons on thy chariot. I grant, &c. . . . like a star darting its heat of flame; scattering its dew." In the following mostly illegible lines the phrases may be detected: "Firm of heart, pointing his horns, inaccessible, irresistible, like the forms of Sechet in her tempest . . . on bodies amid the uplands . . . great in prowess; not withstood in heaven, in earth." This fragment illustrates a practice often occurring in Egyptian records. A later inscription in honour of the reigning prince, repeats almost word for word the phrases and images used previously to extol his ancestor or remote predecessor. We find here put into the mouth of Amen the words of a celebrated inscription of Thothmes III, translated in "Records of the Past," vol. ii, p. 29, &c. Above Amen's head and behind his figure a long inscription once existed. Now the whole latter portion is miserably imperfect, more than half of all the

columns having disappeared at the top; still enough is left to enable us to detect beyond doubt a similar usurpation on a larger scale; a century or so later shows us the plagiarizer plagiarized. The fragments given separately in the "Notices Descriptives," and in Brugsch's "Recueil," when compared with Champollion's "Monuments," fully suffice to show that an inscription carved at Medinet Habu, in honour of Rameses III, is closely copied from this of Seti. The fuller inscription is given L. D. 3, 210, Dümichen H. I. 1, 16, 17; N. D. 1, 727; De Rougé Ét. Ég., 10, 109; and has been translated almost entirely by M. Chabas, "Études sur l'Antiquité Historique," p. 120, 1st edition, 1872.

The version here given is made from Seti's inscription, with passages placed within brackets, which from comparing the Medinet Habu text (14), we may fairly conclude to have originally existed in this; any remarkable difference between the two is pointed out in a note.

Saith Amen Ra, lord of thrones of the two lands, "Son of my loins, beloved, Ramenma, lord of the sword over all countries, I am thy father, I place thy dread among the Rutennu, upper and lower; the Petti of Nubia are overwhelmed beneath thy sandals. I grant that to thee come the chiefs of southern countries, they give for thee to receive gifts of tribute, (bearing their children on their backs, with all precious offerings of) their countries .... I turn my face to the North, to enrich (thee, I place the land of Tesher beneath thy sandals, press thou thy fingers on the stubborn, overthrow the Herusha by thy valiant sword), I grant that to thee shall come (those who know not Egpyt, carrying) their tribute, laden with silver, gold, χesbet, all precious stones chosen from the divine land (before thy noble countenance. I turn my face to the East, to enrich thee), binding them all together within thy grasp, I assemble the countries (all the growths of Punt) of gums, perfumes of tasheps; odours of all sweet smelling woods of the divine land (to thy face, above the diadem on thy head). I turn my face to the West to enrich thee, I plague for thee all lands of Tehennu; (they come) softly treading in homage to thee, bowing low at thy roarings

to give thee glory. (I turn my face to heaven to enrich thee) joyous to thee are all the gods (of the horizon of heaven) . . . . (thou risest) (?) as Ra, at the front of morn, thou art fresh in youth, as Ra when he brings noonday. I turn my face to earth (to enrich thee; I ordain to thee victories over all lands); to thee the gods rejoice in their temples; to thee is made duration for ages on the throne of Seb."

M. 295; N. D. 2, 98; Ros. M. R. 54, 1. Attack on the fortress of Katesh, very imperfectly preserved. Defenders are seen on the top of the wall, some falling headlong from the battlements. In front the fliers are pierced by the arrows of Seti, of whose person no vestige remains; only the bodies of his horses and wheels of his car in part defy time. Below the fort are trees and scampering cattle: its name can be read near the top, and on the lower part is engraved, "Ascent made by Pharaoh to storm the fort of Katesh, the land of Amar." A fragmentary inscription above, too much mutilated to give any consecutive meaning.

M. 297; N. D. 2, 98; Ros. M. R. 55. Battle scene. Seti in his chariot drives before him the enemy in full flight; his horse's name is given, Trampler of the Plains. In the lower part of the picture, as the king seizes one of "the chiefs of Tehennu," a smaller figure behind him is named "The Prince, eldest royal son of his loins, beloved by him, Rameses." In front of the chariot an inscription is partially preserved, "Thy terror chastises the peoples, champion to whom is no fellow, making by his sword the two lands know, that they may see in the whole land him as Bar, scouring the hills, tearing open the regions with dread; his name is victorious, his sword powerful; none may stand before him."

M. 298; N. D. 2, 19; Ros. M. R. 55; Br. Rec. 45*e*. Seti drives before his car two lines of captive Tehi, noticeable from the ostrich-plume on their head: his horse's name, "Ken Amen," "Amen's strength." A short inscription above them says, "He made an end of them standing at the gorge; they knew not how to seize their bows; they watch in their dens like jackals, in dread of His Majesty."

M. 299; N. D. 2, 100; Br. Rec. 48*a*. Much likeness to

L. D. 3, 127*b*. Seti brings prisoners and spoil before Amen-Ra and other deities. "Says Amen, lord of thrones of both lands, 'My son beloved, Ramenma, my heart rejoices in thy love, exulting to see thy excellence; I grant that thy majesty may roar over all countries . . . . over the head of their chiefs who come to thee together . . . . with all their treasures lifted on their backs.'" Behind Amen are "Mut, lady of Aśru, lady of heaven, mistress of all gods; Chonsu m Uas Neferhotep, Hor, lord of gladness, Tahuti, lord of Aptu" (Thebes), three names applied to one god.

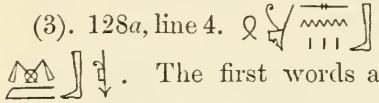
N. D. 2, 101; Br. Rec. 47. Seti's offerings are described in terms nearly identical with those of L. D. 3, 127*b*. "The wretches (beśtau) of lands that knew not Egypt," are said to be brought "to fill thy treasure-house (Amen's) with male and female slaves." Above the prisoners: "His Majesty comes from lands (in which) he spoiled the Rutennu, slew their chiefs; he made the Amu say, lo, behold him coming forth as fire when no water is brought; he annihilated all rebels, all resistance in their mouth, he took their breath from them." Above the lower line: "Chiefs of the lands of Tehennu . . . ." A few more fragments here and there may be read, but are too imperfect to give any connection.

The only date found in these inscriptions is Seti's first year; nor am I aware that any later date referring to war-like achievements of his has been discovered. His ninth year occurs in the Redesieh Inscription, which describes his efforts to remedy the loss of life caused by drought to miners crossing the desert. There seem to be grounds for believing that his reign did not extend much beyond this later date. The great Abydos Inscription shows that his son Rameses was early raised to almost kingly state; and we have seen him pictured as partner in Seti's campaign and triumph. Assuming the young prince to be no more than 12 years old at this time, he would be 20 at the epoch of the Redesieh record, in which Seti still appears as monarch. The sixty-six years of Rameses's sole reign would thus give him eighty-six or more of life, and we can hardly imagine it protracted far beyond this. The traditional number of fifty-one years for Seti's reign is difficult to admit, and not easy of explanation.

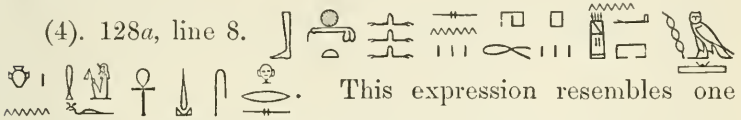
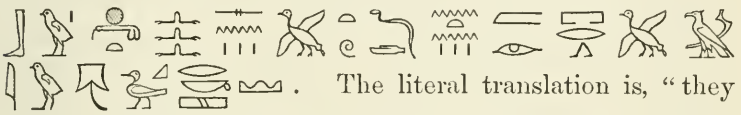
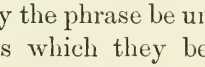
Notes.

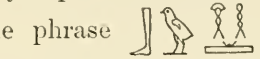
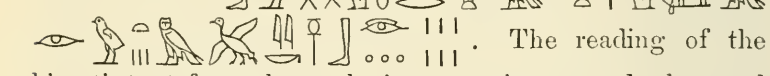
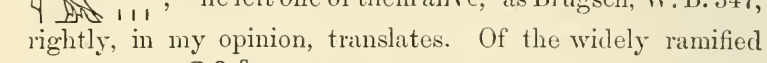
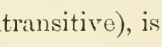
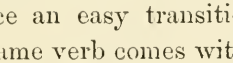
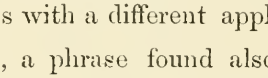
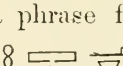
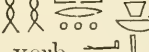
(1). L.D. 3, 127*b*, line 4. Here a word occurs unknown to me elsewhere, nor is the pronunciation clearly beyond doubt, ; māni seems the most likely reading, as given by M. Pierret in his "Vocabulary," p. 194; some precious mineral is probably intended.

(2). L.D. 3, 127*b*. "Lord of thrones of two lands," the literal version of neb-nes-taui, which name Mariette ("Karnak," p. 2), and Brugsch (D.G., p. 360), consider to denote specially the sanctuary of Amen's temple at Aptu (eastern Thebes).

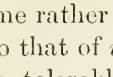
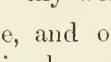
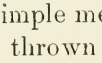
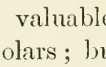
(3). 128*a*, line 4.  . The first words are not easy of interpretation, though both are well known separately; seems to be the verb, found frequently in the sense of turn round, wind, circle; the substantive form often used to denote the solar motion, , Br. W. B., 1393. which has here no determinative, mostly has one implying weariness or prostration, , or the evil bird , or again the figure , denoting reprobate, accursed; it seems sometimes to alternate with the form , rebel; cf. Br. W.B. 423, 446. Now from the radical meaning, *turn:* it is possible to derive two or three various conceptions which might find place here. Turning round may suggest rounding into a ball, *συστρέφεσθαι*, massing themselves in revolt; or again, turn in the mind, *corde volutare*, plotted revolt, the meaning given by Brugsch in his "Geschichte Aegpytens," p. 461. Of this usage no instance is known to me; still it suits the context well. Thirdly, it might perhaps be applied to the failure of the insurrection; they turned back routed (compare the Greek use of *τροπή*), "even as the chiefs of their clans stood on the borders of Syria, discord

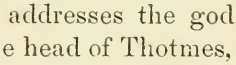
seized them, and they fell by each other's hands." In Pianchi's inscription (line 23) it occurs in the sense of surround (a city) (*see* Br. W. B. *ut sup.*); but I do not see how the meaning "they surrounded the rebels" can be admissible here.

(4). 128*a*, line 8.  . This expression resembles one found in an inscription of Horemhib at Silsilis (L.D. 3, 120):  . The literal translation is, "they were not ignorant of the ordinances of the palace" (which they knowingly defied, all the greater was their guilt, and the more merited their punishment), may be supplied in thought not expressed; or again, "which threatened their rebellion with death, and so drove them to despair, ending in self-slaughter." Brugsch explains it, "*Only such* as had not forgotten the commands of the court, *to them* the king was gracious on that account." I cannot but think that if exceptional clemency to a portion of the enemy were intended, it would have been more plainly and expressly stated. The omission of the words here given in italics seems harsh; moreover, appears rather to express delight than mercy. After all, may the phrase be understood, they *learnt* to know the ordinances which they before neglected, in the tone of scornful irony expressed in *Discite justitiam*, &c.? The radical meaning of  is probably that antithetical to , not know, be ignorant; thence easily flow the meanings, be unable, fail to do anything, except, neglect, ignore, which Brugsch assigns to it here. The Latin word *ignosco* may illustrate the transition to the sense spare, favour, which seems to me equally indisputable (*see* Mr. Goodwin's remarks, Z. A., 1867, p. 98); in L. D. 3, 130*b*, last line, *spare* is in my view the most suitable rendering.

(5). 128*a*, line 18. , so Champollion read it; some characters apparently proved illegible to later copyists: "he left no progeny to grow up among them, all that remained unslain he took away captive," this seems to be the meaning of the words. The phrase  occurs twice near the beginning of Pentaur's story in the Karnak version, as copied by De Rougé, and published in the 11th number of the "Études Égyptologiques." In plate 208, lines 11 and 12 (compare Pap. Raifet, line 7), we read how the Cheta prince left no tribe unpressed for the war, left no gold or silver in his land. A third instance is found in plate 213, line 24 (cf. Sall. 3, 2, 8),  . The reading of the hieratic text, formerly perplexing to me, is now made clear, and I venture to propose the explanation, "I left not a good deed undone" (lit., behind my hand) "for completion of the works in thy court." Again, Pap. D'Orb., p.11, line 9,  , "he left one of them alive," as Brugsch, W. B. 347, rightly, in my opinion, translates. Of the widely ramified meanings of  , lie, lay, set (with the common interchange of transitive and intransitive), is probably the primary one, whence an easy transition gives, let lie, leave undisturbed. The same verb comes with a different application in L. D. 3, 130*b*,  , a phrase found also in Pianchi's inscription, line 132,  . In this last passage the second verb  *āb* is somewhat puzzling, and involves the whole sentence in difficulty. Of the four published translations each renders it in a different manner. Laying the corn (itself called  , that which is laid) may without harshness be applied both to casting the seed,

and to depositing the gathered produce in the granary; anyhow, the above words seem to denote that Rameses uses the Cheta land as his own, sowing or reaping at his pleasure. In the word (on which see Brugsch, W. B. 542) the context appears to me rather to favour the meaning *heir, offspring*, in preference to that of *inheritance, patrimony*, which, however, might yield a tolerable sense, "he left them no property; he spoiled them of all."

(6). L.D. 3, 128*b*, 7.  , "thy word is become true; thou hast made good thy cause, and overcome the wrongdoers," such seems to me the simple meaning of the original words. Much light has been thrown on the usage of this and cognate phrases by the valuable remarks of M. Devéria, M. Grébaut, and other scholars; but it does not appear demonstrated that in very many cases the old rendering, justified, is otherwise than perfectly suitable and consistent with the original and literal sense of , the voice of truth before the tribunal of Osiris, the lord of truth and justice, is sure to prevail, he whose voice is true becomes victorious and triumphant. The notions, *justify against his enemies*, and *make to prevail against his enemies*, are so closely allied as to be scarcely distinguishable. Thus the constant epithet to the dead may be fairly viewed as equivalent to *blessed*, selig, as Brugsch W. B. 577, &c., expresses it. With all the admiration which every student of Egyptian lore must gladly pay to the learning and sagacity of Dr. L. Stern, I cannot be convinced by his new explanation of this phrase given in Z.A., 1877, p. 120, &c. In the XIIth Dynasty the two consecutive reigns of Amenemha III and IV exhibit severally the titles  (written also ) and  , K.B. 183, 184. It seems hardly probable that in these two cases the should represent two words entirely different in meaning, especially when we consider the various compounds with "ma" found in royal titles—Ra-neb-ma, Hor-hkn-m-ma, Hor-ap-ma, Hor-neb-ma, Hotep-hima, &c., where the sense truth or justice is manifestly the right one.

(7). L.D. 3, 129. , "I give thee an Anmutf to conduct thee, Chonsu-Horus." Anmut or Anmutf is a title given to a minister who officiates on solemn occasions, wearing the pard skin. The word is translated by M. Pierret in his "Vocab. Hiéroglph.," p. 34, *high priest*. In his "Dict. d'Archéologie." p. 45, he notices a likeness to Khem Hor, observing that the title Horanmutf (not unfrequently found) recalls the well-known Amen Kamutf. This personage appears sometimes in a divine, sometimes in a human character. In the temple of Semneh, raised by Thotmes III to the Nubian deity Tetun, an Anmutf addresses the god, who has placed the southern crown on the head of Thotmes, while the king kneels in front of his feet, "Thy son who loves thee reposes on thy seat; he inherits thy throne, becomes king of this land, unrivalled for ever; exalt thou his spirits, create his terror in the hearts of barbarians, in approval of this sanctuary of good white stone he has made thee." Just above the minister are the words.  (L. D. 3, 53).

In the tomb of Rameses I (L. D. 3, 123*a*) a priest has this name who stands in front of Osiris Chentamenti, seated on his throne, and repeats a formula, "in peace, rest for ever," to greet the deceased monarch whom Horsihes Tum and Neith conduct into the presence of the divine judge.

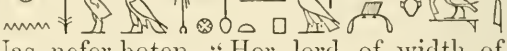
In the tomb of Seti himself a distinctly divine personality seems to be assigned to him. Champollion's "Monuments," 237, presents a scene where Seti on a throne is confronted by two figures wearing the panther's hide, one above the other. The upper looks away from Seti, and the words are engraved before him, "Saith Anmutf, I come to thee son beloved, Osirian king Ramenma justified; I give thee years as Ra, thy power as Tum." The lower figure looks towards Seti, with the words, "Saith Hor Anmutf, I am Hor who love thee, lord of both lands, loved of Ra, Osirian king Ramenma justified; I give thee the throne of Ra, even as he rises amid the dwellers of the upper heaven." An address of Horanmutf to Seti, commencing similarly with a somewhat

different ending, is also quoted from the same tomb in the "Notices Descriptives," I, p. 797. Comp. p. 436.

In L. D., 3, 202*f*, Horanmutf, "great god, lord of ages," stands with uplifted hand, facing "divine mother, royal mother Tachat," saying, "We give a seat in Kharneter, as the cycle of great gods." In another grave at Bab-el-meluk (L. D., 206*e*), Horanmutf, holding a censer in his left hand, dropping water from an ewer with his right, accosts, "Chief royal wife, lady of the two lands, Titi." In Seti's temple at Gurna (L. D. 3, 151*b*), two seated figures of Rameses I (Ramenpeh), looking different ways, are sculptured, with an Anmutf standing in front of each, who invokes Seb and the cycle of great and lesser gods to bestow blessings on the deceased king by the gift of his grandson Rameses II, and a line between the two divisions attests the renewal of the monument by Rameses II, in honour of his father's father Ramenpeh and his father Ramenma. In Seti's temple at Abydos, brought to light by Mariette-Bey, a panther-vested ministrant repeatedly appears, named variously Anmutf, Hor-Anmutf, and, with an additional priestly title, Sem Hor-Anmutf. See especially plates 28, 33, and 34, where Sem Hor-Anmutf assists in the purifying rites, and addresses the cycle of deities in favour of "his dear son Ramenma," to whom he presents the consecrated "eye of Horus." In Denderah likewise (as I learn from M. Lefébure "Ét. Ég.," 3, 56) the phrase is found ; Anmutf is Hor. L.D. 3, 175*b*, shows an inscription on a rock between Assuan and Philæ, where Rameses II appears making offerings to Chnum, followed by his queen Hesinefert and his son Chamuas, who is styled Anmutf. Two other sons Rameses and Meneptah, and a daughter Batanta, are placed below.

Seeing then that in Seti's age the part of Anmutf might be acted both by divine and human personages, we may without violence suppose Amen to say to him, "I give thee a god as Anmutf to conduct thee in solemn state," and Horus is the god we should expect to find designated for this office. Here he is named Chonsu Hor, the name of two deities, mostly distinct, being united in one. The fusion of

separate powers is so prevalent in Egyptian mythology that this need hardly surprise us; still it may be well to show that this special combination is not unexampled.

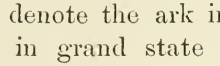
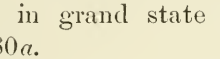
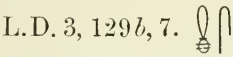
In a scene copied by Champollion, M. 299 (see above translation, p. 13), Seti stands before three deities: (1) Amen, (2) Mut, (3)  Chonsu m Uas nefer-hotep, "Hor lord of width of heart (exultation), Tahuti lord of Aptu (Thebes)." In this title a triple unity is represented; we more commonly find either χonsu Hor or χonsu Tahuti in combination. Thus in the great Harris Papyrus, p. 10, line 14, pa χonsu m Uas nefer hotep, Hor neb aua het (or *ab*): "Records of the Past," 636; Brugsch, D. G. 600. In the great temple at Abusimbel, L. D. 3, 191*i*, Rameses II is figured kneeling before a god, hawk-headed, and crowned with the lunar disk, whose name is given χonsu m Uas nefer hotep, Hor neb ... A character follows which is not clear as given in the text, but as the state of the face of wall beneath shows traces of the destructive work of time, it may be fairly supposed part of the *aua het*, the epithet given above to Chonsu Hor.

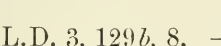
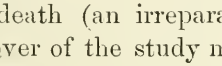
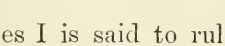
L.D. 3, 223*b*. At Western Silsilis, a singular inversion is found; a later Rameses stands before Amen-ra, Mut, and Chonsu m Uas nefer hotep auā het Hor, and Sebak Ra.

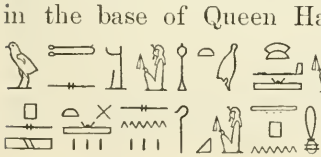
L. D. 3, 229*c*. In a rock stele at Anibe three figures are named Amen Ra, Mut, Chonsu m Uas neb aua het; the name of Hor is not given, but his usual epithet added to Chonsu's titles; likewise in Chonsu's Temple at Thebes, 238*b*. L. D. 3, 234*a*, gives another identification, Chonsu nefer hotep Shu, in a tomb at Thebes. L. D. 3, 237*b*, Chonsu nefer hotep m Aptu Tahuti lord of Hermonthis.

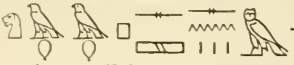
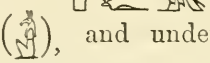
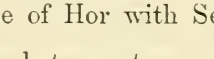
In Ptolemaic times instances occur of Chonsu's name combined with Hor, Tahuti, Ra, Shu; see L. D. 4, 9*b*, 11*c*, 14*c*, &c. No other instance is known to me where Chonsu Hor is found as an Anmutf, though the name Hor-anmutf is so common, and indeed, according to Dr. Brugsch, D. G. 79, appears as the local deity of a town Ateb, between Dendera and Abydos. The purport of the name is not certain, and throws no light upon the mysterious functions of this office;

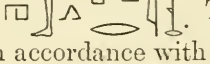
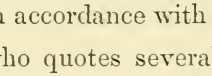
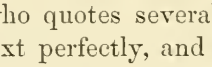
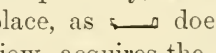
it may, perhaps, refer to some myth that has not reached us. The verb , lead in a solemn procession, is too familiar to need illustration; the same word, as a noun, is used to denote the ark in which the form of a deity was paraded in grand state ceremonies — so in L. D. 3, 142, 150*a*, 180*a*.

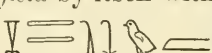
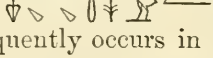
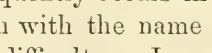
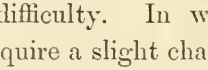
(8). L.D. 3, 129*b*, 7.  The word  is explained by Brugsch, W. B. 1357–8, "amuse oneself," answering to  , with which it is sometimes coupled, and I see no better explanation to be suggested for it here.

(9). L.D. 3, 129*b*, 8.  . The translation given is that which De Rougé in his "Chrestomathie," t. iii, p. 100, adopts for these words, the two gods being Horus and Set, whose contest for the dominion of Egypt and final partition is alluded to in the fourth Sallier Papyrus, and in the inscription re-engraved by Sabako after an older original, now contained in the British Museum, and printed in the first series of Egyptian Inscriptions, plate 36 and following. As much of it as was still legible was translated and criticised in 1870 by Mr. Goodwin, whose recent death (an irreparable loss to Egyptian philology) every lover of the study must deplore. Chabas, Mel. Eg. iii, 1, 247, 285: In this the word  occurs both as verb and noun, with reference to this division of the domain between the two claimants. Cf. Brugsch, W. B. 509–510, who might also have cited earlier illustrations of this usage; for instance, we find a passage which may be compared in a rock-inscription at Tombos, L D. 3, 5, line 2, where Thothmes I is said to rule  the portions of Hor and Set, uniting both regions. Again, in the base of Queen Hatasu's obelisk, L. D. 3, 24*d*, n. 3,



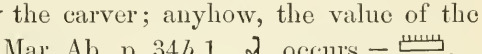
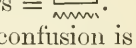
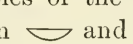
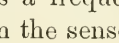
"I raise the white crown, I rise in the red crown, I unite South and North, both their portions; I rule the land as the son of Hes, I am strong as the son of Nut." Again, L. D. 3. 119 *e*, where Ammon addresses King Horus,  . It may be worth while to observe the striking difference between mythological versions of the same story as they have come down to us. In the Sallier Papyrus IV, the battle is fully described, and the reconciliation mentioned, but no important part in the final arrangement is assigned to Seb, any more than to Kronos by Plutarch in his treatise, whereas in Sabaco's inscription, Seb appears as the arbiter who settles the dispute. Should not the last words in the sixteenth column of p. 36 in E. I. sec. 1, which are printed , be read  , and understood of Seb, "he adjudged the dispute of Hor with Set," as Thoth is called  , arbiter between two combatants, a title given likewise to Amen in the Boulaq Papyrus, No. 17, 8, 4.

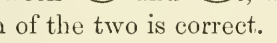
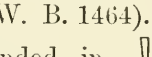
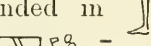
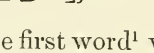
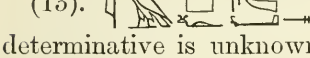
(10). L.D. 130*a*, 6.  . The meaning assigned here to  is in accordance with the views of Brugsch, Z. A. 1876, 99–100, who quotes several passages where this sense suits the context perfectly, and where the determinative  points to a place, as  does to a forcible action; Schauplatz, field of view, acquires the notion field of battle, as we sometimes use *field* by itself with this farther meaning.

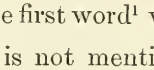
(11). L.D. 130*a*, 7.  . Samtaui, uniter of the two lands, frequently occurs in the royal scutcheons, mostly in conjunction with the name of Horus. So far the words present no difficulty. In what follows the first character seems to require a slight change,  should be  =  , the determinative here standing alone for the word which it usually follows. Exactly the same combination is cited by Brugsch, Z. A. 1876, p. 100, from a stele in the British Museum, belonging to the date of Thotmes IV,

"behind His Majesty he stood firm on the battle-field." Likewise in L. D. 3, 150, the same three characters come together twice, and moreover the character is found three times in an inscription given on the same page, immediately after as determinative. We may suppose the mark underneath, which distinguishes the one from the other, to have become illegible to the copyists, if it was not neglected by the carver; anyhow, the value of the sign seems certain. Mar. Ab., p. 34*b* 1, occurs = .

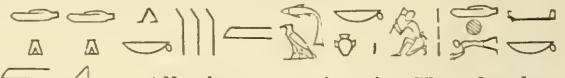
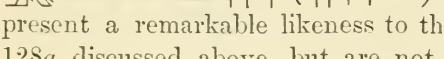
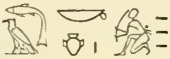
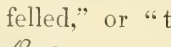
In our copies of the inscriptions a frequent confusion is found between and , when the sense mostly points out which of the two is correct.

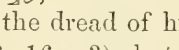
(12). L.D. 130*b*.  , "he made an end of" (*see* Brugsch, W. B. 1464). A play upon the words is apparently intended in  equivalent to  following  .

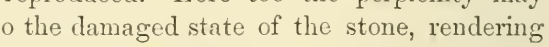
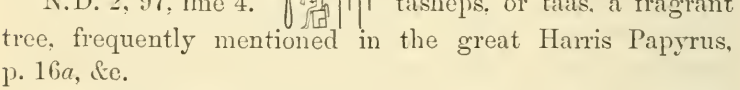
(13).  . The first word[1] with this determinative is unknown to me, and is not mentioned by our lexicographers, except in M. Pierret's Vocabulary, p. 11, where he quotes this passage, and affixes to the word a "?" Whether it may be connected with  *pest*, a name of the Hyksos, or  , "a net," is not easy to determine; it is evidently the nominative to , a verb common in the sense of "subdue," "overthrow," literally perhaps "tear open," and must refer to the destructive force of Seti. For  compare L. D. 126, 6,  .

[1] A somewhat similar word  occurs in three similar texts, where it apparently means "lance"; cf. *Nav. Lit.*, pl. 13, 23; 19, 26; 31, 21, and Note 30, p. 91. Such a reading would perfectly suit the above text.

(14). In this note K. stands for the Karnak text (Seti); M. for that of Medinet Habu (Rameses III).

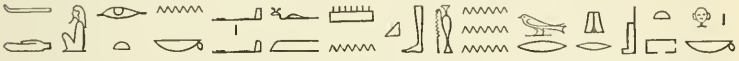
N.D. 2, 96, line 3. The words, "I am thy father; I place thy dread among the Rutennu, upper and lower," are not found in M.  . All that remains in K. of what should answer to this seems to be  . The first words present a remarkable likeness to those occurring in L. D. 3, 128*a* discussed above, but are not easily brought to correspond with what the later inscription has in this place, though the concluding "thy sword" points to a similar connection of ideas. in general meaning answers pretty well to  , so that the sense might be "the rebels in their nests (have fallen to) thy sword," or "thy sword has felled," or "the rebels have turned, fled." The form  occurs in an inscription of Thotmes II, which describes the dread of his might pervading all foreign nations (L. D. 3, 16*a*, 3), but the connection in which it is found is obscure, and I suspect the exact characters of the original are not reproduced. Here too the perplexity may be in part due to the damaged state of the stone, rendering certainty of transcription impossible.

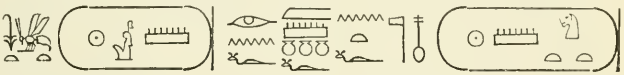
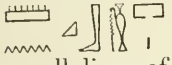
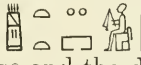
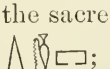
N.D. 2, 97, line 4.  tasheps, or taas, a fragrant tree, frequently mentioned in the great Harris Papyrus, p. 16*a*, &c.

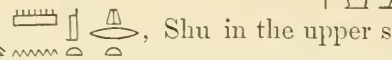
K. gives  according to N. D. 2, 97. M. has (line 18), "To thee rejoice gods of the horizon of heaven."  . The meaning above given to the words of K. depends on a slight change which

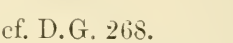
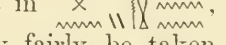
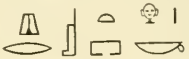
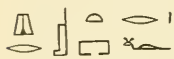
I conjecture has to be made in the last characters, reading for , , midday, noon (*see* Br. W. B., 723), in antithesis to morning, which precedes, seems more appropriate than any other sense which suggests itself. M.'s text, not altogether legible, seems to give "Birth (or born) of Ra in the front of the morning; thou art young alike .... he brings order, harmony." It may be observed that in the three last lines the copy of K. published in the "Notices Descriptives" has an error of arrangement; the final line, as there printed, ought to precede the two that come before it. The "Monuments," plate 294*a*, and Brugsch "Recueil," 50*a*, give the right order.

N.D. 2, 97, line 8. The last phrase of K. is clear and suitable. M. has a different ending, not quite so perspicuous, remarkable as repeating words already found in L.D. 3, 129, 6:



(the variety appears in the earlier monument, and finishes the sentence). No dictionary that I have seen gives this word; two other instances of its occurrence are known to me, L.D. 3, 131*b*, in Seti's temple at Gurnah, two sides of a pannel record, in almost identical terms, memorials dedicated by that monarch to his father Rameses  . The opposite inscription varies only in giving the second royal title of each king, and for  has  , a splendid house. The parallelism of phrase and the determinative alike show that the word represents an edifice. It is also found in Mar. Ab., plate 19, where several names are given, which are applied to the sacred chambers in part of Seti's temple. One of these is  ; the equivalence of with is shown as well by other instances as by its being used in the name Ramenma. The elements of the word are familiar: , the radical meaning of which is *firm, stand, station*, &c.,

appears itself in the sense of a *seat;* Brugsch. W.B., 640, and compare Mar. Ab., plate 47*b*,  , Shu in the upper seat, Tefnut in the lower. The syllable comes at the commencement of several local names, as Mennofer (Memphis), &c. A town, *Menskab*, , appears in a pyramid of Giseh, under the cartouche of king Tatkara, L.D. 2, 76*b*; cf. D.G. 268.

The second element of the word  , with the notion of *water*, *libation*, *cooling*, &c., likewise enters into the names of places, as in  , D.G. 788, &c. Thus the compound may fairly be taken to denote a mansion where refreshing quiet may be obtained; with us the image might be expressed, "Horus makes his arms thy support and comfort." The words  (which have already occurred, L.D. 3, 129), *under the seat of thy face*, convey the notion, *subject to thy rule, which thou canst command at will;* see Br. W.B. 1152, and cf. L.D. 3, 243*a*, 2, ; Mariette. Karnak, 35, 49,  .

I am not aware that the parallelism of these two inscriptions of Seti and of Rameses III has been pointed out before. As other known instances of similar repetition, compare L.D. 3, 194, a long inscription of Rameses II at Abusimbel, copied by Rameses III at Medinet Habu, Düm. H.I. 1, 7–10; for the translation *see* Düm. Flotte, p. 9. Compare also L.D. 3, 162 (Rameses II) with L. D. 3, 202 (Rameses III); cf. J. de Rougé, Mél. Arch. 1, 128; and a triple address to the Nile by Rameses II, Meneptah I, and Rameses III, L.D. 3, 175, 200, 218, examined and translated by Stern, Z. A., 1873, 129.

NOTES ON ASSYRIAN RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY.

By William St. Chad Boscawen.

Read 4th July, 1876.

The Assyrians were, as we are told in Genesis x, 2, a colony from the mother-land of Babylon, "Out of that land went Assur." The date of this migration is as yet uncertain, but it was probably in about the 19th century B.C. The Assyrians, it is evident, did not leave their southern home and form the colony round Assur, until they had developed a considerable state of civilisation, a large amount of which was borrowed from the Accadians, the ruling class of southern Babylonia, a people of the Turanian family, who had been the first to leave the primitive cradle of the human race in Ararat or "Urdhu," the district of "mountain of the world," and to pass southwards, following the course of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, most probably the former of these, as we find the Amardi or Proto-Media tribes, who speak a language akin to the Accadian, and the Elamite or people of Susania, all dwelling to the east of both the Euphrates and the Tigris. The Semitic branch appears rather to have followed the course of the Euphrates for some distance, and there, probably enticed by the pasturage of the Arabian plains, to have formed the early Semitic kingdoms of Southern Arabia, though these kingdoms were probably not formed until a much later period than those of Babylonia, the Semitic preferring rather the free life of the nomad to that of the cramped citizen. With the Turanian or Cushite branch there appear to have passed down some Semitic families, for in the early contract tablets we meet with Semitic names, both as parties to the contracts and as witnesses. The Semite

even at that early period appears to have been equally shrewd and active as to the arrangements and practices of both commerce and usury.

For many centuries the rulers and dominant class in the land were Accadian, their royal brick legends being written in that language; but still the Semites appear to have possessed some power, because we find legends at an early period written in Semitic, as though they were sufficiently powerful to require to have a special proclamation written for them, and, as I have stated, their names appear in trade transactions of the time.[1]

But about 2000 B.C. we find a change in the land: a great influx of Semites into the land, a Semitic dynasty on the throne under Sargon of Agane. The cause of this influx of Semites is as yet unexplained, owing to there being so few monuments of the period, the site of Agane, the Mound of Akkur-Kuf., in the region of Sippra, being as yet untouched. This invasion, and conquest of Babylon was one of the great points in the history of the civilisation of the human race, and one to which even we, in these days of enlightenment, owe something. In this dynasty took place the fusion of the Turanian and Semitic religions of Western Asia, the eldest child of whom was the religion of Assyria, the religion of Abraham before the call, and one which there is little doubt had great influence on his mind, and on the minds of those who were the founders of the worship of the "one true God."

The religion of man begins with himself, and may be said to be due to two peculiar instincts which are possessed by man alone, and which raise him above the level of the brute creation. They are:—I. The instinct of causation; that is, the application of the method of induction in striving to find a cause for every effect. II. The pursuit of an ideal of perfection.

The first of these is by far the most powerful, and is the first to act in course of the religious development of the human being. Man, by the process of induction, traces back

[1] The bilingual text of Khammu-ragas, and a Semitic tablet of same king, both about B.C. 1650.

every act, and every effect of which *he* is the cause to an indwelling *spirit*, which we call *will*. This primitive process of reasoning is that which produces the first religious system in Babylonia. The primitive Accadian highlander, in his mountain home, traced all his actions to one source, the indwelling spirit, which he called 𒌋𒁹𒁹 *tsi* or *zi*, or life. This life is rendered in the bilingual texts by *napistu*, a feminine abstract from *napisu*, life, breath, the Heb. נפש. Having applied this process of reasoning to his own acts, man proceeds to apply it to the acts of others, beings and objects both animate and inanimate. Each tree, each animal, the running river, the tempest-driven cloud, each owed its being, its actions, its motion, to the indwelling *zi* or life spirit. Probably the application of this process of reasoning to inanimate objects was a secondary one, but not in any way an unnatural one. With this process man had reared the first stage of religious development, viz., that which is known as "fetichis" worship. It is a process of reasoning not extinct even now. The child who attributes to her doll the same cravings of hunger and thirst she feels herself, who chastises her toy for some supposed wrong act, or rewards it for some good one, is in reality applying exactly the same process of reasoning as is applied by the fetich worshipper in his first steps in religious development.

Gradually, as man rises in the social scale, and his intellectual powers become more fully developed, this process of reasoning is carried a step further, a dualism is introduced, a division between the spirits of objects which are beneficial to him and those which are hurtful. The fierce storm which blows down his tent and extinguishes his fire is to the fetish worshipper the dwelling of an evil spirit, its *zi* is hostile to him; the river that flows by his camp and supplies him with fish for food and water for himself and his cattle, is possessed of a good, and kind spirit, and any usual phenomenon connected with it which may affect him in an evil way is attributed, not to an evil spirit, but to its anger at some act of the man's, and must needs be atoned for. It is in this stage of development that religions become so much influenced by local elements, both natural and physical. What is worshipped

as good by one race may be considered evil by another. With the introduction of this dualism of good and evil spirits there arose a dualistic priesthood: those who dealt entirely with the good spirits, invoking their aid against the evil one, and those who dealt with the evil ones, calling down their curses upon the enemies of those who consulted them.

The former of these were the more powerful, and the recognised priesthood of Babylonia in the primitive period, and out of them developed the more definite priesthood. Of the latter class, the sorcerers and witches, we gain much curious information from the tablets relating to witchcraft published in the fourth volume of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia."

As I have previously stated, about 2000 B.C., in the time of Sargon I of Agane, a religious reformation took place, caused by the fusion of the two religious systems of the Accadians and that of the Semites, whose religion appears to have resembled that of the authors of the Hymiritic inscriptions. We find such deities as Sin (the moon), Shamas (the sun), and Shalman (the Saviour), appearing in the inscriptions of Babylonia. These deities also appear in the Hymiritic inscriptions. In this system, which now became the established religion of Babylonia, we find the old spirits of the fetish systems re-organised; those that had been worshipped as spirits of the earth, of heaven, and of various other abstract and concrete objects, became deities or *ili*, gods, in the place of *zi*, or spirit of *fetich*, whilst the remainder of the spirits were divided into two great bodies —the Iggi or spirits of heaven, the angels, and the Anunnaki or spirits of earth, who were only invoked collectively, and were regarded as the children of the greater gods, and were the subjects of the two great gods, Anu the god of heaven, the Assyrian *Zeus*, and Hea, the lord of the abyss, the Assyrian *Plutos* or *Poseidon*.

As an illustration of these two systems of worship, I will now give translations of two litanies; the first one of the old religio-magic system, the second one of the late Assyrian and Semitic period.

(1) W.A.I., Vol. IV, Plate 1, Col. II, 10.

1. From the curse, Oh Spirit of Heaven protect thou, Oh! Spirit of Earth protect thou.
2. Oh Spirit of the Lord of Lands protect thou.
3. Oh Spirit of the Lady of Lands protect thou.
4. Oh Spirit of the Lord of the Stars protect thou.
5. Oh Spirit of the Lady of the Stars protect thou.
6. Oh Spirit of the Lord of the Holy Mound protect thou.
7. Oh Spirit of the Lady of the Holy Mound protect thou.
8. Oh Spirit of the Lord of the Light of Life protect thou.
9. Oh Spirit of the Lady of the Light of Life protect thou.

In each case here the word for spirit was , *tsi* or *zi*, and so foreign was the fetich conception to the Assyrian, that we find the words variously rendered, king "*sarru*," or *ilu* god, or even *nisu* man.[1]

At the end of the tablet of prayers against sins we meet with the following curious litany, which is an example of the fully developed religion.

1. May Bel (pardon), the king my creator.
2. May Bellis queen of Bit *Zida* (?) pardon.
3. May Bit Zida pardon my fault.
4. May Hea pardon. May Davkina pardon.
5. May Hea Lord of Chaos pardon.
6. May the Abyss the House of Wisdom pardon.
7. Zuge[2] pardon; the watery deep may it pardon.
8. Merodach king of the angels may he pardon.
9. May Zerat-banit the queen of Bit Saggal pardon.
10. May Bit Saggal and Babylon the abode of the great gods pardon.

[1] *See* M. Lenormant's notes on this in "Chaldean Magic," published since this paper.

[2] The void of procreative nature.

11. May Nabu and Nana pardon in Bit Zida (the Temple of Life).
12. May Tasmit the great Lady pardon.
13. May the Judge the throned one in Bit Saggal pardon.
14. The Stars of the South, the Stars of the North, the Stars of the East, the Stars of the West, may they pardon.
15. The four quarters may cleanse him and may they pardon his sin.
16. Istar of Erech the Blessed may she pardon.
17. Beltis of Bit-Anna may she pardon. May Bit Anna pardon.
18. Annuit of Agane may she pardon.
19. May Agane pardon.

Col. IV.

20. *Mil Khisa*, Lady of Dwellings, may she pardon.
21. *Si-duri*, the goddess of wisdom, may she pardon
22. the fault of his life.
23. Dibbara, the great Dibbara, the powerful Dibbara, may he pardon.[1]
24. Laz (the wife of Lubara), Hani and *Kussu* the thunder may he pardon.
25. Tar zir-na (the king of the desert) may he pardon.
26. May Sarakhu pardon.
27. Sulpa-Uddu their might may he pardon.
28. . . . . .
29. The Star of the bow, the Star of Stars the propitious Star of Heaven may it pardon.
30. *Nanudu*, may he pardon.
31. May Papsukal and Istar pardon.
31. His god or his goddess
32. in the days of sin may they cleanse him
33. whoever he be.

[1] A series of legends relating to this hero have been discovered by the late Mr. G. Smith, and are published in his "Chaldean Genesis."

This tablet, which is the second of a series relating to the treatment of penitents, and is very curious, it being a species of Assyrian litany in which almost every god and goddess is invoked by his or her title to pardon the sinner. It resembles in some respects those curious litanies found in the Zend-Avesta. It is most important to the mythology, as it gives us the titles and relations of several unknown deities.

In the early portion of the tablet we meet with the following curious rules of time of prayer, and I am sure that if the Assyrians kept to these rules, they must have done little else but pray, and would have had but scant time left for warlike expeditions and other duties. The passage reads:—

1. Pray thou. Pray thou!
2. Before the couch pray!
3. Before the throne pray!
4. Before the canopy pray!
5. Before the *nadni*, the dwelling of lofty head, pray!
6. Before the light of dawn pray!
7. Before the fire pray!
8. Before the dawn pray!
9. By the tablets and books pray!
10. By the fire and . . . . . pray!
11. By the hearth pray!
12. By the threshold pray!
13. By the side of the foundation pray!
14. By the side of the well (pool) pray!
15. By the side of the river (canal) pray!
16. By the side of the boat pray! In riding in the boat pray! In leaving the boat pray!
17. At the rising of the sun pray!
18. At the setting of the sun pray!
19. To the gods of heaven through the altars of the earth pray!
20. By the altar of god or goddess pray!
21. In leaving or entering the city pray!
22. In leaving or entering the great gate pray!

23. In leaving or entering the house pray!
24. In the street pray!
25. In the temple pray!
26. On the road pray!

The foregoing examples are but fragments selected from my note book, but in submitting them to the members of this Society, I felt that to many who might wish to contrast the religion of Assyria with the Hebrew, they might form interesting notes. I hope at some future time to give a translation of several more of these inscriptions, which ought certainly to find a place in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology.

A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF THE LATE WILLIAM HENRY FOX TALBOT, F.R.S.

By Richard Cull, F.S.A.

Read 2nd April, 1878.

Mr. Talbot was the only issue of the marriage of William Davenport Talbot, of Lacock Abbey, in the county of Wiltshire, with Lady Elisabeth Theresa Fox-Strangways, eldest daughter of the second Earl of Ilchester. He was born at Melbury, in Dorsetshire, the seat of the Earl, on the 11th of February, 1800. His father, William Davenport Talbot, died in July, 1800, when his son was only five months old. His mother married, secondly, in 1804, Captain, afterwards Rear-Admiral, Charles Feilding, by whom she had two daughters, Caroline, now Countess Dowager of Mount Edgcumbe, and Horatia, late wife of Thomas Gaisford, Esq.

Mr. Talbot was educated at Harrow, where he was lodged in the house of Dr. Butler, Head Master of the School, the father of the present Head Master. Mr. Talbot displayed marked abilities at a very early age, for in a letter written by Dr. Butler to Lord Winchelsea in December, 1812, occurs the following paragraph, "Little Talbot goes on *à merveille*. He has just finished his 'trial' for the Fifth Form, and has done himself credit. I am really distressed at removing him at so early an age into the Fifth Form, but if his acquirements are beyond his years, how can I help it?" His acquirements were beyond his years, and the ordinary school work soon became insufficient to satisfy his intellectual powers. He sought knowledge beyond and outside the prescribed school course. He took up Chemistry, and one of his experiments resulted in an explosion, which alarmed Dr. Butler for the safety of his house, and made him declare that he could only allow the theory of Chemistry to be studied at

Harrow. Dr. Butler himself was fond of Chemistry, and very kindly offered to lend his pupil any of his books on the subject. The prohibition was of course respected, but the ardent student arranged to carry on his future experiments in the shop of a neighbouring blacksmith, and thus continue by his own manipulation to illustrate and test the statements contained in his text books.

While at Harrow he also manifested a taste for Botany, and was in the habit of taking botanical walks with a friend, the present Sir Walter C. Trevelyan, Bart., but as the public opinion of the school did not countenance their pursuit, they took good care before returning to the house, to throw away any specimens they had gathered.

On leaving Harrow he read with a private tutor, and then entered Trinity College, Cambridge, where in 1820 he gained the Porson prize for Greek verse, that being one of the occasions when the metre was trochaics, and not iambics. He graduated in honours in 1821, being twelfth wrangler, and second Chancellor's medalist. He was a scholar of Trinity, but did not compete for a Fellowship, as he had determined to spend some time in travel. About 1821 he left England, and travelling not as an idle lounger, but with the aims of a scholar and man of science, his education and bias of mind qualified him for observation and study. His love of botany was gratified at Corfu, and in after years he often referred with pleasure to the many excursions he made on that island for the purpose of studying its botanical peculiarities. The love of plants remained with him to the last, and was exhibited in his greenhouses at Lacock Abbey.

He appears to have been indefatigable in the pursuit of knowledge in pure mathematics, in physics, and in chemistry. For the range and character of his researches reference may be made to Phil. Mag., vols. II to XXII: Phil. Trans., 1836 and 1837; Roy. Soc. Proc., vols. III, IV, VI; Edin. Roy. Soc. Trans., vols. XXI and XXIII; Edin. Jour. Sc., vol. V; Journ. l'Institut., III. VII; Brit. Ass. Reports, 1839, 1842, 1847; Quart. Journ. Science, vol. XXII: Chem. News, vol. III: Schwegger. Journ., 48; Froriess. Notiz., 37; Liebig. Ann., X; Poggend. Ann., 35; Bibl. Ital., XCIII; Majorchi Ann. Fis.

Chim., I; Dingler, Polytech. Jour., LXXXI; Erdm. Jour. Prak. Chem. LV, LIX.

The attention of the leading men of science was naturally attracted to the successful researches of Mr. Talbot, and he was elected into the Royal Society on the 17th of March, 1831. The Royal Medal of the Society was awarded to him in 1838 for his papers entitled "Researches in the Integral Calculus," published in the Philosophical Transactions for the years 1836 and 1837. In 1842 the Rumford medal was awarded to him for his "Discoveries and Improvements in Photography." His other researches in science are less popularly known than his brilliant discovery of a method of fixing the image of an object in the *camera obscura,* in the completion of which the art of Photography consists. This invention was not a mere chance result of a chemical experiment; on the contrary, it was a calculated series of results. It was a profound application of optical and chemical knowledge to the solution of definite problems, the solution of each being one step towards the grand result. He fixed the image in the *camera obscura*, and thus gave Photography to the world. By what means Mr. Talbot little by little succeeded in solving this one great problem of photography will be seen from the following notes kindly prepared for me by his son, Charles Henry Talbot, Esq., B.A.

Dates bearing on the Invention of Photography.

1823–4. My father attempted to *draw* by the aid of the *camera obscura* in Italy.

1833. At Como he attempted to draw by the aid of Wollaston's *camera lucida*, with very little success. He then thought of trying again with the *camera obscura.* Then he thought of the possibility of retaining the image formed by the light in that instrument, made a note on the spot, and resolved to try on his return to England.

1834. He returned to England in January, and shortly after began experimenting. In the spring of this year, having found that greater sensitiveness of paper was attained by the formation of an imperfect chloride, or

a subchloride, than a perfect chloride of silver, a practical photographic result was attained. Fixing process also suggested by using a bath of salt water to make a perfect chloride.

Attempts to take a picture in the camera not having given a satisfactory result, an exposure of an hour or two giving the outline only of the roofs and chimneys of a building distinctly marked, greater sensitiveness of the paper was required. Experiments to attain this were made at Geneva in the autumn of this year. Following Sir Humphry Davy's suggestion, my father experimented with iodide of silver. Discovered the analogous behaviour of iodide and chloride of silver, when the proportion of iodine and salt respectively to silver was greater or less, the difference being most decided in the case of the iodide. A method of fixing adopted by the use of a bath of iodide of potassium with partial success.

1835. During the summer of this year fresh attempts were made to obtain pictures of buildings with the *camera obscura*. greater sensitiveness having been obtained by washing the paper with salt and silver alternately. Time of exposure reduced to ten minutes. Pictures obtained with small camera good, but very small.

1838. For want of leisure not much done from 1835 to the close of this year.

1839. The above progress having been made by my father, in January of this year the announcement was made of the discovery of the Daguerreotype, the process being kept secret. Some time before this, my father *first* read the account of the photographic researches of Wedgwood and Davy, published in 1802.

January 25. My father's "photogenic drawings" exhibited at the Royal Institution, and his discovery announced by Faraday to fix a date, in order to avoid any charge of imitation, in the event of his process proving to be similar to Daguerre's. Process apparently not then described.

January 31. My father's paper, describing the

method of producing the "photogenic drawings," read before the Royal Society.

February 21. Second paper read to the Royal Society, describing a method of coating paper with chloride of silver, of sensitiveness so much exalted as to render it capable of receiving images in the camera, also a method of fixing by the use of iodide of potassium. The absolute insensibility to light of perfectly formed iodide of silver being established, gave rise to the calotype process, in which iodised paper not sensitive to light was employed.

My father's methods of fixing by converting the lights into perfect chlorides and iodides were afterwards discarded for Sir J. F. W. Herschel's method of fixing by the use of hyposulphite of soda.

August 19. Daguerre's process was published, and proved to be quite different from my father's.

1840. September 20 and 21. My father's discovery of the "latent image" and the mode of its development changed the whole system of his work in photography, the process being accelerated one hundred times. Portraits easily taken in moderate daylight. One of the first sent to the French Academy of Sciences, and excited great interest (M. Biot being my father's informant). The new process named Calotype.

1841. June 10. First account of the calotype process communicated to the Royal Society. The paper was first washed on one side with a solution of nitrate of silver in water. When dry it was to be dipped into a solution of iodide of potassium in water for two or three minutes, then dipped in water, and dried. The paper having now a pale yellow coating of iodide of silver, was called *iodised paper*. It was at first supposed that it would be necessary to preserve this paper in a dark place, but afterwards found that on the contrary it was advantageous to expose it to the sun. This paper could be kept for any length of time.

When the paper was required for use, it was necessary to make a solution, which my father called

gallo-nitrate of silver, consisting of nitrate of silver, gallic acid, acetic acid, and water, in certain proportions, which mixture will not keep long. By candle-light a sheet of the iodised paper was washed with the gallo-nitrate on its *yellow* side; afterwards dipped in water and dried, or used moist if used immediately. A "latent image" was obtained in the camera, and developed by washing the paper with the gallo-nitrate, and then warming it.

In the same communication it was stated that this calotype paper was recommended only for taking the negative pictures in the camera. The positive copies were to be made on the original "photogenic" paper. This division of the photographic process into two parts was of my father's introduction, and has been generally adopted. The terms *positive* and *negative* were suggested by Sir J. F. W. Herschel, Bart.

1844. My father published by subscription "The Pencil of Nature," being the first work ever illustrated by photographs. It was intended to popularise the art, and did not extend beyond five numbers.

1845. A small collection of twenty-three photographs was published in the same manner, but without letterpress, under the title, "Sun Pictures in Scotland."

1852. My father had from the first taken out patents for the protection of his photographic inventions, which, however, did not prove remunerative to the inventor, while they probably retarded the progress of the art.

July 30. By a letter to Lord Rosse bearing this date, he presented his invention to the public, with the exception of the right of portrait taking.

August 13. The correspondence which led to this step was published in the "Times," consisting of a joint letter from Lord Rosse and Sir C. L. Eastlake as Presidents of the Royal Society and the Royal Academy to my father, and his reply above noticed.

About this time my father seems to have turned his attention to etching photographs on metal plates, to be printed from an engraver's press.

October 29. Date of first patent. A sensitive film, consisting of a mixture of gelatine and bichromate of potash, employed.

1858. A second patent taken out for an improved process under the name of "Photoglyphic Engraving." The same sensitive film used, but the etching process much improved. The etching liquid a solution of perchloride of iron in water. By the device of impeding the etching liquid by powdered resin the shadows prevented from printing pale.

1866. Very good results obtained by the photoglyphic process, wanting only uniformity of excellence to be of general utility. Perhaps, owing to the patent restrictions, which now no longer exist, the invention did not come into use.

Mr. Talbot's first paper on the subject, entitled, "Some Account of the Art of Photogenic Drawing," was read on 31st January, 1839, on the Thursday evening meeting, to the Royal Society. He continued his researches, and from time to time communicated the results to the Royal Society. Other men of science took up the subject, amongst whom may be mentioned the late Sir John F. W. Herschel.

In 1844, Mr. Talbot published a quarto, "The Pencil of Nature," in which he described the origin and progress of the practical developments of the idea of fixing the image of an object in the *camera obscura.*

The last contribution on photography written by Mr. Talbot was an account of his early discoveries in it, for, and at the request of the publishers, Messrs. Sampson Low and Co., to form a section of Tissandier's History and Handbook of Photography. There is a lasting and melancholy interest attached to this contribution, for he did not live to complete it, but his son Charles Henry Talbot, B.A., with great ability and filial affection, wrote the third part on Mr. Talbot's process of photoglyphic engraving. Mr. Talbot's last letter to the publishers was received by them with the MS. of the second part on the 12th September, 1877, stating that he had been unwell. Five days afterwards, on the 17th of September, he died, having completed his 77th year on the 11th of the preceding February.

The celebrated Rosetta Stone was placed in the British Museum in the early part of the century by His Majesty King George III. The stone contains a trigrammatic inscription. The upper one, which is about half lost, is in hieroglyphic writing; the middle one, which is almost entire, is in Demotic writing; and the third, which is partially damaged, is in Greek. Now, the Greek states that it is a decree of the synod of priests at Memphis in honour of Ptolemy V, to be erected in every temple of the first, second, and third rank, and in the three kinds of writing. It was obvious that the Greek text was the long sought key to both the hieroglyphic and Demotic writing. The Trustees of the British Museum published a *facsimile* of the whole inscription, and liberally distributed copies to scholars both here and on the Continent. Eminent men entered upon the fascinating study, and a Rosetta Stone literature was the result. Dr. Young applied the phonetic principle, and thus opened up the path of discovery. Champollion, with a knowledge of the Coptic language, entered upon Young's path of discovery with immense success.

Mr. Talbot engaged in the study, and the following extract from a letter dated 16th April, 1826, addressed to Captain Feilding, R.N., by M. Jules de St. Quintin, in charge of the Museum at Turin, is evidence of his knowledge of the subject at that date:—

. . . . . "C'est avec un véritable plaisir, M., que je dois vous assurer qu'il y a long temps que je n'ai pas connu un jeune homme si savant, et si accompli que M. Talbot: j'ai été vraiment surpris de sa vaste érudition, et plus encore de sa modestie.

"Je lui ai voué mon estime tout entière et mon amitié. Il vient de m'écrire d'Ancone je lui répondrai à Corfou. Dans le grand nombre de savans étrangers qui viennent tous les jours éxaminer le musée qui m'est confié, je puis vous assurer M. que, hormis M. Champollion, je n'en ai point encore connu d'aussi instruits que M. Talbot dans cette nouvelle branche d'érudition."

There is no reason to suppose the statement to be exaggerated. Mr. Talbot was much occupied in mathematical and physical research, yet he found time to continue his

Egyptian studies. He says in the preface to his "Hermes," 1838, "The scope of this little work comprises not only the antiquities of Greece and Italy, but also those of Egypt, in whose language and literature so extensive and promising a field of research has recently been laid open by the admirable discoveries of Young and Champollion. . . . . It is my wish to devote a portion of the present work to the elucidation of some parts of this new branch of antiquarian science."

Thus Mr. Talbot was an Egyptian scholar. Lepsius visited England in 1839 to study the Egyptian antiquities in the British Museum, and to be introduced by the Chevalier Bunsen to the Egyptian scholars of Great Britain. It is uncertain whether he was then introduced to Mr. Talbot, but they became acquainted, and he was received as a guest at Lacock Abbey.

Mr. Talbot's work, "Hermes, or Classical and Antiquarian Researches," in three parts, of which the first was published in 1838, and the remainder in following years, is a collection of short, miscellaneous essays on miscellaneous points of classical antiquities. Some of them are of great value, and all exhibit an extensive knowledge of Greek and Latin literature, both of that which is familiar to scholars, and of that which is less generally known to them. In the essay, "Eurystheus in the Pithos," after quoting a passage which Champollion translates from the Egyptian, Mr. Talbot adds, "Anyone may satisfy himself that Champollion has correctly translated, as the passage offers no difficulty" (p. 165).

His arguments and illustrations evince a knowledge of other languages both ancient and modern. His knowledge of the old Italic dialects, as the Oscan and Umbrian, both of the inscriptions and their literature, including that on the Etruscan, is obvious. His remarks on the inscription No. 1384, in Orellius' collection, show that he deemed the Etruscan language to be one of the ancient Italic dialects, and allied to the Umbrian, but more ancient. He read Hebrew, and wrote on the Mæso-Gothic and other Teutonic dialects.

His tract, entitled "The Antiquity of the Book of Genesis, illustrated by some New Arguments," consists of additional

evidence of the Biblical origin of certain Greek legends. The new arguments are worthy of the attention of scholars, although the Assyrian inscriptions which Assurbanipal had copied from early Babylonian documents have thrown so much additional light on primeval history.

In 1847 his work on "English Etymologies," an octavo of 500 pages, appeared, bearing the same motto from Warton on the title-page as that on "Hermes":—

> "Nor rude nor barren are the winding ways
> Of hoar antiquity, but strewn with flow'rs."

By this means he connected the two works as results of antiquarian research.

And here I must not omit to notice his "Legendary Tales," which consists of tales in verse. It was published by James Ridgeway in 1830.

The announcement of Mr. Layard's excavations and discoveries at Nineveh excited an intense interest not only among scholars, but in the mind of the general public, and all were eager for information on the antiquities of the great city. The inscriptions, both those found in the mound Kouyunjik and those found by M. Botta in the mound Khorsabad, are in cuneiform writing, but the language and the value of the characters were then unknown. Biblical scholars were tantalized by the possession of records written in an unknown language by means of unknown characters, which might throw much light on Hebrew history where it touches that of the Assyrians. It was obvious that if the language were known, the value of the characters could be ascertained, or if the characters were known, the language could be ascertained, but both being unknown there was no basis to build upon. Guesses might be made, but the result would be like a simple equation containing two unknown quantities, which admits of an indefinite number of solutions. The efforts of Grotefend and others seemed only to display the vanity of guesses and the wisdom of waiting for the happy discovery of some inscription, which, like the Rosetta Stone, might supply the key to unlock the mysteries of both the language and the characters.

It is unnecessary to enter into the particulars of the great

and long-continued labours of Sir Henry Rawlinson to obtain an accurate copy of the Behistun inscription, and of the brilliant discoveries by which he so successfully deciphered the character, and translated the Persian original and the Babylonian version of it. The so-called Scythic version was deciphered and translated by Mr. Norris.

Few scholars, however, accepted the translations, and the support given to the views of the late Rev. Charles Forster, M.A., made it painfully evident that but few scholars were qualified to form a sound opinion on the evidence of Rawlinson's discoveries. It was in this state of affairs that Mr. Talbot, in October, 1855, wrote a remarkable letter to the editor (Rev. Henry Burgess, LL.D.) of the "Journal of Sacred Literature," which was published in Vol. II, p. 414. The following is an extract: "I have myself, for my own satisfaction, pursued to a considerable extent this branch of study, and have had many opportunities of comparing my own translation of words and phrases with those contained in the previously published works of Hincks and Rawlinson, and I have frequently found a satisfactory agreement. But it may be said the opinions of the disciple are often unconsciously influenced by those of the master, even when he supposes he is thinking independently."

It has been stated in a periodical, and thence copied into a standard work, that "Orientalists will call to mind that Talbot was one of the first who, with Sir Henry Rawlinson and Dr. Hincks, deciphered the cuneiform inscriptions brought from Nineveh." This is a grave error. Mr. Talbot was an Assyrian scholar, but he did not enter upon the study until the value of the characters had been ascertained, and in the letter above quoted he avows himself to be the disciple of those scholars. He translated from the Assyrian, but he did not decipher it, for that was already accomplished. Mr. Talbot never claimed to be a decipherer, and I cannot suppose those authors mean to claim for him a merit beyond his due, but I rather suppose them to have fallen into the common error of confounding the two distinct acts of deciphering and translating, although the distinction is so clearly marked in the familiar passage: "Then came in all

the king's wise men: but they could not read the writing, nor make known to the king the interpretation thereof."—Daniel v, 8.

The study of Assyrian was pursued with zeal by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, and Mr. Talbot, who published their results, and by Lord Strangford, Dr. Birch, and some few others, who did not publish. Mr. Layard's volume of inscriptions supplied texts for translation, and the materials for a vocabulary and grammatical sketch of the language. As the Assyrian was shown by a mass of indisputable evidence to be a member of the Shemitic class of languages, considerable disappointment was felt that Shemitic scholars did not examine that evidence, and give the weight of their authority on the question. Mr. Talbot proposed an experiment to awaken attention to the validity of the basis of interpretation adopted by cuneiform scholars. He proposed that separate and independent translations should be made of the same inscription. The Royal Asiatic Society adopted his idea, and made the arrangements. The inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I, consisting of about a thousand lines, was selected. Sir Henry Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, Mr. Talbot, and Dr. Oppert agreed each to make a translation by a given day. A committee was chosen consisting of the Dean of St. Paul's (Dr. Milman) as chairman, the Master of Trinity (Dr. Whewell), Mr. Grote, Rev. W. Cureton, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and Professor H. H. Wilson. The duty of the Committee was to receive and open on the appointed day the sealed packets containing the several translations to compare them, not with a view to their relative excellence, but as to their substantial agreement or otherwise on the subject-matter recorded in the inscription. The Committee did its work well, and a full account of the experiment was published by the Asiatic Society in a pamphlet of seventy-three pages, entitled "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I, King of Assyria, B.C. 1150, as translated by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Fox Talbot, Esq., Dr. Hincks, and Dr. Oppert." The separate opinions of the Dean, Mr. Grote, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and Professor H. H. Wilson are stated. The agreement of the translations as to the matter recorded is most remarkable, and the

transliteration of those proper names which are phonetically written in the Assyrian is equally so; but, as Professor Wilson remarks, "this agreement is no doubt in part at least owing to their adoption of the values proposed previously by Sir Henry Rawlinson and Dr. Hincks."

Mr. Talbot continued to devote much time to the study and advancement of the knowledge of Assyrian, by translations which were published in various Journals, as in those of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Royal Society of Literature, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the Society of Biblical Archæology. He in common with some others received a complete set of the photographs of inscriptions which were issued by the Trustees of the British Museum, and he copied and studied many of the tablets which had not been photographed. He also received the folio volumes of the lithographed inscriptions published by the Trustees of the British Museum. Our knowledge of Assyrian is necessarily cumulative, and therefore the scholarship of Mr. Talbot must not be estimated now by his translation of the Tiglath-Pileser inscription, which he made in 1857. In 1865 he published a translation of a photographed inscription, the original of which in the British Museum is marked K 162, giving an account of the descent of Ishtar into Hades. He improved his translation afterwards as his knowledge became more accurate, and this was his praiseworthy course in other instances. He habitually justified his translations by such notes and comments as he deemed to be necessary to enable his readers to judge of his work.

Mr. Talbot evidently had a desire that the study of antiquities should be encouraged, with a view to enlarging our knowledge of ancient history, and therefore we are prepared to find that he took a deep interest in the aims of the Society of Biblical Archæology. He was ever ready to promote its welfare by his personal interest and by his pen. By his liberality the Council were enabled to print valuable papers, to publish which, at that time, but for his generous assistance, the income of the Society would have been inadequate.

Messrs. Bagster, at the end of 1873, commenced to publish, under the sanction of the Society of Biblical Archæology, a

series of volumes entitled "Records of the Past." These are English translations of the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments by various scholars, each being alone responsible for his own work, the whole under the general editorship of our President, Dr. Birch. The first volume contains English versions of Assyrian texts, the second of Egyptian texts, and so on alternately. Many translations by Mr. Talbot will be found in this series, and every inscription that he had before translated was either translated anew or carefully revised. Thus the inscription of Khammurabi was originally published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1863. An improved translation was printed in the Journal of the Royal Society of Literature, 1865, and this was again revised for the "Records of the Past," 1873.

Mr. Talbot was a Member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and frequented its meetings. He was well known in the sections devoted to Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry. He joined other societies for the promotion of science and literature, as the Royal Asiatic Society, the Royal Society of Literature, and the Society of Biblical Archæology, the objects of which, as will be seen from the following list of his writings, he aided by his pen.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE ASSYRIAN,

Read before various Societies, and published in their Transactions, &c., &c.:—

Printed for Private Distribution in 1856.

1. Bellino's Cylinder.
2. The Cylinder of Esarhaddon.
3. A Portion of the Annals of Ashurakhbal.

Journal of Sacred Literature.

Vol. II.—On the Assyrian Inscriptions. Written in October, 1855, and published in 1856.

Vol. III.—On the Assyrian Inscriptions, No. 2. Written and published in 1856.

On the Assyrian Inscriptions, No. 3. Written and published in 1856.

Vol. IV.—On the Assyrian Inscriptions, No. 4. Written and published in 1856.

Vol. V.—On the Origin of the Word Sabbath. Published in 1857.

Vol. IX.—The Annals of Esarhaddon, translated from two Cylinders in the British Museum, and published in 1859.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Proceedings, Vol. VI, Part 1, 1866.

Standard Inscription of Asshur-akh-bal.

Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VII, Second Series, 1863.

1. On Assyrian Antiquities, p. 169. Read 13th March, 1861.
2. Preliminary Translation of Assyrian Inscriptions, p. 183. Read 13th March, 1861.
3. Translation of Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, from the Clay Cylinder in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, p. 341. Read 8th January, 1862.
4. Translation of the Annals of Esarhaddon, p. 551. Read 11th March, 1862.

Royal Society of Literature, Vol. VIII, Second Series, 1866.

1. Translation of Assyrian Inscriptions, p. 105.
2. On a Battle Scene in the British Museum, p. 230.
   Hammurabi, p. 234.
   Clay Tablet in the British Museum, p. 244.
   Siege of Madakta, p. 258.
   War in Syria (a Fragment), p. 264.
   On Ineffable Names, p. 274.
   Further Remarks on Inscription of Esarhaddon, p. 281.
   On the Antiquity of Coined Money, p. 285.
   On the Eastern Origin of the Name and Worship of Dionysus, p. 296.
3. A New Translation of Bellino's Cylinder, the Annals of Sennacherib, p. 369.

Society of Biblical Archæology.

Vol. I, 1872.

1. On an Ancient Eclipse, p. 13.
2. Note on the Religious Belief of the Assyrians, Part I, p. 106.
3. A Fragment of Ancient Assyrian Mythology, p. 271.
4. On the *Mazzaroth* of Job xxxviii, 32, p. 339.
5. A Prayer and a Vision, from the Annals of Assurbanipal, p. 346.
6. Addition to the Paper on Eclipses, p. 348.

Vol. II, 1873.

1. On the Religious Belief of the Assyrians, Part II, p. 29.
2. Ditto ditto ditto Part III, p. 50.
3. Legend of Ishtar descending to Hades, p. 179.
4. On the Religious Belief of the Assyrians, Part IV, p. 346.
5. Illustrations of the Prophet Daniel from the Assyrian Writings, p. 360.

Vol. III, 1874.

1. Revised Translation of Ishtar's Descent, with a further Commentary, p. 118.
2. Addenda to ditto, p. 357.
3. Assyrian Notes, No. 1, p. 430.
4. Four New Syllabaries, &c., p. 496.

Vol. IV, 1875–6.

1. Commentary on the Deluge Tablet, p. 49.
2. A Tablet relating apparently to the Deluge, p. 129.
3. Notice of a very Ancient Comet, p. 257.
4. The Revolt in Heaven, p. 349.

Vol. V, 1876–7.

1. The Fight between Bel and the Dragon, &c., p. 1.
2. Ishtar and Isdubar, p. 97.
3. The Chaldean Account of the Creation, p. 426.
4. On the Cypriote Inscriptions, p. 447.

Vol. VI, 1878.

1. The Defence of a Magistrate Falsely Accused, p. 289.

RECORDS OF THE PAST.

Vol. I.—Inscription of Khammurabi, p. 5.
Bellino's Cylinder of Sennacherib, p. 23.
Taylor's Cylinder of Sennacherib, p. 23.
The Legend of Ishtar descending into Hades, p. 141.

Vol. III.—Inscription of Esarhaddon, p. 101.
Second Inscription of Esarhaddon, p. 109.
Assyrian Sacred Poetry, p. 131.
Assyrian Talismans and Exorcisms, p. 139.

Vol. V.—Legend of the Infancy of Sargina I, p. 1.
Inscription of Nabonidus, p. 143.
Inscription of Darius at Nakshi Rustam, p. 149.
War of the Seven Evil Spirits against Heaven, p. 161.

Vol. VII.—Standard Inscription of Ashur-akh-bal, p. 9.
Monolith of Ashur-akh-bal, p. 15.
A Prayer and a Vision, p. 65.
Senkereh Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, p. 69.
Birs-Nimrud Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, p. 73.
The Revolt in Heaven, p. 123.

Vol. IX.—Chaldean Account of the Creation, p. 115.
Ishtar and Izdubar, p. 119.
The Fight between Bel and the Dragon, p. 135.

MEMOIR OF JOSEPH BONOMI, F.R.A.S., F.R.S.L.

By William Simpson.

Read 4th February, 1879.

Joseph Bonomi was born at 6 p.m. on the 9th October, 1796, at 76, Great Titchfield Street, in the parish of Marylebone. His father was an Italian, and an architect by profession. He had been for some time the architect of St. Peter's at Rome, but had been induced by James and Robert Adams, the well-known architects of the period, to leave Rome and come to London, which he did in 1767, when he was about 25 years of age. He remained for a considerable time in the employment of the Adams. He married Rosa Florini, a cousin of Angelica Kauffman, and after his marriage returned to Rome, seemingly with the intention of carrying on his profession there: but the death of her child so distressed the mother, that they again returned to England, where Bonomi commenced work, and was very successful in its practice. The Sardinian Chapel and Montagu House in London are from his designs; also Eastwell House, in Kent, now the property of the Duke of Edinburgh; Roseneath, on the Clyde, a mansion belonging to the Duke of Argyle, and many well-known country seats.

The elder Bonomi was a very intimate friend of Sir Joshua Reynolds—so much so, that when the Royal Academy refused to elect him to the position of Academician (he had been made an Associate in 1790), the result was the well-known rupture which occurred between Sir Joshua and that body. He died in the house in Great Titchfield Street on the 9th March, 1808. His wife lived till June, 1812. It may be worth stating that one of the sons, James, while still a young officer, was killed as far back as the battle of Assaye, fought in India under Wellington in 1803. Another of the sons, Charles, was also in the army, and died in 1843. The eldest surviving son, Ignatius, followed his father's profession.

and died in 1870. The subject of our memoir had a twin sister and two other sisters, which completes the family circle. His parents were Roman Catholics and foreigners, yet Mr. Bonomi's education and ideas were thoroughly English. We may suppose that his early surroundings had a tendency to give him cosmopolitan leanings, which his future travels in the East developed and confirmed.. Art influences began very early to associate themselves with him. We have an illustration of this at the baptism of the twins, which took place in the Venetian Chapel when they were only four days old. The sponsors were Dom John Charles Bonomi and Angelica Kauffman, who had the honour of being elected a Royal Academician. The sponsors were not present, but were represented by proxies in the persons of Dom Bartholomeo Ruspoli, military knight, and Maria Cosway, a lady artist of ability and repute at that time. The celebrated patriot, General Paoli, was his sponsor at his first communion.

Joseph Bonomi was chiefly educated at a school in Carshalton, in Surrey. After which he became a student of the Royal Academy, and gained the silver medal for the best drawing from the antique, and also for the best model from the antique in sculpture. Sculpture was the branch of art which he preferred, and to carry it out he was placed under Nollekens the sculptor. In 1823 he went to Rome to continue the study of his art, and there made the acquaintance of Gibson, a friendship which only ceased with life. At a later period he expresses his regret that he did not go earlier to Rome instead of working in the studio of "that worst of sculptors, old Nollekens."

In 1824 he left Italy, and went with Mr. Robert Hay, a naval officer, to Egypt, where he remained for a number of years working with Mr. Arundale and others for Mr. Hay, and much of the result of his labours at that time are in the British Museum. He has left most detailed journals, with notes, plans, measurements of buildings, &c., extending from 1825 to 1834. While at Medinet Habou, in October, 1825, he mentions the arrival of his friend Burton, who was working on his own account, and who excavated the north-east wall of the great Temple of Medinet Habou in that year.

At the end of 1826 he separated from Mr. Hay, and returned to Cairo, where Burton was making plans of the Pyramids and tombs. In 1828 he accepted an engagement to assist Burton with drawing on the stone for his "Excerpta Hieroglyphica," and they continued to work together for some time, as appears from the correspondence between them.

In 1829 he prepared for another journey up the Nile on his own account, and on revisiting the Temples, in 1830, revised errors in his copies of the inscriptions. In October, 1829, he commenced a journey to Dongola, which he reached in November and left in December.

In 1831 he made another journey up the Nile, and accompanied Linant in his expedition to the gold mines in the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea. They returned to Cairo at the end of the year, but the expedition was repeated at the commencement of the following year. Bonomi did not return with Linant, but paid his long-desired visit to the Bishereen desert, where he remained some two months, as appears from a letter to his friend, Lord Prudhoe, presenting a collection of sketches, which, he says, "are the only remembrances I have, except a few notes, of sixty days of my life passed among the wildest people and places I have seen as yet." Of this entire journey he has left most copious notes.

In 1832–3 he was again working for Hay, and returned to Cairo. At the end of August he, with Catherwood and Arundale, took leave of his friends and started for Sinai and the Holy Land. On reaching Gebel Mokatteb, Bonomi wished to explore the very ancient Egyptian temple and other remains at Sarabat-el-Khadem, which his companions did not care to visit; so they divided their caravan for a time. He copied many of the inscriptions on the Gebel, crossed the Wady Mokatteb and the Wady Fairan, and reached Sarabat on the 9th September. Of the Egyptian temple here he made a plan with measurements. On leaving Sarabat he wandered by himself for some days, examining the hills, and sketching and making notes of such points as appeared most interesting. After a very fatiguing journey, he joined his companions at the convent on Mount Sinai, and

on the 22nd of the same month the whole party started for Gaza. In his diary he records his surprise at the gigantic size of the people and the camels at Gaza. They entered Jerusalem on the 9th October, and he has left detailed notes of every day he was in Jerusalem and the Holy Land. When in Jerusalem he, with Arundale and Catherwood, managed to get into the Haram-es-Sherif, and to take measurements of the buildings as well as plans and sketches. This was a hazardous thing, for at that time it was very dangerous for Christians to go near the Holy Sepulchre. Bonomi, who had not only adopted the Mohammedan dress, but had completely identified himself with the manners and habits of the people, and was generally regarded as one of the faithful who "had had the misfortune to be born in Frangistan," passed boldly; and it is amusing to read the schemes to conceal his acquaintance with his companions.

In 1834 he was still travelling in Syria, and remained some time at Damascus and Baalbek, and at the end of this year he returned to England. A considerable portion of 1835 and 1836 was passed in the north of England and in Scotland; while in Yorkshire he executed several works in sculpture.[1] Much of the next two years appears to have been occupied with work connected with his Egyptian travels.

He was in Rome measuring and copying the hieroglyphics on the obelisks there in 1838, and was in England the same year. In 1839 he was working for the British Museum. In 1840 and 1841, he was still in London, engaged on the illustrations of Wilkinson's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians." In 1841 he was engaged with Birch and Arundale in bringing out a work called the "Gallery of Antiquities."

In 1842, he went again to Egypt, with the Prussian Expedition under Lepsius, and returned to England in 1844. It was during this visit Bonomi remarked that of the beau-

[1] Among these works may be mentioned the bas reliefs for a chapel built for Mr. Maxwell, now Lord Herries, of Everingham. An Egyptian façade to the factory of Messrs. Marshall, of Leeds, which was carried out under his direction. Among other works in sculpture executed about the same time were some busts, which are highly spoken of, and a fountain at Hartwell. Mr. Bonomi also designed the schools at Bishopstone, built for Dr. Lee, of Hartwell.

tiful Ptolemaic Temple of Erment, which was perfect in all its parts when he left Egypt in 1833, not a vestige now remained above ground. The stones had been taken to build a sugar factory for the Viceroy. The smooth faces of the stones were placed outside, and the inscribed and sculptured ones inside. This second visit to Egypt was sudden, and almost accidental in its origin. He chanced to meet the members of the party in the British Museum, who were on their way to Southampton to take the steamer for Egypt. The Crown Prince of Prussia, now Emperor of Germany, Humboldt, Bunsen, and Lepsius met Bonomi in the Museum, and the idea that his former experience would be useful, led to the suggestion that he should go with the party. He had only a couple of days to get ready. They left Southampton on the first of September. Bunsen went on board to see them off, after a dinner in the hotel, where he had been very entertaining, telling them anecdotes and making them all "laugh till the tears came into their eyes."—Bonomi on this occasion had accepted a six months' engagement, but he did not return till September, 1844, completing a period of two years.

Mr. Bonomi's return to England in 1844 was delayed by a strong effort made by Dr. Lepsius and some of the European Consuls, to induce the Viceroy to create the office of Conservator of Ancient Monuments, and to appoint Bonomi to the post. Bonomi himself was quite passive in the affair, but the attempt was unsuccessful, and he returned home.

In September, 1845, he married Jessie, daughter of John Martin, the celebrated painter. In 1849 or 1850 he furnished the drawings, and, in conjunction with Messrs. Warren and Fahey, he painted a panorama of the Nile, which was exhibited with considerable success. It was afterwards exhibited in the provinces and at last went to America. In 1853 he assisted Owen Jones in the works of the Egyptian Court at the Crystal Palace, and in 1860 again left England with the expedition to Spain, to observe the annular eclipse of the sun from Miranda de Ebro.

During the year 1867 the hieroglyphic dictionary of Dr. Birch was published by Messrs Longmans, in the fifth volume

of Bunsen's "Egypt's Place in Universal History." The hieroglyphic type for this work was cast by Mr. Branston from designs drawn by Bonomi, and was at that time the only fount of the kind in England.

In 1861 he was appointed by the Royal Academy, Curator of Sir John Soane's Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields, a position which he occupied till his death, which took place on the 3rd March, 1878, at The Camels, his own residence, at Wimbledon Park.

These are the dry details of dates and events, forming a sketchy outline of Joseph Bonomi's life, and which will admit of some further filling up. The day before his death he talked much about the early part of his life, and Miss Martin, his sister-in-law, who has been his constant companion ever since his wife's death, took a few notes of what he said, which I have been allowed to use. Some of them are important, as giving details of his leaving Rome with Hay. They had become acquainted in Rome, where Hay had been trying to find an artist to go with him to Egypt; but the chances of remuneration which he was able to offer were too small to tempt anyone except Bonomi. Eastlake had assisted in arranging matters, and it would seem that Bonomi had agreed to go with Hay "to Egypt, Greece, and the Holy Land as an artist." They left Italy some time in August, 1824, and went to Malta, where Hay, being a naval man, had many friends, and where they were led to stay for a considerable time, going about shooting with Lord Hastings and others of the gay society there at that time. The first journey up the Nile seems to have been made as far as half-way between the Wady Halfa and Dongolo, and they returned to Cairo in March, 1826, where, as Bonomi states in one of his letters, he found at that time "a Mr. Lane, who is studying Arabic." During the next two years he went up the Nile again with Hay, and dwelt for a long time at Thebes, where they lived in the tombs of the kings. One of his letters talks of this long residence, and expresses a wish for a change, and that he might exist again for a short time among the living. He mentions working with Burton when he came back this time to Cairo, and says, "Strange enough that my

little acquaintance with the art of drawing on stone should produce me an income of £100 per annum," which in that part of the world enabled him "to keep a donkey and live like a gentleman." The result of this labour is the work known as Burton's "Excerpta," now a rare book. It was produced under great difficulties, from the primitive condition of the art of lithography at that time, and the heat of the climate increasing the troubles of the printing, which in some cases had to be done by either Burton or Bonomi themselves. They were often brought to a standstill from such deficiencies as the want of ink and other necessary materials. A letter dated 1829, indicates his being again at Thebes, and that he met at Luxor "a French engineer who is preparing to carry off the obelisk, and was awaiting the arrival of the ship that is destined to convey it to France." About the same time Bonomi went with M. Linant to Sonakim.

Later letters show that in November, 1831, he was in Alexandria, and his old companion, Mr. Hay, was in Egypt, also that he was much pressed by him to stay and work another year, with an offer of £130 per annum, to which was added another inducement—that Hay could take him home again to England when the year was done; but Bonomi was undecided about accepting the engagement, as he had a project of a visit to the Bishereen Arabs, among whom at that time no European had travelled, and which he ultimately accomplished on his second journey with M. Linant in 1832.

The visit which Bonomi made to Jerusalem in 1833 with Catherwood and Arundale, has an important connection with Biblical Archæology, for up to that date we had no reliable information regarding the details of the Haram-es-Sherif, or of the architecture of the structures within it. At that time no Christian was allowed to enter the sacred enclosure; anyone making the attempt must have done so at the risk of his life. At the present day your consul sends his dragoman with you; five francs to the sheik of the Haram, and backsheesh to the dragoman, embrace all the difficulties which have to be encountered. As yet no excavations have been allowed within the enclosure; those made by the Palestine Exploration Fund are all on the outside. A certain

amount of prejudice has yet to be overcome before some very important points can be settled by excavations. When Bonomi went there he wore the dress of a Mahommedan, and speaking Arabic easily, as well as knowing all the details of the Mahommedan faith, he was able to pass himself off as a follower of the faithful.

He appears to have entered the Haram two days before his companions, and his account is very racy. The party could not obtain any decent lodging until the guide suggested to the pilgrim Bonomi to go to the Haram. On presenting himself he was at once seized by the hand by the guardian, and hurried round from holy place to holy place, being told to deposit money at each, which he did freely. However, in evidence of his devotion, he had to repeat the deposit for his father, mother and all his progenitors; he soon got to the end of his money, when his guide seeing what a good Mahommedan he was, and possibly pitying his penniless condition, let him off, saying that henceforth he might have free permission to enter when he wished. Notwithstanding this, he seems to have had some doubts about venturing to sketch in the Musjed, for from his diary, it was not till after the Moufti Effendi had seen him sketching with a camera in the street, and sent for him, and being pleased at seeing such a wonderful instrument, he was then allowed to enter, but this was permitted because he was supposed to be a Muslim. He made a sketch of the Golden Gate, and as the Dome of the Rock was wanting repairs, the guardians had an idea that he had been sent to report upon it for that purpose. Bonomi discovering this, and seeing how it would serve his object, encouraged the idea, and on his next visit, three of the guardians went with him all over the place, pointing out as they went all the parts which were requiring repairs. One of them showed great respect and civility, and at last asked to be allowed a peep at the wonderful camera; he seems to have been so satisfied, that he took Bonomi into the sacred cave under the Sakhru, and left him there to say his prayers. What he did there he does not tell in his diary, but it was not devotional. I suppose he made notes or sketched, but after he had been there some

time, thus profanely engaged, and his eyes had become accustomed to the darkness, he found a man in a corner who had been a witness of his desecrating conduct. He went home in a very unhappy state, and passed a sleepless night in fear lest the man would inform, and that he would be turned out of the town for what he had done. The man may have been asleep, or too profoundly engaged in his own prayers to take notice, for nothing came of it. Bonomi's reputation as a good Mahommedan remained untarnished, so much so that one man wanted him to remain in Jerusalem, and offered to give him his daughter in marriage. He was able to discuss points of doctrine with them, and to keep up his assumed character he went into the mosque saying the profession of faith. On leaving Jerusalem he obtained a passport, in which he is described as Mahommedan. I am not sure whether Catherwood followed upon Bonomi's plan, but one would conclude that he did, for he assumed the uniform of an Egyptian officer, and pretended he had been sent from Egypt by Mehemet Ali for the purpose of repairing the holy places, and he also succeeded in getting into the Haram.

There is considerable interest attached to this visit and the drawings which resulted, for they have played an important part connected with questions of topography. No publisher could be found, and the sketches remained in portfolios till Mr. Fergusson found them out, and as he considered that they were valuable evidences of theories which he had formed, he made arrangements for their publication. They appeared in a work called "An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem," published in 1847. This was the beginning of those questions about the site of the Temple, and the Holy Sepulchre, as well also as to at what date the Dome of the Rock was erected, and the character of its architecture, with other points of controversy, which are still seemingly far from being settled as ever. Before some of these can be decided, it is likely that we shall require a second Bonomi who will be the first to penetrate into the Haram with a spade in his hand, and begin the work of excavating, as Bonomi began the work of sketching at that place.

With Catherwood and Arundale he made a journey from Jerusalem through Palestine, when he visited Nazereth and other places. His diaries contain a description of a visit he paid to Lady Stanhope, relating her conversation and curious ideas. In this journey they were much troubled with Arundale, who seems to have been subject to fits, and while they were travelling he lost his reason for a day or two, and caused them great alarm for his safety. At Beyrout he visited the rocks with the inscriptions on the Nahr-el-Kelb and made sketches, and even casts in plaster of some of them. There is an Egyptian inscription at this place made by Rameses II, being one of those mentioned by Herodotus as made by Sesostris. Another is Assyrian, made by Assur-bani-pal, regarding which a reference has been found on the bronze plates lately discovered by Mr. Rassam, at Balawat. From Beyrout Bonomi, in 1834, went on to the Lebanon and Baalbek.

Mr. Bonomi thus spent about eleven years in the East, and during much of the time he was alone among the Arabs, and living as they lived. The influences produced by this lengthened stay among the people produced a great impression on his character. The imitative quality of his nature led him to follow the habits of those around him, till he became almost one of themselves. There is no doubt but many of the habits of the Arabs have come down from a primitive antiquity: and that they savour of the patriarchal period; these simple manners had an attraction for such a mind as his, and he took to them kindly, and became so thoroughly imbued that his character retained the colouring throughout the remainder of his life. A better tribute could scarcely be paid to Mr. Bonomi's nature, than to point out that it was the good qualities of this fine old people which he was attracted by; it was their simple habits of temperance and hospitality which he loved and followed. Like them he rode on his ass when he travelled, and a camel was his beast of burden. He could stop at the road side, and if he had no servant could cook his own dinner. His diary mentions where he had to do this, and when it was too late to get lodgings he lay down beside his camel on the road-side and slept for the night.

This is all very different from travelling in Egypt now—hotels and railways were then unknown to the land of the Pharaohs. He had often strange adventures with his own countrymen, who took him for an Arab. He first met Mr. Vulliamy, the architect, in this way, who was astonished at first to hear one he took for a native speaking to him in perfect English, and inviting him into a tomb to have some dinner—thus reversing Hamlet's definition of the grave. It will also illustrate how completely he had identified himself with the Arabs to relate what one of them proposed to do on an occasion when an Englishman, a Mr. Davidson and his daughter, were travelling in Egypt. Miss Davidson was very handsome, so much so that the Arabs were struck with her; she became a subject of conversation in the evenings. Bonomi acknowledged to them his admiration for the lady, and they asked him, if he admired her, "why not put a knife into the father and carry off the daughter?" This interrogative was accompanied with offers of their assistance in the scheme; all that it wanted was Bonomi's acquiescence; such an offer of assistance and such a proof of kindness on their part, it would not have done to reject rudely, as if their friendship and good intention towards him were despised or even discouraged. So, as they sat round the fire, he only shook his head, and reminded them that Mehemet Ali, who was then the ruler of Egypt, might hear of it, and he was particular about such trifles as breaking the law, more particularly when it had to do with Englishmen; that, should inquiries be made, trouble would ensue, and that it would perhaps be better not to make the attempt. The Arabs also began to see it in this light, and Bonomi got out of the affair by these means without suffering in their estimation. With such varied experiences and knowledge of Arab life, Mr. Bonomi had much to tell that was interesting and instructive; this, added to his knowledge of the art and architecture of Egypt, as well as of its hieroglyphics, made him what might be called a book of reference which was of the utmost value to all his friends who took an interest in such subjects. There were few points regarding ornament or the particular form of a hieroglyphic on which he could not give information. As a book he was

easy of reference and well illustrated, for the ready pencil generally came out of his waistcoat pocket, and a few lines from his facile hand made the matter clear which he was describing. All who have had the pleasure of Mr. Bonomi's acquaintance, must have experienced his willingness to be of use in giving information on subjects connected with Egyptology, and I feel sure that all who had the privilege of knowing him will acknowledge their deep regret that that book is now closed, and closed for ever.

I cannot do that justice, which I am sure other members of this Society could perform, in regard to giving that due which Bonomi earned by his long life of work in the field of Egyptology; but as he was an artist, and his work in Egypt was more essentially that of the pencil than the pen, I may have the satisfaction of expressing my warm admiration of Bonomi's abilities in his own particular walk. Here I consider that he stood alone. In the drawing of hieroglyphics I have seen nothing to compare to Bonomi's work; he drew hieroglyphics well because he had a very correct eye and a true and delicate hand. This was more clearly seen in his drawing of sculpture; some of his outlines of Egyptian figures are so perfect, that I cannot recollect anything equal to them in the works of other artists. As Bonomi's work was that of copying Egyptian art, I cannot tell whether he had the necessary imagination and invention to have made him a Flaxman, but I am certain that that celebrated artist never excelled, and I doubt if he ever reached the absolute truth and perfection of Bonomi's touch. In the future we may be certain that when his powers are seen and compared with others who may follow, that this high character will be maintained by his works, and that books illustrated by him will in due time become most rare and valuable. It was the delicacy and accuracy of Bewick's work which has led to collectors now attaching so much value to that artist's productions, and the same thing will in course of time be the case with Bonomi, particularly with whatever he has lithographed himself, for in that case it is the identical touch of his own hand which is reproduced by the process.

I think it should not be omitted in this notice of

Mr. Bonomi, to mention that he was one of those connected with the organization of this Society. He had been one of the members of the Syro-Egyptian Society, and when the proposal was made to form a new body, he invited the committee to hold their meeting in the Soane Museum. The first meeting was consequently held in that Institution. Some doubts as to the propriety of using the Soane having arisen on the second meeting, and my rooms being close at hand, an adjournment was made, and the rest of the preliminary meeting for arranging details took place there. Thus the first visible appearance of this Society is intimately connected with the subject of this memoir.

Few works were published in England between 1834 and 1842 on Egyptian Antiquities, the illustrations of which were not drawn by Mr. Bonomi. Besides the drawings in Wilkinson's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," and Burton's "Excerpta Hieroglyphica," &c., &c., before mentioned, Mr. Bonomi published several works of his own; one, "Nineveh and its Palaces," of which a *second* edition was issued in 1853. A number of catalogues of Egyptian Antiquities, such as those of the Abbot, Hay, and Nicholson Collections, were written by him, also that of the Hartwell Museum (1858). In connection with Mr. Samuel Sharpe he published a number of works, but that of which he was justly most proud was a complete copy of the vignettes and hieroglyphic characters covering the "Belzoni Sarcophagus," preserved in the Soane Museum. This work was published in nineteen large lithographic plates, the introduction being written by Mr. Samuel Sharpe (4to., London, 1864), with the title "The Alabaster Sarcophagus of Oimenepthah I." Mr. Bonomi was a contributor to the Transactions of this Society, and also to those of the Syro-Egyptian Society, and the Royal Society of Literature.

The following remarks were added by Dr. Birch :—

I am sure that we must all thank Mr. Simpson for the memoir which he has submitted to the Society. We all feel the loss suffered by the death of Mr. Bonomi; indeed, I scarcely know anyone who possessed a better knowledge of Egypt, except, perhaps Sir Gardner Wilkinson. The most valuable

series of drawings referred to in the memoir, and forming the collection of Mr. Hay, are now in the British Museum. The care with which Mr. Bonomi executed these and other drawings was exemplary: his hieroglyphics are not merely works of art, but are exceedingly accurate, better than those of any one else, and superior to those of his successors. In looking over the drawings, one is surprised at the number of sculptures and inscriptions copied; his very life was in the work, and no other man has done so much. It will be a long time before we shall have an Englishman who will know Egypt so well. Many travellers go there, but they are for the most part birds of passage, and bring nothing home to aid scientific research.

Mr. Bonomi, from his long residence in Egypt, was quite as much *au fait* with the modern habits and customs as with those of ancient Egypt, and was always most willing to impart this knowledge to anyone seeking it. He was indeed a lover of all connected with Egypt; and I think I may say that few ever visited the Soane Museum without finding him with pencil in hand, drawing hieroglyphics for himself or his friends.

Some time late in life he paid a visit to Italy, where he copied a number of Egyptian inscriptions, some of which appeared in the Transactions of the Society. Particularly I may mention those of the statue of Horus and an altar before unknown.

Although Mr. Bonomi did not study Egyptian philology, he was from long experience well acquainted with the subjects depicted, and having lived amongst and studied the various epochs of Egyptian art as exemplified in the temples and other buildings, he knew at a glance the age of a piece of sculpture. This knowledge was not only confined to Egyptian antiquities; for, from his long acquaintance with many forms of ancient art, and having commenced life as a sculptor, he was an excellent judge as to the age of other sculptures of the classical period.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

CONDENSED REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS DURING THE FIFTH SESSION, NOVEMBER, 1876, TO JULY, 1877. AND THE SIXTH SESSION, NOVEMBER, 1877, TO JULY, 1878.

Tuesday, November 7, 1876.

S. BIRCH, President, LL.D., F.S.A., in the Chair.

The President announced that the success of the Society had necessitated the opening of an OFFICE and LIBRARY, for the use of the Members, at 33, Bloomsbury-street, W.C., which he hoped would prove advantageous to the interests of the study of Biblical Archæology.

The absence, from serious illness (hæmorrhage of the lungs), of the Secretary, Mr. W. R. Cooper, was then announced, and also that Mr. Arthur Cates had kindly consented to act as his representative during his absence.

The following papers were then read:—

I. *Memoir of the late George Smith.* By W. St. Chad Boscawen.—In this somewhat melancholy Eloge a grateful tribute was paid to the memory of one of the first Assyriologists of his day, whose labours were from the first associated with the interests of the Society. Two months ago the daily papers told the British public the fact of his death, by which the Society had sustained a heavy loss; its Transactions had formed the medium through which some of his discoveries had been given to the world, and by these communications public interest in the Society had increased. Few could realize the effect his paper, which was read on December 3, 1872, on "The Assyrian Account of the Deluge," had had on English Assyriological inquiry. The scientific journals took it up as a triumph of philological research, while the religious journals looked upon it as a remarkable confirmation of the Mosaic account. The stronghold of the mythology of Babylon had been stormed and taken by Mr. Smith in his famous discovery of the Creation legends, and great desire was then manifested in all parts of the country to obtain more material to aid these results. The proprietors of *The Daily Telegraph*, who had most warmly taken up the subject, came forward and offered to send out an expedition, under Mr. Smith, to search for more material. Accordingly, he left England in January, 1873, and on March 3 he gained his first view of Nineveh. Time did not permit the author to give any details of the expedition, nor were they required, as full accounts of this and the succeeding expeditions in 1874 and 1875 had been published. The importance of Mr. Smith's inspection of the sites of the palaces of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal, and the survey of the ruins of Nineveh, could not be over-valued, when it was considered that he was the first excavator in Assyria who had been able to read the records which he uncovered, and, therefore, was at once able to recognise the age and character of the ruins on

which he was at work. During his expedition for *The Daily Telegraph*, Mr. Smith discovered a small fragment of a tablet containing the legend of the creation of the cattle and insects. This led him to search for more material among the tablets in the British Museum, and in March, 1875, he announced the discovery of the Chaldean legends of the Creation. The remainder of the year was occupied in the copying and translation of these texts, and the result was given in his last and famous work, "The Chaldean Account of Genesis," which has been one of the most successful books of last season. This is the the first English work on Assyriology which has been translated into any foreign language. In conclusion, Mr. Boscawen referred, in feeling terms, to Mr. Smith's death, paying a high tribute to his memory.

Mr. Cull proposed a vote of sympathy to the late Mr. Smith's family for the loss they had sustained, which was seconded by Mr. Hodges, and unanimously carried.

The President stated that, on the recommendation of the Earl of Beaconsfield, Her Majesty had been pleased to bestow a pension on Mrs. Smith, in recognition of the important services rendered by her husband, yet that was not sufficient to support a large family—six in number—which the late Mr. Smith had left behind him. A subscription fund had consequently been started, and he trusted that all the members would contribute, and thus give to their sympathy a substantial form.

II. *Notes on the Himyaritic Inscriptions contained in the Museum of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay.* By Lieut.-Col. W. F. Prideaux.—This paper contained an analysis and translation of several interesting votive inscriptions, two of them being of some length, and forming an important addition to Himyaritic philology. (Printed in the present volume, pp. 305–315.)

III. *Further Notes and Observations upon the preceding Inscriptions.* By Dr. Heinrich Müller.—This paper consisted of critical remarks written by the author at the request of Lieut.-Col. Prideaux. (Printed in the present volume, pp. 198–202.)

IV. *On the Writings of Ephræm Syrus.* By Rev. J. M. Rodwell, M.A.—The writings of Ephræm, the Syrian deacon, generally, whether as commentaries or metrical homilies, offer numerous points of contact with the Holy Scriptures, not only through the affinity of Syriac to the Hebrew, and with reference to the *usus loquendi*, but directly as commentaries upon the sacred records. The Nisibean Hymns have a peculiar interest of their own. They throw light upon that peculiar point of history when Christianity was struggling with the ancient idolatries of Assyria, and when the orthodox churches of the East had much to suffer, not only from the heathen, but at the hands either of persecuting or Arian emperors. The earlier Nisibean Hymns were written when Sapor II, king of Persia, was laying siege to Nisibis. The peculiar metres in which the hymns are written open a very interesting field for consideration, as it is quite possible that they were primarily suggested by, if not derived from, the rhythmic structure of the Davidic and other Psalms.

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion on Mr. Rodwell's paper:—R. Cull, F.S.A.; Rev. Albert Löwy; and Dr. Ginsburg.

V. *On a Greek Inscription found at Caria in the Castle of Büdrum.* By C. T. Newton, C.B., D.C.L.—This inscription was discovered and copied by M. Bigliotti, and appears to have some relation to the inscription of Lygdamis, 450 B.C., found and copied by Mr. Newton. It has reference to the sale of confiscated lands and houses, the title to which was guaranteed by the gods and the surveyors to the temples. The non-Hellenic names of Carian origin, which are numerous in the inscription, may aid to further knowledge of that language, and may serve to measure the proportion of Greeks to Carians. It was suggested by the author that possibly the *stele* had formed part of that containing the inscription of Lygdamis.

The reading of this paper was followed by a few remarks from the President as to the present state of our knowledge of the Carian and Lycian languages.

Tuesday, December 5, 1876.

S. Birch, President, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., in the Chair.

The following Candidates were duly elected members of the Society:—Mrs. Henry Boyce, Lowndes-square; Rev. R. Grant-Brown; the Rt. Rev. Bishop Courteney, D.D., Jamaica; Major-General Crawford, U.S.A.; J. L. Dismorr, Gravesend; Miss P. A. Fry, Wisbech; Dr. Hömmel, Leipzig; Herr Köining, Leipzig; W. Long, Wrington; Rev. S. R. Macphail, M.A.; Dr. D. Heinrich Müller, Vienna; R. Mullins; Rev. W. E. Winks, Cardiff.

The Officers and Council for the Session of 1876-7 was submitted by the Secretary for nomination.

The following papers were then read:—

I. *On some recent Discoveries at Aboo-Simbel.* By Miss Amelia B. Edwards.—In this paper, the author gave an account in full of some remarkable discoveries made at Aboo-Simbel, in the month of February, A.D. 1874. The discoveries consist of the foundations of a large pylon built in crude brick: a vaulted pronaos likewise in crude brick; and an inner chamber excavated in the rock. The pylon is situated some few hundred yards to the south of the great Temple of Ra, and its walls are seven feet thick. The dimensions of the vaulted pronaos and of the excavated chamber were given. The walls of the latter are covered with coloured bas-relief sculptures of great beauty, interspersed with short hieroglyphic texts. These are all in a state of the highest preservation. The large tableaux represent Ramses II adoring Ra and Ammon-Ra; and queen Nofre-Ari adoring Hathor. This monument, though under the protection of the tutelary gods of the great temple adjoining, is, however, apparently dedicated to Thoth: and is supposed to have been the library attached to the principal temple. The whole is of the period of the Great Temple, and strictly corresponds in style. Translations of the inscriptions, as well as a translation of a remarkable graffito in the hieratic character left by a contemporary visitor, were also given. A very perfect arch in crude brickwork was found at a depth of nearly twelve feet below the surface of the sand. This arch appears to have led from the landing at the bottom of the pylon-stairs to the pronaos of the library. The said landing is paved with very curious cones in hand-moulded clay, quite unlike the famous funereal cones found in the Theban necropolis. The author indicated what she believed to be the site of a second pylon, which stood to the north of the Great Temple, at about the same distance as the site occupied to the south by the pylon already described. Miss Edwards was of opinion that these pylons were approaches to the Great Temple, and not to the library. Copies of the inscriptions, as well as of some of the decorations of the rock-cut chamber, accompanied the paper, having been carefully facsimiled upon the spot by Miss Edwards. The original drawings, with various other sketches of Egyptian temples, were shown by Miss Edwards at a meeting of this Society in June, 1875.

II. *On the Babylonian Cylinders discovered by General di Cesnola in the Treasury of Kurium.* By Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.—After describing these three cylinders, the author of the paper came to the conclusion that, of the three inscribed Babylonian cylinders found by Gen. di Cesnola in the temple-treasure of Kurium, the oldest was the smallest, of hæmatite, which belonged to the early Accadian period. The next oldest was a larger one, also of hæmatite, which was referred to the Semitic epoch and the 16th century B.C. It gave evidence of the deification of the Chaldean kings. The largest cylinder, of rock-crystal, was, Mr. Sayce believed, a spurious antique, of the time of Nebuchadnezzar, or a little later. The legend was written in Accadian, like a modern inscription in Latin, but mistakes occurred in it. Two sphynxes engraved upon the cylinder showed Egyptian influence. (Printed in Vol. V, pp. 441–444.)

III. *On an Aramæan Seal.* By Lieut.-Col. W. F. Prideaux, F.R.G.S.—This seal is formed of very pale blue chalcedony; it is of a conoidal shape, and about one inch in height. The upright side of the stone forming the seal represents a four-winged monster of Babylonian type, apparently with the face of a man and the

body of a bull, rearing on its hind legs; its head is surmounted by an ibex horn, in front of which is a crescent; before the lower part of the body is the ankh cross, or *crux ansata*, the Egyptian symbol of life. On the base of the conoid or the seal proper is an inscription in Phenician characters of high antiquity, surmounted by a border, the translation of the same being, apparently, "*Belonging* to Bakkâshath bath Abel-Yrkh." This last word is the Sabean name of a Chaldean Lunar Deity Sin. (Printed in Vol. V, pp. 446–448.)

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion which ensued:—

M. Clermont Ganneau; Canon S. John V. Beechey; Rev. Prof. Sayce; Rev. Dr. Ginsburg; Prof. Seager; and Dr. Birch.

Tuesday, January 2, 1877.

S. Birch, LL.D., D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

The following Candidates were duly elected Members of the Society:—G. Bertin; J. Cornforth (Birmingham); Dr. McCaul (Toronto); James Napier, F.R.S.E., F.C.S. (Bothwell, N.B.); Rev. E. Nicholson Stott (Poplar); Rev. William Wright, B.A. (Bible Society).

This being the *seventh* Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the usual Report for the past year 1875–6 was read for the Secretary, by Mr. Arthur Cates. The increase of members during the past year had been 63. The following list of Officers and Council for the current year was then accepted unanimously:—

President.—Samuel Birch, D.C.L., LL.D.

Vice-Presidents.

Rev. Frederick C. Cook, M.A., Canon of Exeter.
Rev. George Currey, D.D.
The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., D.C.L.
His Excellency Sir William Gregory, C.B., G.C.S.I.
The Right Hon. The Earl of Harrowby, K.G., D.C.L.
Walter Morrison.
C. T. Newton, C.B., D.C.L.
Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart., D.C.L., M.D.
Rev. Geo. Rawlinson, D.D., Canon of Canterbury.
Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S.
Very Rev. Payne Smith, D.D., Dean of Canterbury.

Council.

Rev. Joseph Angus, D.D.
Rev. Canon Beechey, M.A.
Joseph Bonomi.
William St. Chad Boscawen.
Thomas Christy.
Arthur Cates.
Richard Cull, F.S.A.
Robert Cust, F.R.A.S.
Rev. W. Denton, M.A.
R. E. Graves.
Dr. C. Ginsburg.
Charles Harrison.
Rev. Albert Löwy.
Rev. E. McClure, M.A.
J. Manship Norman, M.A.
Wyatt Papworth, F.R.I.B.A.
P. Le Page Renouf.
Professor Charles Seager, M.A.
Rev. Alexander Taylor, M.A.
T. A. Wise, M.D., F.R.C.P.E.

Librarian.—William Simpson, F.R.G.S.

Treasurer.—J. W. Bosanquet, F.R.A.S., M.R.A.S.

Secretaries.—W. R. Cooper, F.R.A.S., M.R.A.S.; Arthur Cates.

Hon. Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.—Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.

The President announced that *the Library* would be open at No. 33, Bloomsbury Street, W.C., on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday in each week, from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m., when Mr. E. Richmond Hodges had kindly undertaken to attend.

The following paper was then read :—

The Mammalia of the Assyrian Sculptures. (Part II.—*Wild Mammalia.*) By Rev. William Houghton, M.A., F.L.S.—Beginning with the order Quadrumana, Mr. Houghton said two species were represented. He referred to the absurdly human appearance of the monkeys of the sculptures : the face being that of a man with a fringe of whiskers round it neatly trimmed, but one figure more true to nature indicates the species of monkey, viz., *Presbyter Entellus*, the Hoonuman of India, or some closely allied species. There was also another species, the *Macacus Silenus.*

The Assyrian word for monkey was *u-du-mu*, the same as the Hebrew word *Adam*, "a man"; compare our "anthropoid ape." Of the order *Feræ* there are mentioned the lion, the hyena (in Accadian *Lig-bar-ra*, "striped dog"); the bear, *Ursus Syriacus*, especially as being of various colours, and the leopard. Other wild animals were the hare, *Lepus Sinaiticus*, *ka-zin-na*, "face of the desert"; the wild bull, which was clearly a *Bos* and not a *Bubalus*, most probably *Bos Primigenius* of the tertiary period; the wild goat, *Capra Sinaitica*, the Asiatic steinboc or ibex; the wild sheep (*Caprovis Orientalis*); the wild deer, *Cervus Mesopotamicus*, and other species, *Cervus Elaphuss* and *Cervus Maral*, or Persian deer; the gazelle, *G. Dorcas;* the wild ass, *Equus Hemippus;* the elephant, *Elephas Indicus;* the rhinoceros, or as it is called on the black obelisk of Shalmaneser, "the ox from the river Saceya" and the wild boar, *Sus Scrofa.* The author concluded his paper by expressing his thanks to Dr. Sclater, of the Zoological Society, Sir Victor Brooke, and the Rev. A. H. Sayce, for their courtesy in answering inquiries. (Printed in Vol. V, pp. 319–383.)

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion which ensued :—Dr. Birch; Rev. Grant Brown, M.A.; J. Park Harrison; Rev. A. Löwy.

Tuesday, February 6, 1877.

S. Birch, LL.D., D.C.L., President, in the chair.

The following were duly elected members of the Society :—Rev. L. P. Casartelli (Louvain); W. R. M. Glasier; J. G. Middleton; Rev. J. Sanders Reed, U.S.A; Rev. Archibald Scott, D.D. (Edinburgh); Henry Tompkins.

The following papers were then read :—

I. *On the Cypriote Inscriptions.* By H. Fox Talbot, F.R.S.—This paper consisted chiefly of a summary of the progress made in Cypriote decypherment by the continental scholars since the first key to its discovery was published by the papers of Messrs. Birch and Smith, in the *Transactions* of this Society. As confirmatory of the soundness of the deductions of Dr. Birch that the language had an affinity to the Greek, Mr. Fox Talbot cited Dr. Moritz Schmidt's translation of the Bronze Tablet of Idalium, together with a transcription of the text into nearly regular Greek, accompanied by a vocabulary of certain Greco-Cypriote words.

II. *On a Himyaritic Seal found in the Hauran.* By Isaac H. Hall, LL.B., Ph.D.—This remarkable relic was obtained in January, 1876, by the author, who ascertained that it had, along with several other gems, been dug up some distance south of Damascus. On his return to England, Mr. Hall presented the seal to the British Museum. It is in shape a nearly perfect hemi-ellipsoid, with a flat elliptical face, containing six lines of Himyaritic characters. The material is dark agate, and the inscription appears to read, *Shakîr Charûf*, or "Thankful Lamb," a not wholly uncommon Semitic name, there having been a noted grammarian called Charûf, while the Beni-Charûf still exist as an Arab tribe. (Printed in Vol. V, pp. 445–446.)

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion which ensued :—C. T. Newton; Professor Seager; The Rev. Canon Beechey.

Tuesday, March 6, 1877.

Rev. Geo. Currey, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were duly elected members of the Society:—Captain Wallace; G. Crothers; Miss Cust; Rev. N. R. Fitzpatrick, B.A.; Professor Robert Fröhlich (Buda-Pest); Ignaz Goldziher (Buda-Pest); Fredk. John Horniman, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., F.S.A., Scot.; Rev. Henri Lambrecht, D.D. (Louvain).

The following papers were then read:—

I. *The Tenno-Samma, or Mikoshi, Ark-Shrines of Japan.* By William Simpson.—The name given to these ark-shrines is *Tenno-Sama*, which may be translated "Heaven's Lord," they are also called *Mikoshi; Mi* is "precious," "honourable," *koshi* is "seat." In construction these shrines are miniatures of a Japanese temple. There is a small square cella, with a large overhanging roof. The cella has folding doors on each of its four sides; round the whole is a miniature wooden fence, through which there is a gate of approach to each door.

Temples in Japan are all made of wood, and a particular kind of tree is sacred for the purpose; and I understand that this wood was also used for the construction of the Tenno-Sama. The temple of Solomon was built principally of wood and bronze; the early Greek buildings were also of the same materials, and this condition of architecture is still to be found in Japan to-day, and many of the temples are very beautiful specimens of work. Brass or bronze is largely used for binding the wood together, as well as for ornament.

Some of these arks have small figures of a deity within them, and they no doubt belong to the Buddhist faith. The primitive religion of Japan is Shintoism, and its temples are marked by the absence of idolatrous images; lately Buddhism has undergone something like dis-establishment, and Shintoism is now proclaimed as the only religion authorized by the State. There are three emblems which are common to a Shinto temple. These are a *Mirror*, a *Sword*, and a *Jewel*—some accounts make it a *Casket* instead of the last-named article, but the casket contains the jewel.

As the Mikado as Emperor is *ex-officio* a god, the Tenno-Sama sacred to him contain these three symbols. They are the insignia of his rank. They are called *Mitakara*. *Mi* is rendered as "three," and *takara* as "precious things." Satow's translation is very slightly different, he puts it, *Mite-gura* is compounded of the honorific *Mi*, corresponding in meaning to the Chinese *Go, te*, a contraction of taé, an archaic word for cloth, this is the derivation given in the Wakunkan. This word also means the *Gohei*, and the *Gohei* is also at times rendered the jewel; but the Gohei is not a "jewel" in our sense of the word. It is a slender wand set up on end, to which is attached a piece of cut paper, which hangs down symmetrically on each side. This emblem is frequently the only object to be found in the Sanctuary of Japanese temples.

This curious symbol of worship is said to represent cloth or clothes, and that hemp was one of the primitive offerings of an early age, and the paper now stands for the hemp. The mirror, one of the "Three Precious Things," is always round, and is, according to Japanese authorities, a symbol of the sun. There is a legend that the first mirror was made by a mythic blacksmith, the counterpart of Vulcan no doubt, and iron from the mines in Heaven was procured for the purpose. In addition to the mirror in the cella there are twenty-four small mirrors on the outside; they are placed in the folding doors, three on each side, one above the other. (Printed in Vol. V, pp. 550–554.)

II. *The Ethnic Relations of the Zimri.* By Rev. John Campbell, M.A.—In this paper on the genealogy of one of the more obscure Semitic peoples, the author traced the descent of the Arabian Dynasty of Babylonia under Hammurabi to Zimrar the son of Ishmael, the son of Abraham, in fulfilment of the divine blessing that the Patriarch should be the father of many nations.

To this ancestor he thought also might be attributed the origin of the Himyaritic nation and kingdom, and of the Gimirai of Northern Africa, and the Gimerri of the later Assyrian and Persian inscriptions. To the same stem belonged the branch races which in Spain became the Cimbri, in Africa the Berbers, and in

Britain the Cymri, thus connecting in one lineage the reputed builders of all the megalithic structures or druidical remains of Media, Arabia, Africa, France, Spain, and England.

These original conjectures and conclusions were sustained by a long series of ethnical etymologies and abundant references from clerical, Biblical, and archaic sources; and the author concluded by placing his collection of dates before the students of history as a contribution towards a solution of one of the most important questions in Biblical Archæology, the origin of the Zimri and their allied races.

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion:—Rev. Dr. Currey; Prof. Seager; Rev. A. Löwy; Dr. Hyde Clark; Rev. A. Taylor.

Tuesday, May 1, 1877.

C. T. Newton, Esq., C.B., D.C.L., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were duly elected members of the Society:—Edward Allen (Alnwick); Rev. Edward Nangreave Mangin.

The following papers were then read:—

I. *Sur une Stèle Egyptienne du Musée de Turin.* Par François Chabas.—The author of this paper having stated that the steles generally contain the name and titles of deceased persons, pointed out that the present stele is unique in several respects. BEKA, in whose honour this monument was erected, was a great man in Egypt; he was lord of the public granaries, and a great favourite with the Pharaoh. As to his name, BEKA, it is not an uncommon one. It means *slave*. It is remarkable that the defunct officer makes no mention of his parents. He states that he was dutiful and obedient to them, but does not give us their names. Probably this was because of his foreign extraction. The most remarkable point in regard to this stele is the omission of any profession of belief in the gods of Egypt. It is just such a stele as might have been placed over the remains of the patriarch Joseph. The age of the monument is not to be determined, nor the name of the Pharaoh under whom he administered the public granaries. (Printed in Vol. V, pp. 459–474.)

II. *On the Sites of Chorazin, Bethsaida, Capernaum.* By Rev. Canon Ridgway, M.A., F.S.A.—1. *Physical Features.* From the precipitous nature of the banks of the Sea of Galilee, all towns on its coast must have been on its north-western banks, where alone there is a beach with a landing place. This portion is not more than three miles long by one mile broad at its widest parts, and lies between Mejdel (Magdala) and Tell Hum.

2. *Relative Position.*—Both in the Gospels and by travellers in various ages, they are mentioned in the same order, viz.:—(*a.*) Starting from the south,—Capernaum, Bethsaida, Chorazin. (*b.*) All seem from both records to have been "on the sea." (*c.*) Bethsaida and Capernaum appear to have been so closely adjacent as to be almost identical; *e.g.*, our Lord went out of the synagogue (in Capernaum), and entered into St. Peter's house (Bethsaida). The return from the feeding of the five thousand is differently stated by Evangelists to be to "Capernaum" and to "Bethsaida." 3. *Bethsaida* seems to be the only certain site, fixed by the hot springs, which attract fish to it. (Hence there are two of the same name with same peculiarity.) It is at Ain-et-Tabigheh, just under the promontory of Aramch, by Khan Minyeh. *Chorazin.* This city saw many mighty works of Christ, and is classed with Bethsaida in a common curse in consequence. As no mention is made of Christ's visit to it, the presumption is that they were contiguous. The testimony of earliest travellers corroborates this. Our Lord compares these two to Tyre and Sidon—two famous ports on the Mediterranean sea-coast—which would lead us to expect Chorazin and Bethsaida were similarly situated. The only sites answering to this description are Tell

Hum and Tabigheh. *Objection.* Kirasa, a village upland, one hour from the sea, bears a similar name; but no antiquities have been found there. It lies on no thoroughfare, never could have been a considerable place, and the ruins are comparatively modern. *Capernaum.* Gospel accounts lead us to look for it near the sea; but though it was the residence of Christ for three years and scene of most of His Galilæan teaching, not a single illustration is taken by him from the sea or its pursuits, but they are mostly taken from a rich plain and commerce. Therefore near Gennesareth, the only rich plain. It seems to have been on a line of great public traffic, and between the two tribes of Zabulon and Naphthali (St. Matthew).

The Khan Minyehis on the junction of all the great lines of traffic through Palestine to the Western Sea (Damascus, Arabia, Egypt, &c.), and at the very boundary of the two tribes. Hence it is maintained:—1. That though *by* the sea no landing-place. 2. It was closely adjoining Bethsaida, but to the south, it was adjacent to the plain of Gennesareth. 3. Within a day's walk of Nain, Tabor, Cana, Nazareth. 4. The seat of Roman government, and mainly inhabited by Gentiles. 5. It was on the boundary of two tribes, and scene of great commercial traffic. The apostrophe to Capernaum suggests an elevated position. Its comparison to Sodom seems to convey a warning of a similar fate, with all which Arameh accords; while the name of the adjacent Khan M'nieh seems, when its etymology is historically traced, to bear traces of the original Neah and Naum. But the "Sermon on the Plain" was so evidently delivered to an audience of Gentile traders on the plain of Gennesareth, and yet in very close proximity to Capernaum, that its details appear conclusively to fix the site of that city. To this must be added the figures and allusions in the other discourses in that locality, which all point to the conclusion that the same plain was always in view; and, last of all, the exact description of the return of the disciples after the feeding of the five thousand, variously stated to be "Bethsaida," "Capernaum," and the "land of Gennesareth," which, on the above supposition, would be almost identical. The testimony of Josephus in no way contradicts this view, as he speaks not of a *city* but of a *fountain*, called Kaphar-naoum, which may have given its name to the adjacent city, though Josephus calls the latter Kapharnome. Those who would transfer it to Tell Hum rest mainly on two suppositions, viz., that "Hum" is the relic of the name "Capernaum," and that a recently-discovered building was "the synagogue." (Printed, pp. 257–259 of the present volume.)

III. *On the Stèle of Iritisen, in the Museum of the Louvre.* By Professor G. Maspero.—This stèle, which is generally described as C 14, in Lepsius's *Auswahl* and the *Catalogue du Musée Egyptien du Musée du Louvre*, is of the period of Mentuhotep, surnamed *Ra Neb Khersu*, of the XIth Dynasty, and it is one of the finest examples of Egyptian art under the old empire; the original draught in red ink, which still remains visible on the monument, is however much superior to the carving which it is designed to direct. The stèle was erected for an officer of high rank, named Iritisen, who is described as an artist or "scribe sculptor," and as "knowing the mystery of the divine Word, the ordinances of the religious feasts, and of every rite which is contained in them, as having never strayed from them," and as being "indeed an artist wise in his art, a man standing above all men by his learning." The principal portion of the very laudatory lines which follow the enumeration of his titles and offices, are occupied with descriptions of his domestic affairs, the names of his family and relations, and the usual funereal formulæ and allusions to the *Ritual of the Dead* and the *Myth of Horus;* and after some further still more obscure mythological references, it closes with the ordinary prosecynema of "thousands of wine, loaves, oxen, geese, linen, clothes, all good and pure things, to the devout Iritisen, the wise, the son of the lady Ad." (Printed in Vol. V, pp. 555–562.)

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion which ensued:—Rev. H. G. Tomkins; Messrs. R. Cull, F.S.A., H. Tompkins, E. R. Hodges, and the Chairman.

Tuesday, June 5, 1877.

S. Birch, D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

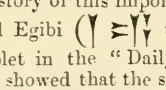
The following were elected members of the Society:—Alfred Kemp Brown, Norwich; Thomas Burton, M.D.; William Chappell, F.S.A.; Rev. Dr. Laing; Robert Hoe, Jun., N.Y.; Dr. W. Sillem, Hamburg.

The following papers were then read:—

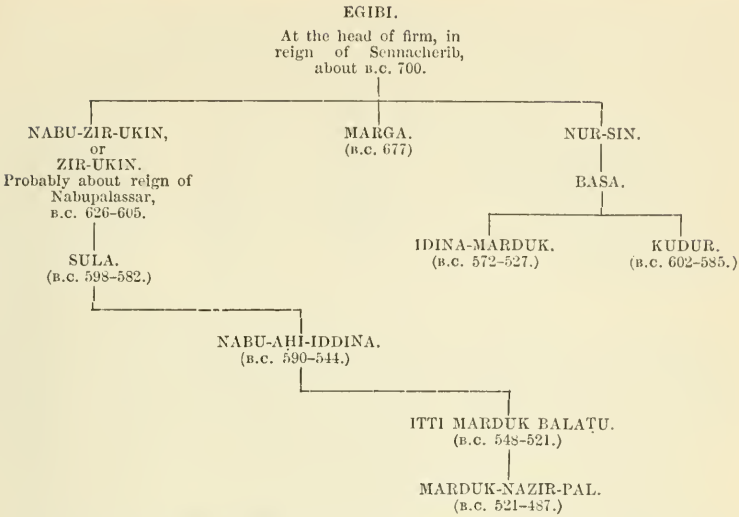
I. *Babylonian Contract Tablets and the Canon of Ptolemy.* By W. St. C. Boscawen (printed, pp. 1–78 of present vol.).—In this paper the author presented to the Society the results of his examination of a collection of about three thousand Babylonian dated contracts, now added to the Assyrian Department of the British Museum. The chief points in the paper were as follows:—

I. "*The Discovery of the Tablets.*" During the wet season of the year 1875-6 the Arabs discovered, in one of the mounds in the neighbourhood of Hillah, a town a few miles S.E. of the ruins of Babylon, a number of common jars resembling water jars. These jars were found to be filled with small terra-cotta tablets of the class known as "contract tablets." The discovery of a few such jars left exposed on the surface of the mounds, by the heavy rains, led to a more extensive exploration being made, and the result was a find of some three or four thousand tablets. These tablets the party of Arabs who discovered them carried to Baghdad and sold to a dealer there, who at once communicated the news of the find to Sir Henry Rawlinson, who laid the matter before the Trustees of the British Museum.

Mr. George Smith, at that time on the eve of departing for the third time to the East, received orders from the authorities to go to Baghdad and inspect the tablets, and to purchase such a selection as he might deem requisite for the Museum collection. The result of Mr. Smith's examination was the purchase of about two thousand five hundred tablets, which were shipped to England in August, and reached the Museum in November last.

II. "*The Nature of the Tablets.*" A very short examination of the tablets forming this new addition to the national collection was sufficient to show that the Museum had become possessed of a complete set of dated commercial deeds relating to a Babylonian banking firm. The author then gave a brief sketch of the history of this important trading house. The founder of the house, a person named Egibi (), flourished in the reign of Sennacherib. A tablet in the "Daily Telegraph" collection was translated by the author, which showed that the son of this man Egibi was a scribe and tablet writer in the fourth year of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon, B.C. 677. There is a long break in the history of the firm, extending to the fourth year of Nabupalassar, B.C. 622, when a member of this firm is again found acting as a party to contracts.

The main portion of the tablets containing the annals of this firm extend from the first year of Nebuchadnezzar II (B.C. 604) to the end of the reign of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 485). From them we gain the following points in the history of the family:—In the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar II (B.C. 598) the head of the Egibi firm is a person who styles himself "Sula son of Zir-ukina, son of Egibi." This man continues at the head of the house until the 15th year of this reign (B.C. 590), when he takes into partnership his son Nabu-ahi-iddina, who acts with his father as manager until the 23rd year of Nebuchadnezzar II (B.C. 582), when Sula dies, and the son is sole head of affairs. In the 8th year of Nabonidus (B.C. 548) a son of Nabu-ahi-iddina, named Itti-Marduk-Balatu, is taken into partnership with his father, and continues to act in conjunction with him until the 12th year of this reign (B.C. 544), when the father dies, and the son remains sole head of the firm. Itti-Marduk-Balatu continues at the head of affairs until the 1st year of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 521), when he is succeeded by his son, who remains at the head of affairs until the end of the reign of Darius (B.C. 487). The following genealogical table will show the direct line of succession and the various branches of the Egibi family:—



The chronological data obtained from these tablets were then examined, and the strong support which they give to the accuracy of the Canon of Ptolemy was pointed out. The following results were deduced from the data thus furnished :—

I. The period of 83 years stated by Ptolemy to be the interval between the 1st year of Nebuchadnezzar II and the 1st of Darius Hystaspis was thus proved by the summation obtained from the tablets—

(A).	(1.)	The tablets give	43	regnal years to	Nebuchadnezzar
	(2.)	,, ,,	2	,, ,,	Evil Merodach.
	(3.)	,, ,,	4	,, ,,	Neriglissar.
	(4.)	,, ,,	17	,, ,,	Nabonidus.
	(5.)	,, ,,	9	,, ,,	Cyrus.
	(6.)	,, ,,	8	,, ,,	Cambyses.
			83		

(B). The periods of independent headship of the Egibi firm also give a similar result—

(1.)	*Sula*, 7th to 23rd Nebuchadnezzar	16 years
(2.)	*Nabu-ahi-idina*, 25th Nebuchadnezzar to the 12th Nabonidus	38 ,,
(3.)	*Itti-Marduk-balaṭu*, 12th Nabonidus to the 1st Darius ..	23 ,,
		77
	The years one to six of Nebuchadnezzar	6
		83

This summation gives an average of 25 years and 8 months to the head of the firm, a by no means excessive one.

II. The author then gave the following table of comparisons between the dates obtained from the canon of Ptolemy, and those obtained from the tablets :—

	TABLETS.		
	ACCESSION.	1ST YEAR.	PTOLEMY. 1ST YEAR.
	B.C.	B.C.	B.C.
(1.) Nebuchadnezzar II ..	605	604	604
(2.) Evil Merodach ..	562	561	561
(3.) Neriglissar	560	559	559
(4.) Nabonidus	556	555	555
(5.) Cyrus	539	538	538
(6.) Cambyses	530	529	529
(7.) Darius	522	521	521

III. The reigns of Cambyses and Darius Hystaspis and the chronology of the revolts of pseudo Smerdes and the pseudo Nebuchadnezzar I and II.

(*a*.) The reigns of Cambyses ended in Nisan B.C. 522, and Darius Hystaspis counts his accession from this date, his first year being B.C. 521.

(*b*.) The revolt of Bardes or *Bar-zi-ya* began in the reign of Cambyses, in the 7th year of that monarch (B.C. 523), and lasted until the 7th month of the accession year of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 522).

(*c*.) The revolt of Nidintu-Bel, the first of the pseudo Nebuchadnezzars, began in the 7th month of the accession year of Darius (B.C. 522), and lasted until the 8th month of the first year of Darius (B.C. 521).

(*d*.) The revolt of Araeus, the second pseudo Nebuchadnezzar, commenced in the 1st month of the 7th year of Darius (B.C. 516), and lasted until the 5th month of the 8th year (B.C. 515).

The paper was accompanied by a carefully-prepared genealogical table of the family of Egibi, with all the variant readings of their names, and the accompanying cuneiform text. A table of royal names was also added. Appended to the paper was a tabular analysis of the whole of the dated tablets, about two thousand in number, and tables of intercalary months and cities of registration. In the body of the paper translations were given of some of the most important of the tablets in the collection, together with extracts from the inscriptions of the Persian and Babylonian kings. The paper concluded with a chronological table representing the results derived from the examination of these documents. (Printed pp. 1–78 of present volume.)

II. *The Defence of a Magistrate Falsely Accused. From a Tablet in the British Museum.* Translated by H. F. Talbot, F.R.S. (Printed in the present volume, pp .298–304.)—This tablet, marked K 31, is preserved in the British Museum, and has been published in the fourth volume of Inscriptions of Western Asia. plate 53. It is very different both in style and subject from anything that has been hitherto translated. It is a letter to the king from a magistrate named Nebo-balatzu-ikbi, protesting his entire innocence of the charges brought against him. He seems in great trouble, the letter passes from one subject to another almost without warning; the diction is rapid and passionate. It was Mr. Talbot's opinion that this is the original letter, and not a copy made from it afterwards. The chief charges against the magistrate appear to have been two. First, disloyalty to the king (perhaps treason); and secondly, complicity in the carrying off a young lady of noble birth: which crime he utterly denies all knowledge of, and professes his readiness, if the king is not satisfied, to submit to any judicial investigation that the king may desire.

III.—*On some further desired Aids to the Study of Assyrian.* By Rev. William Houghton, M.A., F.L.S. (present volume, pp. 249–256.)—The author, having taken a glance at existing aids to the study of Assyrian, called the attention of the members to what he considered were still *desiderata*. These were—I. A list of Assyrian verbs, there being at present no existing catalogue.

Mr. Houghton had drawn out a list of about 150 verbs, with their meanings, Semitic equivalents, &c., which he would place at the disposal of the Society. If this list—subject to Professor Sayce's revision, which he had promised—were printed, incomplete though it was at present, and placed in the hands of Assyrian students, Mr. Houghton would receive from time to time fresh additions of verbs and their meanings, so that in time a pretty full list would be ready for reference.

II. The production, by Mr. Ready, of fac-similes of some of the original cylinders and tablets in the British Museum.

III. A work like Smith's Assurbanipal, with copious explanatory notes, similar to those in Mr. Sayce's Reading Lessons at the end of his Assyrian Grammar.

IV. A dictionary of all known Accadian words. This want had been partly supplied by M. Lenormant's "Etudes," recently published.

V. A condensed vocabulary of the Assyrian language, as a nucleus for a complete lexicon of that language by English Assyriologists. The author stated that he had heard that the preparations of casts from the tablets had already received the attention of Mr. W. R. Cooper, the Secretary of the Society. The paper concluded with a specimen page of the proposed list of Assyrian verbs.

Copies of Mr. Boscawen's and Mr. Houghton's papers were circulated at the meeting.

Owing to the absence from ill-health of Mr. Boscawen, his paper was read by Mr. Hodges ; and, after some explanatory remarks upon the so-called Darius the Mede by Mr. J. W. Bosanquet, it was unanimously resolved to hold an extra meeting of the Society on the 3rd July, and to adjourn the discussion upon the Egibi Tablets to that date.

Extra Meeting, Tuesday, July 3, 1877.

S. Birch, President, LL.D., F.S.A., D.C.L., in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—Ernest A. Budge, Rev. A. Watkin Hands, John Maccarthy, Thomas Glazebrook Rylands ; Mrs. R. Lee Warner, Rev. Profesror Marks, T. W. Crawley, W. Timbrell Elliott, Rev. Thomas King, Fred. Geo. Hilton Price, the Baroness de Rothschild, Rev. Joseph B. Smith, Alf. G. Henriques.

I. Discussion upon the Chronology of the Egibi Tablets, translated by Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen, and the Canon of Ptolemy. Adjourned by direction of the Council from the last meeting. Observations by Mr. J. W. Bosanquet, F.R.A.S. (Printed in present volume, pp. 79–133.)

II. *On Astronomical Symbolism of the East, as transmitted by Hebrews and Christians.* By M. Ernest de Bunsen.—(*Argument*).—The two stars which in the book of Job are connected with Orion, and to which the Indian Orion-legend referred, are connected with the two red stars or Rohini of Indian traditions. It is shown that these two fixed stars, observed as contemporaneously rising and setting on the horizon, formed the unchangeable starting points for regulating the lunations, and that they thus brought about in course of time an absolute correct chronology. The early discovery of equinoctial precession led to the substitution of these fixed stars by the changeable equinoctial points, till Copernicus, by separating the latter from the solar path, re-established the correct measurement of time by referring the solar motion to fixed stars. The determining single stars, later, constellations nearest to the equinoctial points, to which former both Chinese and Persian traditions refer, became the symbol of the order manifested by the heavenly bodies, which cosmical order was attributed to the Deity.

The symbol of the two cherubs or kirubs, that is 'bulls,' in the language of cuneiform inscriptions, are shown to have referred to the rising and setting of the constellation of Taurus, which being called Kirub at its rising, was called Seraph or Ser-Apis, literally, 'the grave of the bull,' at its setting. The Pleiades in the neck of Taurus stand in the same relation to this constellation as the god Sebaot, the god of the Sheba-ut, or seven stars, the Sibut of the Babylonians, to the Cherub. The symbol of the chariot of the Cherubim, and of Jehovah riding on the Cherub, as the Pleiades may be said to be riding on Taurus, are thus astronomically explained, and connected with the representations or Ormuzd riding on the winged bull, as also with similar Mithraic representations. The fortnightly period of the Hebrews, from the new moon to the full moon, in connection with the precessional cycle of 72 years, probably known to the Hebrews, is shown to have formed the basis of the Osiris-Typhon legend, which was fully developed before the commencement of Egyptian history.

The fourteen divisions of the litanies of Thot, the god riding on the moon, and whose secret number was 72, are explained by reference to 14 moon-stations of the lunar zodiac, the hidden Mazzaroth or mansions of the moon in the book of Job, and to the precessional cycle of 72 years, with which can be connected the solar year and the Phœnix-period of the Egyptians, the Saros of the Babylonians, and the Mosaic period of one day like a thousand years, as well as several other Babylonian periods: also the number of the sons of Japhet, and the genealogies in Luke from Seth to Joseph, the husband of Mary.

When the solar zodiac had taken the place of the lunar zodiac, when the two determining fixed stars had been replaced by the changeable equinoctial points, and the commencement of spring and of autumn became the fundamental symbol of all religions, the ideal heroes of light were connected with the spring-equinox, at first in Taurus, and the ideal heroes of darkness with the autumn-equinox, at first in Scorpio, close to which is the constellation of the Serpent. Thus to Ormuzd, Indra, Osiris, Dionysos and Apollos, were respectively opposed the serpent deities Ahriman, Ahi, Typhon, the Titans and Python. So also to the Messiah, "The Sun of Righteousness," and "the day-spring from on high," was opposed by Satan, literally the antagonist, "the old serpent," the devil. The transition from the sacrifice of bulls to the sacrifice of lambs, and the vicarious and sin-removing character of these sacrifices in pre-Abrahamic times, is shown to have been connected with, and probably to have been caused by equinoctial precession, by Aries having taken the place of Taurus.

Some of the mysteries of the Great Pyramid are explained by Eastern astronomical symbolism, and the two passages pointing north and south are shown probably to have referred to the approximatively contemporaneous midnightly culminations of Aldebaran and Antares at the autumn equinox, as observable at places in the latitude of the Great Pyramid, and likewise in the latitudes of Bactria and Northern India, during a period of about 150 years, within which the year 3300 B.C. falls. The fact that Chinese, Indians and Arabians, at a remote period, counted 28 moon-stations, but that there is nowhere a trace of 29 mansions of the moon, is submitted as possibly implying a date for the earliest astronomical observations of the East transmitted to us, at a time when the lunar month, now having a duration of about 29½ days had only 28 days, or rather, not yet 29. As the mean motion of the moon is the same in long periods, this period of 29 days would have probably commenced about 600,000 years ago, if the retardation of the earth's rotatory motion, by which alone the prolongation of the lunar month seems to be explainable, really does amount to 22 seconds in a century, as now asserted by high authorities.

III. *On the Reading and Signification of the Akkadian Ideogram SA, and incidentally on certain names of Diseases in Akkadian and Assyrian.* By M. François Lenormant. (Printed in the present volume, pp. 144–197.)—The cuneiform character has been hitherto designated by the conventional name of SAGITU. According to one of the Syllabaries, it would seem that the vowel was pronounced *broad*, or prolonged, as if written with two A's. The meaning of it, or at least that meaning which is best known and unassailable, is that of *ulcer* or *tumour*—in Assyrian BUANU. The name

occurs in a prayer for deliverance from various boils and ulcers, many names of which ailments are found also in other texts. One of these, under the Akkadian name A SI GI, mentions a disease, which, from the description given, has been identified with dropsy. This, it would appear, was the malady under which the hero IZDUBAR was suffering; in the Deluge Tablet it is designated as MALU, and was accompanied by induration. No other malady except dropsy would seem to answer the description so accurately given. SA is a word used in Akkadian to designate the *heart*, whence it is extended so as to comprehend generally, all the viscera. From a comparison with many other expressions it seems that this word SA was also applied to the idea of generation, reproduction. The Akkadian SA MAKH, which is Assyrian ESILTU, *i.e.*, *heart very large*, very unmistakably characterises the disease known as *hypertrophy of the heart*. In the case now mentioned the Assyrian word employed to designate this disease is one of wide application, while, in the one about to be cited, it is the Akkadian word that is vague, while the Assyrian is precise. Here the Akkadian SATA KHAR-GIG corresponds to the Assyrian SIMERTU, which is explained by analogous words in Talmudic Hebrew and Syriac, meaning *calculus of the kidney*, or *vesicular calculus*, retention, &c. The Akkadian word SA DIB (literally "seize-heart") designates some kind of *angina pectoris*, painful constriction of the heart, palpitation, and similar affections of the pericardium. The compound word SA DIB in its participal form SA DIBBA is used in the sense of *being provoked*, *enraged*, *vexed*, *e.g.*, in the passage, "ISTAR, or Astarte, is provoked against me, and has painfully troubled me." MIGGANU for MIQQANU, from the Hebrew and Aramaic root MAQAQ, seems to denote *gangrene, putrefaction;* but the meaning of the word is more clearly defined by the Akkadian MARA, *to dwell*, to reside, which would seem to require some malady to be understood which keeps the patient motionless, hindering him from all activity and locomotion, whence we have MARA GAL, "the great sedentary" evil, "the great languor." Its Assyrian name, ISKIBBU, from the root SHAKAB (שָׁכַב), *to lie down*, a Semitic root common to the Hebrew, the Ethiopic, and Aramaic languages, probably signifies *paralysis*. Another disease called IS TI KI SIM TAB in Akkadian, and LIBISTU in Assyrian, is best investigated through the Assyrian, as the Akkadian is very obscure. The Assyrian name is from the root LABASH (לָבַשׁ), to dress, put on a garment. Unfortunately, we can arrive at no decision as to the precise nature of the malady in question. The words SA SAR SA, SAGA KASSA, SA ADGAL, SA GIG, are used to designate various kinds of boils and ulcers, the Assyrian names of which explain pretty clearly of how painful a nature they were. The term SASSATU, from the root NASHAT, designates a disease specially characterized by *excoriation* and *tumefaction*. SA ADGAL is explained in Assyrian by RAPADU, from the root RAPAD, *to spread*. The Akkadian word SA SAR-RA-RA, explained by the same Semitic word, RAPADU, which conveys the notion of *spreading*, would seem to denote some kind of pustular eruption. SA TIK, rendered by the Assyrian LABANU KISADI, may designate some kind of leprosy. For the cure of some of these diseases incantations and charms were employed. KHARASU denoted some kind of phagadenic or flesh-consuming ulcer. SA TABIN ĀKĀK is some kind of ulcer which has its seat under the finger-nail—a species of whitlow which causes the nail to drop off. SA LAL is a very interesting word, for two reasons at least. It proves that the fatal disease known as *phthisis*, or *consumption*, was not unknown to the ancient Akkadians. Its very name would suffice to show that they had already attained to a correct diagnosis of it when they describe it as, *ulceration of the lungs*. The Assyrian word AR-SA-SU, by which it is translated, is correctly determined, from the evidence furnished by various cognate words in other Semitic languages, to mean *phthisis* or consumption. The Akkadian root SA, in addition to the various meanings already adduced, seems also to have embraced the sense of *authority, possession*. Thus we have a word SA GAR, meaning *possessor* or *governor*, and SA MAR MAR, *owner of property, i.e.*, one invested with authority over it. The term is applied once to BIL-KAN, or Vulcan, the god of fire. We may say, in conclusion, that the column of the

Akkado-Assyrian Syllabary which treats of the sign SA will furnish a striking example of the uncertainties into which students may be plunged if unable to appeal to the various texts, and at the same time suggest the greatest caution, lest while carefully avoiding errors of one description, the student should fall into others of an opposite kind, a lamentable instance of the neglect of which precaution has landed a savant of the present day (who shall be nameless) in a shaking quagmire of difficulty. And yet this gentleman had set himself up for a censor of Assyriologists! The sign X is a polyphone, and yet out of thirteen possible meanings only one, or at the most two, can be the true meanings. Neither fancy nor caprice alone can guide us, it is evident, to the right one out of the thirteen possible readings. Were it otherwise, the decipherment of cuneiform texts would not be a science, but an agreeable pastime. It is by comparison of the different ways of spelling the same word, and examples of the *usus loquendi* in different texts, that the correct reading and true interpretation can alone be determined. Of the possible readings of this sign two are sufficiently near to well-known Semitic words, and so far embraced within the range of acceptations already assigned to this Akkadian word, as to suggest a probability of their mutual relation. NATNU might be related to the Arabic NATAN, to putrify, be fœtid, and hence would be a very suitable synonym for an ulcer, while SATNU would correspond to the Arabic SHATNUN, *a long cord*. But what shall we say of a philologist who pretends to give us a theory to explain the formation of the Assyrian Syllabary and account for its values, when, having observed that an Assyriologist has here transcribed the signs NADNU and LATNU, he bravely accepts both readings, and thus succeeds in foisting upon the sign X two significations purely fantastic and unwarranted, which, indeed, never had existence except in his own too fertile imagination! The usual expression for the idea of *rain*, both as a noun and a verb, continually met with both in the Akkadian and Assyrian texts, is the compound ideogram apparently consisting of two signs in juxta-position, *e.g.*, water + god, *i.e.*, water from the gods. In Assyrian we have ZUNNU as a noun, and ZANANA as a verb, yet it is equally certain that the verbal root with which it is connected signifies simply *to rain*, so that X may be regarded as a compound ideogram, representing a simple root, capable of producing by reduplication a derivative verb in a causative sense, and this in conformity with the general principles of Akkadian grammar. It seems highly probable that this hypothetical root was SUR, which occurs in Inscriptions of Western Asia, vol. IV, 2, with the meaning of *to rain*, and in this sense it is continually used in the astrological documents as the equivalent of the sign X. It may be interesting to observe also that this old Akkadian word SUR is found, with slight phonetic variations, in the modern Turanian languages, as in the Finnish, the Magyar, the Zyrianian, Permian, Votiak, &c., used in the sense of *drop of water, to fall in drops, to rain*. By a similar association of ideas it would appear that the Akkadians, like the nations of modern times, attached some notion of nobility to purity of blood, and hence such words as UMUN and UĂMUN = *blood* equated to BELUV, *Lord*. Among other unexpected phenomena, we meet in Akkadian literature with the mention of stones supposed to exercise, some a prejudicial, and others a beneficial, influence on pregnancy and parturition. A star also is mentioned called KAKAB ERI, to which a similar influence for good or evil was attributed. But perhaps most strange of all is the fact that we find LABAN to be a god presiding over certain diseases, and worshipped as a secondary deity in the temple of ANU and VUL, or BIN, in Assur, the ancient metropolis of the Assyrian empire.

Tuesday, November 6, 1877.

S. Birch, LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The President announced the severe loss the Society had received in the death of the late W. H. Fox Talbot, F.R.S., one of the founders of the Society, and one of its most liberal supporters, both by his own writings, which have so frequently added interest and value to the Transactions, and the liberality with which he had on frequent occasions defrayed the heavy cost of printing important papers which it would otherwise have been beyond the resources of the Society to publish. A vote of condolence was then unanimously passed, and the secretary was directed to convey the same to the members of his family. It was further stated that a memoir of Mr. Fox Talbot was being prepared for insertion in the forthcoming part of the Transactions.

The following papers were then read :—

I. *Notes on certain Cypriote Inscriptions.* By Isaac H. Hall.—In this paper the author presented the results of an examination by himself of all the principal Cypriote inscriptions in the museums of Europe and America. The conclusions arrived at were that generally these had been faithfully rendered, but that in some instances the imperfection of the original characters had introduced an element of uncertainty into the translations given of them, and therefore Mr. Hall in several cases offered a variant reading as the more probable one. The chief Cypriote texts described in detail were—1, the Bilingual of the Louvre ; 2, the Bronze Tablet of Dali ; 3, the Bilingual of the British Museum ; 4, the cave inscriptions of Alonia tou episcopou ; 5, an unpublished text in the British Museum ; 6, the Archer Inscription in the same ; 7, the Cesnola collection in New York. (Printed in the present volume, pp. 203–208.)

II. *On a Cypriote Inscription now in the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople.* By Dr. Paul Schrœder.—This interesting inscription consists of two lines of Cypriote text, the first containing twenty-six and the second twenty-three letters. It occurs on a quadrangular marble block, which was evidently at some period brought from Cyprus. The inscription is not intact, having been in many places seriously defaced, but the general sense is easy to understand. It records the donation of some object, possibly a statue or altar, to the goddess Aphrodite by Nikokles king of Paphos, the last priest-monarch of that city. The remainder of the paper was occupied by a summary of the life and tragic death of king Nikokles as related by the Greek authors Diodorus Siculus and Polyænus, and by an analysis of several obscure points in the inscription itself. (Printed in the present volume, pp. 134–143.)

Tuesday, December 4, 1877.

S. Birch, LL.D., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

The following Candidates were duly elected Members of the Society :—Miss Ashley, Edmund Beales, Madame McGillicuddy, David Hennedy, Rev. Thomas Lowe, Mrs. Miland, C. Stirling, Samuel Wood.

The following papers were then read :—

I. *On some early Babylonian or Akkadian Antiquities.* By W. St. Chad Boscawen.—This paper dealt chiefly with a series of early Babylonian monuments found on the mounds of Zerghoul in Southern Babylonia. Chief among these were an inscribed brick and a cone, presented to the Society of Biblical Archæology by Lieut.-Col. Prideaux. Mr. Boscawen examined the name of the ancient city of *Zergul*, which was recorded on these bricks, and pointed out that the city derived its name of "the city of the great light," from a temple situated within its walls, one of the cones being dedicated to the "Lord of the wood of life," a temple to whom was erected in Zergul by a monarch named Gudea.

The author endeavoured to show from this and other evidence deduced from inscriptions, that the primitive Akkadians used the fire-stick to kindle their temple and other fires. He then examined some of the Babylonian fire hymns and prayers, and pointed out their similarity to the Aryan ones.

Various other monuments of the Chaldean king Gudea were described, chief among which were two curious bronze statues, now in the British Museum. These statues are early Chaldean divinities, or priests, who are represented as wearing the horned cap so commonly figured on the gems. They are clothed in long robes, which have been richly ornamented with chasing. Kneeling on one knee, they hold in their hands large cones of bronze, with the apex downwards, on which are inscribed similar dedications to those on the terra-cotta cones. The author pointed out that from the marked non-Semitic character of these faces, it was very possible that we had here representations of the primitive Akkadian population of Zergul.

Lastly, Mr. Boscawen noticed a statue of black marble, bearing an inscription of king Gudea, now in the British Museum, and pointed out many points relating to the civilization at the period when these monuments were erected. (Printed pp. 275–283 of the present volume.)

II. *Notes upon the Assyrian Despatch and Report Tablets.* By T. G. Pinches.—The author commenced his paper by stating that these tablets had been much neglected by Assyriologists, owing to there being numerous other texts of greater interest. In spite of the difficult nature of these inscriptions, they give many very interesting facts concerning the ancient inhabitants of Assyria. It is a point of special interest that these tablets are not the productions of the court scribes of Nineveh, many of them seeming to have been written from dictation; they thus give us very good examples of the language of the common people. Unusual words abound in them, and there are also peculiarities of pronunciation and accentuation. Most of them are very carefully written, and from this circumstance it is very improbable that we have the original documents, at least in the case of the Despatch Tablets. It must often have been impossible, when campaigning, to make use of the apparatus for baking the clay, and, when baked, the tablets also liable to be broken in transit; it is therefore probable that for the original documents papyrus was used instead of clay. This supposition is also strengthened by the appearance, on the bas-reliefs, of two scribes writing, the one upon a clay tablet, and the other upon some flexible material, probably papyrus. The document, having been written and sent to the king, was copied by the court scribes and placed in the royal library at Nineveh.

Most of the peculiarities of these inscriptions consist in doubling letters to indicate accent, and the assimilation of sounds to a greater extent than is found in other inscriptions. One phrase, found on a letter-tablet, may be noted as being very peculiar, viz., *sepā ana sepā*, lit., "feet to feet," the signification of which, as shown by the context, is "keeping step together," *i.e.*, "with one consent." The remainder of the paper was occupied by specimens of translations of the tablets, with comments. One, written in the reign of Esarhaddon, contains summaries of despatches received by an Assyrian officer, evidently the governor of a large province, from certain governors under him. The greater part of these summaries refers to the movements of the king of Akkad, who was at war with Assyria at that time.

Two tablets referring to the revolt, overthrow, and death of Bel-Basa, king of a small State, situated in the marshes of Babylonia, named Gambulu, and the capture and trial of his son for being in league with other princes to raise a rebellion, show how these tablets may sometimes fill the details of the historical inscriptions out very considerably.

The paper closed with a translation of a tablet relating to the removal of some statues of gods to a new shrine, a ceremony which seems to have been performed with great rejoicing. The writer of the inscription then goes on to inform the king that certain men, whose names are not given, had refused to give the customary offerings of wine, &c., to the temple, evidently, of the forementioned gods. The paper was accompanied with interlineated copies of all the text described. (Printed pp. 209–243 of present volume.)

III. *On the Mythology of Pasht, and the Cat, in Egypt and in Prehistoric Times.* By Hyde Clarke, F.R.G.S.—The author referred to the descriptions

given by Herodotus of Bubastis, the city of Pasht, or the Moon, in Egypt, and the superstitions of the Egyptians for the cat, as dedicated to this goddess. In Bubastis there are numerous mummies of the sacred cats, and such are found also in our museums. The Hebrews are supposed not to have known the cat, as it is not referred to in the Bible, nor are the Greeks; the latter are now conceived to have kept weasels to catch mice. It has even been doubted whether the cat was known as a domestic animal in the earliest times, and whether the taming of it was not a peculiar Egyptian institution, as was the reverence shown for it.

In this country, the house cat is, from its markings, supposed by naturalists to be of two origins, one from the English wild cat, and the other from a cat like the Egyptian. That the cat was known to the Hebrews is, however, shown by the Talmud, in which the cat is represented as modelled in gold on the fifth step of King Solomon's throne.

The question as to the relations of the cat in mythology was to be solved by the fact that in various early languages of Africa and India, the words for "moon" and "cat" are identical or related, and thus the superstition was evidently not of Egyptian origin, but prehistoric, and derived from earlier races. The same was the case with the emblem of the frog for man. In the opinion of the writer, the mythology and culture of the Egyptians were not indigenous, but inherited and adapted by them.

The connexion of the cat with the moon was not for the reason assigned by Herodotus, although it was an account of a phenomenon of periodicity. One ground was, that the eye of the cat shines at night, and the cat was thus assimilated to the moon, because the moon in many prehistoric languages, and particularly among the North American Indians, is called the "Night Eye," as the sun is called the "Day Eye." The interest of the facts lay in this—that, ancient as was the culture of the Egyptians, it was after all only the continuance of ideas thousands of years older, and dating from the beginning of speech. It was also shown that the cat was known to man in the earliest times. The neglect of the cat by some races was perhaps to be assigned to the period when the worship of the sun and of light, of Baal and Apollo, obtained an ascendancy over that of the moon, which, where maintained, was relegated to women (printed in present volume, p. 316, etc.).

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion which ensued:—Colonel Prideaux; Rev. A. Löwy; Dr. Birch; Rev. E. N. Stott; Messrs. R. Cull, and W. St. C. Boscawen.

Tuesday, January 8th, 1878.

S. Birch, LL.D., D.C.L., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

The following were duly elected Members of the Society:—Rev. J. Chadwick Bates, Bernard Tindal Bosanquet (by special vote), Rev. Thomas Calvert, Miss Lawrenson, Professor Erasmus Wilson, F.R.S.

This being the *eighth* anniversary meeting of the Society, the Secretary's Report for the past year was read by Mr. Arthur Cates. The increase of members during the past year had been 37.

The following Council and officers for the current year were duly elected:—

President.—S. Birch, LL.D., D.C.L.

Vice-Presidents.

Joseph Bonomi.
Rev. Frederick C. Cook, M.A., Canon of Exeter.
Rev. Geo. Currey, D.D.
The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., D.C.L.
His Excellency Sir William Gregory, C.B., G.C.S.I.
The Right Hon. The Earl of Harrowby, K.G., D.C.L.
Walter Morrison.
C. T. Newton, C.B., D.C.L.
Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart., D.C.L., M.D.
Rev. Geo. Rawlinson, D.D., Canon of Canterbury.
Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S.
Very Rev. Payne Smith, D.D., Dean of Canterbury.

Council.

Rev. Canon Beechey, M.A.
Thomas Christy.
Arthur Cates.
Richard Cull, F.S.A.
Robert Cust, F.R.A.S.
C. Drury Fortnum.
R. E. Graves.
Chas. Harrison.
Rev. W. Houghton, M.A.
H. H. Howorth, F.S.A.
Rev. Albert Löwy.
F. D. Mocatta.
J. Manship Norman, M.A.
Wyatt Papworth, F.R.I.B.A.
P. Le Page Renouf.
Rev. W. H. Rule, D.D.
Professor Charles Seager, M.A.
Rev. H. G. Tomkins, M.A.
Rev. Geo. A. Trevor.
Professor W. Wright, LL.D.

Librarian.—William Simpson, F.R.G.S.

Treasurer.—B. T. Bosanquet.

Secretaries. { W. R. Cooper, F.R.A.S., M.R.A.S.
Arthur Cates.

Hon. Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.—Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.

The President, in announcing the death of the late treasurer, Mr. J. W. Bosanquet, took occasion to describe the loss sustained as one almost irreparable, when the talents and personal characteristics of the lamented gentleman were considered. To Mr. Bosanquet the Society was indebted for the payment of nearly one half the cost of its Transactions, besides liberal assistance in many other matters. Assyriology lost in him one who was, in the words of his rival, Dr. Oppert, "the Mæcenas of Assyriology." The late George Smith was urged into publicity by his generosity, and to his patronage several of the rising school of Assyriologists owe their introduction to literary notice. Thoughtful to the last, he had on his deathbed taken measures to hasten the publication of the new part of the Society's Transactions, the last pages of which would now, alas! have to bear tribute to his rare talents as a chronologist, his discretion as a patron, and his courtesy as a member of Council and a controversialist.

The following papers were afterwards read:—

I. *Is Biblical Poetry Acrostic?* By S. M. Drach, F.R.G.S. (Printed at p. 244 of present vol., pp. 244–248.)—The author pointed out the terse brevity of Joseph's Egyptian message to his father, compared to the verbosity of Abraham's application for a family burial site, and curiously deduced the fact that the initials, medials and finals form three separate meanings, as though they had been written hieroglyphwise vertically for transmission and identification to Jacob.

Ini.—Who sought my sorrow, has come to dread me	ת	א	א	ר	מ	ל	ל	א	ש	י	ב	א	ב
Med.—Refuge from her, his calamity when people's power was straitened	עמ	—	ל	ד	צרי	כ	אדו	להי	מנ	וס	נ	מ	—
Final.—The tender-mouthed was appointed to be born to this (marvel).	ד	ל	י	ה	מ	ל	נ	מ	י	פ	כ	ר	ה

This is further exemplified in the firsts and finals of the Red Sea Song, arranged as in the MS. rolls, which form a tolerable Te Deum and psalm of victory over Memphis and its people. Moses' warning song of Deuteronomy likewise exhibit similar results; whence Mr. Drach supposes that the system of acrostics known to exist in the Psalms, Proverbs, etc., may elucidate the cause of redundant letters to certain words. He has also lately stated that his suggested 43 as a fundamental chronological biblical number, may probably be connected with the Chaldean eclipse-period of 18 years 10 days (6585 days) of the moon's node, occupying 223 lunations, or *thrice sixty* plus *forty-three*, and thus given the last number a prominence which mathematically it does not possess.

II. *Revised Chronology of the latest Babylonian Kings.* By Dr. Jules Oppert. (pp. 260–274 present volume.)—The author of this memoir sought to establish the fact that the said sovereigns' regnal years commenced with the day of their accession (as now in Europe), and not as a fractional part of regnal first and last years to make the new year the constant starting-point. He affectionately records the late George Smith's scientific testament in the Egibi tablets. He proves his assertion by numerous examples of the 6th century B.C. (quoting Mr. Boscawen's Egibi tablets with much satisfaction), by Evil-Merodach, Labasi-Marduk, Nabonidus, Cyrus, Cambyses, the Magian Gomates, Arakha and Darius. That the accession of Cyrus was before 23rd Nisan (1st to 23rd April), 529 B.C.; and as Nabonidus was king on 4th Iyar, B.C. 538, and Cyrus on 22nd Iyar same year, "the capture of Babylon by Cyrus occurred within these eighteen days." Confirmed by Ptolemy: lunar eclipse (6½ digits) at Babylon in Cambyses VII, Nalmassar 223, night of 17th–16th Pharmenoth (Su), which Dr. Oppert makes Wednesday, July 16 (Os) = July 10 (Nes), at 5 o'clock, Babylonian time; confirmed by fifty contract documents. The author then contests the late Mr. Bosanquet's idea in our Transactions I, 217, that it occurred Cambyses VIII, Sebat 28, from Orchoe, in February, B.C. 522. The impostor Nadintabel's two defeats of Tazana, Euphrates, on 26th Kislev, and at the Tigris 2nd Tebet, when Darius killed Nadintabel at Babylon. The memoir conclude with a canon from B.C. 561 to B.C. 485, accession of Evil-Merodach to death of Darius.

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion which ensued:—S. M. Drach, Rev. A. Löwy, S. Binion, Dr. Birch.

Tuesday, February 5th, 1878.

Rev. Geo. Currey, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following Candidates were elected members of the Society:—Rev. Sir T. Blomefield, M.A. (Yorks); Rev. Maxwell Ben-Oliel, M.A.; Rev. W. L. T. Dale (Chiswick); Rev. R. B Girdlestone, M.A. (Oxford); J. H. Harrison (Derby); Cornelius Inglis, M.D.; H. E. Cardinal Manning, D.D.

The following papers were then read:—

I. *On the Supposed Tomb of St. Luke at Ephesus.* By William Simpson, F.R.G.S. (pp. 323–26 of present volume.)—The place is within and near to the Magnesian Gate; and all that remains at present of it is little else than a mound; but an external wall of large slabs of marble is visible in some parts. This base was circular, and between each slab there has been a dwarf pilaster, and on one of these still standing, there is a panel with a Christian cross cut so as to stand out in relief; in a smaller panel beneath is the figure of a bull or ox, with a well-developed hump, similar to that of a Brahminic bull. The bull being the symbol of St. Luke, led Mr. Wood most naturally to the conclusion that the monument had had some relation to the evangelist, a conclusion which I think few will dissent from—the doubt will only be expressed as to this having been his tomb. This sculptured pilaster seems to have marked an entrance which led into a small chapel (the plan of which was exhibited by

the author), which makes it evident that this did not belong to the original design of the structure. The irregular form of what we may suppose to have been a Christian shrine, bears no connection with the circular outline of the monument. The one may be described as an invasion and a conversion of the other.

The question arises as to the character of the remains. There is a small tunnel-like passage, into which the author could enter; it seemed to be circular, and concentric with the outer wall of marble slabs; and from this we may fairly conclude that it belonged to the first intention of the building. As this passage was blocked up with fallen earth, he could only penetrate through a small portion of its length, but in that he found a cell, which, from its size, was evidently intended for a tomb. This cell extended outwards between the passage and the external wall, and although only one cell was visible, he came to the conclusion that there were others, and that originally the passage had gone round, completing the circle, and that sepulchral cells similar to the one still to be seen, had radiated from it along its whole extent. The position of this Hellenic tomb, situated in such a public place, so close on the thoroughfare leading to the Magnesian Gate, renders it, one would think, all but impossible that the few early Christians, at the probable period of St. Luke's death, would have been permitted to select, what was perhaps a public monument, for his sepulchre. The insertion of the chapel into the monument must, therefore, have been of a later date.

II. *On the Antiquities of Ephesus having relation to Christianity, the sojourn of St. Paul in that city, the Tomb of St. Luke, &c.* By J. T. Wood, F.S.A. (pp. 327–33 of present volume.)—In order to understand the ruins of Christian buildings at Ephesus, it is necessary to trace briefly the origin and progress of Christianity in that city. We know from Bible testimony that Ephesus was one of seven cities in Asia Minor where Christian churches were established in early Christian times, and that even before St. Paul's conversion, which took place A.D. 36, there were many Christians (though not at that time so called) in those cities, as well as in "Judæa and Galilee, and in Samaria," where we are told "the Churches had rest" from the persecution which "Saul of Tarsus" had carried on so energetically (Acts ix). Paul's first visit to Ephesus was a hurried one in the company of Priscilla and Aquila, but he found his way into the synagogue, and reasoned with the Jews. The 19th chapter of the Acts give a most graphic and interesting account of St. Paul's success at Ephesus during a sojourn of nearly three years; his teaching convinced many, and even those who practised the art of magic for their livelihood, brought their books together and burnt them publicly. Much remains at the present day of the great theatre where the disturbance took place, which arose from the fears of Demetrius, the maker of silver shrines for the Temple of Diana: so great was the tumult, that St. Paul was prevented by his friends from entering the theatre, and he was obliged to leave Ephesus immediately after. Christianity then received a severe check, and a reaction, doubtless, took place in favour of Diana's worship.

The long Salutarian inscription found in the course of the excavations on one of the walls of the theatre, describes in detail a number of effigies of gold and silver, weighing from three to seven pounds each—about thirty of these are described. Of these there were figures of Artemis (Diana), and two stags, and other emblematical figures. These were ordered to be placed in the temple of Artemis. The date of the inscription is A.D. 104; it bears interesting proof of the popularity of the worship of Artemis about half a century after St. Paul's conversion. Great numbers of decrees of the Council and the people of Ephesus were found in the Great Theatre, as well as in other buildings in the city, and it is not improbable that a decree was issued forbidding the preaching of the gospel by St. Luke and others, and this may account for St. Paul's afterwards passing on to Miletus without touching at Ephesus on the occasion of his next visit to Jerusalem. Mr. Wood expressed his hope that such a decree might be found if he had the good fortune to return to Ephesus, and continue the explorations. The tomb of St. Luke, at Ephesus, was contemporaneous with the earliest predominance of Christianity in that city, and with some of the churches, the remains of which are now to be seen within the city. This

building is of white marble, circular in plan, and fifty feet in diameter; it was adorned with sixteen columns, which were raised upon a lofty basement: a door-post remains in position, upon the front of which were carved two panels; the upper one contains a large cross, the lower one the figure of a bull or buffalo of the country, with a small cross over its back. On the side of the same door-post are the remains of a human figure, which has been almost entirely chopped away; the nimbus, however, which surrounded the head, having been incised, is quite perfect; the figure therefore must have been that of a saint or martyr: the bull is St. Luke's emblem. On the opposite door-post was carved a large cross. The style of architecture of this building shows that it belonged to the early part of the fourth century, and at that time the Christians would have it in their power to remove the remains of St. Luke from their burial-place outside the city, or from wherever they had been at first deposited, and re-inter them within the city in this place. The building, moreover, stood within a quadrangle 153 feet square, which was surrounded by a portico, and was paved with thin marble slabs, under several of which were found graves. These were probably Christian graves, as it is well known that the early Christians paid large sums of money for the privilege of being buried near a saint or martyr. We have no historical notice of St. Luke after his sojourn with St. Paul at Rome, and it is not improbable that he died at Ephesus either a natural death or by martyrdom. The most remarkable of the churches at Ephesus is the double church on the north side of the forum. Each church consisted of a long nave, terminated by an apse at the east end; this was flanked by two chambers, which were probably the *prothesis* and *Diaconicum;* the date of this church is probably the early part of the fourth century. The edict of Diocletian ordering the destruction of churches is attributed to the year 302, and this proves that such buildings then existed. There are remains of two other churches within the city—one, near the tomb of St. Luke, was probably dedicated to him; the other is on the south side of the forum. Both these buildings had probably been basilicas or halls of justice originally. The rock-cut church on the east side of Mount Coressus is outside the city, and is supposed to have been dedicated to the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. Considerable remains of a church were found on the hill at Ayasalouk; this was perhaps St. John's Church, and where the Council was held A.D. 431. Over these remains the Greeks have recently built a church, where services are now held on Sundays and saints' days. Extensive foundations (probably of a church) were found within the cella walls of the Temple of Artemis, but an earthquake prevented the completion of the building. A large basin of breccia, 15 feet in diameter, was found in the forum; this might have been a baptismal font. Along the road leading from the Magnesian Gate to the Temple were found some sarcophagi, with the Christian emblem, and A and Ω deeply incised in the covers. These were probably of the fourth century. A peculiar Christian tombstone was also found. It consisted of a large cross, with a female figure behind it. A Christian tomb of thin marble slabs was found on the hill at Ayasalouk, the inscription on which shows that it was of the seventh or eighth century. Some coins found at a high level over the site of the Temple prove that the name of the village Ayasolouk was derived from St. John, who was called ἁγιος θεολογος. The cross was cut upon the gates of the city, as well as upon the public buildings. It was also found upon the gate-posts found in position in front of the theatre in conjunction with inscriptions wherein the Christian kings of the *Green faction* and the *pious* kings are mentioned.—This paper was illustrated by a number of drawings, and by photographs enlarged on the screen by the stereopticon.

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion which ensued:—Messrs. R. Cull, C. T. Newton, W. Simpson, Rev. A. Löwy, and Dr. Currey.

Tuesday, March 5th, 1878.

Richd. Cull, F.S.A., in the Chair.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society :—Rev. J. J. Dand (Bothal) ; John Hopgood ; Thomas Walker.

In the absence of the President, it is my duty this evening to preside, and I have sad news to communicate. Death has again visited us, and taken our old friend and distinguished colleague, Joseph Bonomi, in his 82nd year. His father was architect of St. Peters, at Rome, but he resigned that appointment to settle and practise his profession in London. His son Joseph was born 9th October, 1796, and became a pupil of the Royal Academy. He gained the silver medal of his year for a drawing and model from the antique, and was engaged in the studio of Nollekens the sculptor. He went to Rome, where he remained a year, when he proceeded to Egypt. He devoted his time to sketching and making careful drawings of the monuments. His accurate drawing and knowledge of the monuments was utilized by Egyptologists, whom he assisted in the illustrations of their works. He was appointed artist to the Prussian expedition to Egypt under Lepsius, and his magnificent drawings for that work are too well known to require eulogy from me. I well remember the fulness and accuracy of his knowledge on both Egypt and Syria, which he displayed at the meetings of the Syro-Egyptian Society. He was one of the founders of our Society ; he was much respected and loved by those who had the advantage of his friendship. I move that a letter of condolence, expressive of our feelings on the loss the Society has sustained be sent to his bereaved family. Carried *nem. con.*

The following paper was then read :—

I. *On Chaldeans, Pelasgians, Hyksos, and Celts.* By Ernst de Bunsen.—In harmony with the researches of Lassen and Renan, the Aryan element among the Chaldeans or Casdim, is explained by the identification of the latter, as the "conquerors" of Assyrian inscriptions, with the Medes, who, according to Berosus, conquered Mesopotamia and captured Babylon in B.C. 2458. This year is in Genesis implied to have been the year of the birth of Shem, if we accept the only traditional year of the Flood, B.C. 2360. The birth of Shem is ethnologically explained as the rise to political power in the west of a mixed race of combined Japhetites and Hamites, of conquerors and conquered, as Japhet dwelling in the tents of Shem, or in Mesopotamia, where Canaan, that is Ham, is his servant. The geographical and ethnological interpretation of the tenth chapter of Genesis leads to the result, that the genealogical names of the first-mentioned Japhetites, or descendants of "Japhet the elder," and of the Hamites, form two uninterrupted chains of migrations from east to west, if started from the sources of the Indus and Oxus as the Pishon and Gihon, from the Aryan home, which is identified with the Heden or Udyana of Eastern, and with the Eden of Hebrew tradition, as recorded in Genesis. The Euphrates and Tigris took the place of the two other of the four rivers originating in the eastern Paradeca highland, or land beyond, the Paradise of the Septuagint, and the eastern Haraiti and Aryararta was replaced by the Armenian Ararat. The names of the sons of Noah refer to the two streams of Oriental migrations to the west, and to their combination as a mixed race, they form an exact parallel to the three sons of the Iranian hero Thraêtôna, after which the myth of the three sons of Hellen was formed, and they refer to the earliest historical bridge from East to West. The first migrations of Orientalists to the west, according to the Magna Charta of ethnology, those of the Hamites, did not reach more western

countries than Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia. Asia Minor, the coasts of the Black Sea, and thus Thrace, were first inhabited by the Japhetites, by the Madai and Javan and their descendants. The once exclusively Aryan or Japhetic Madai from the south of the Caspian, and who had "journeyed from the east," entered Shinar or Singhar, which name originated in a transformation of Sumir into Sunghir, and thus points to their Iranian language, in which the Medes, then already a mixed race or not, were called Casdîm, or "conquerors," after they had subjected the Cushite aborigines of Mesopotamia. The first king of the Median dynasty in Babylon was Nimrod-Merodach, so called after an Assyrian deity, and Nimrod "the son of Cush" is identified with the Iranian Takmo-Urûpis or Urûpa, the possessor of the cities which, according to Genesis, constituted the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom. During the rule of the Median dynasty, between B.C. 2458 and 2234, the migrations of these Medo-Chaldeans to Europe must have taken place, and thus the aborigines of Thrace, the Getæ (Goths) could call themselves descendants of the Medes. A probable ethnic connection is pointed out between the Cheta of Mesopotamia and the Geta of Thrace, as also of these with the Celts, Ionians, Pelasgians, and Dardanians. Thus a possible approximate date is assigned to the importation of archaic Asiatic art into Greece. Finally, the ethnological and chronological hypothesis is submitted that the Medes, expelled from Mesopotamia by the succeeding dynasty of Urukh, in that same year, B.C. 2234, became possessed of a part of Egypt, where they established themselves as the XIIth Dynasty, which preceded the rule of 511 years over the entire Egypt, as Hyksos, by that same race of Medo-Chaldeans, who on being expelled from Egypt in B.C. 1563, the year of the Mosaic Exodus, marched through Arabia, and Syria, and in 1534 were re-established in Babylon as the Arabian dynasty of Berosus, or the Canaanite dynasty of the Nabathæans. The cognate relations between the Nebat, the Cheta, or Hittites, and the Hebrews in Ur of the Chaldees is dwelt upon, and the sons of Abraham by the concubines as well as the naturalized "stranger" in Israel, are identified with the non-Hebrew Israelites or Medo-Chaldeans, from which Caleb the Kenezite and David were descended.

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion which ensued:—Rev. A. Löwy; Richard Cull, F.S.A.; and W. St. Chad Boscawen.

Tuesday, April 2nd, 1878.

S. Birch, D.C.L., LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The Chairman announced that Mr. W. H. Rylands had offered to take the office of General Secretary to the Society, and that the Council had accordingly accepted his offer, subject to the approbation of the members, by whom he was accordingly elected.

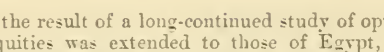
The following were elected Members of the Society:—Rt. Honble. Lord Francis Conyngham, M.P., D.C.L.; Lady Frances Conyngham; Rev. Arthur Warner (Westminster); Miss Mary E. Walker (Wanstead).

The following papers were then read:—

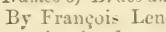
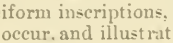
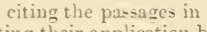
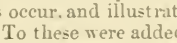
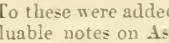
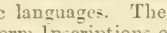
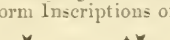
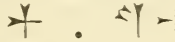
I. *Memoir of the late H. Fox Talbot, F.R.S.* By R. Cull, F.S.A. (pp. 543–559, present volume).—William Henry Fox Talbot was the only child of William Davenport Talbot, Esq., of Laycock Abbey, in the county of Wilts. His mother, Lady Elizabeth Fox Strangways, was the eldest daughter of the second Earl of Ilchester. He was born in February, 1800, and received his education at Harrow, whence he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, where he gained the Porson Prize in 1820, was Chancellor's gold medallist, and took his degree in 1821 as twelfth wrangler. He did not compete for a Fellowship, as he determined to travel. He was devoted to science, classical antiquities, languages, Egyptian studies, and finally Assyrian. He sat for Chippenham in the first Parliament after the passing of the great Reform Bill in 1832, but did not again seek an entrance into Parliament. His career as a man of science was chiefly pure mathematics and physics, including chemistry. The study of science culminated in the brilliant invention of photography. This

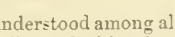
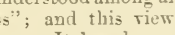
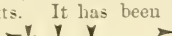
invention was the result of a long-continued study of optics and chemistry. His study of antiquities was extended to those of Egypt, and especially to hieroglyphics. He studied the Italic dialects, as the Oscan, Umbrian, &c., of ancient Italy. He wrote most learnedly on these subjects. His study of Assyrian has borne much fruit, of which our Society has derived much from his learned memoirs.

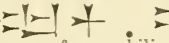
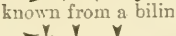
II. *On the Names of Brass and Copper in the Cuneiform Languages of Chaldea and Assyria.* By François Lenormant (printed in present vol., pp. 334–417).—This paper consisted of an extensive and exhaustive collection of extracts from the cuneiform inscriptions, citing the passages in which the different names of the metals occur, and illustrating their application by examples from bilingual hymns, &c. To these were added widely-gathered series of philological parallels, and many valuable notes on Assyrian and Accadian, with numerous references to the Semitic languages. The following were the chief points in the paper:—In the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, vol. II, 1, 113, we read—

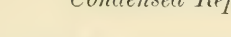


za - bar . *si - par - ru.*

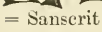
It has been understood among all Assyriologists, that the above complex ideograph means "brass"; and this view is established by numerous passages from the historical texts. It has been thought to be wood strengthened by bronze—  (W.A.I. II, 7, 27 *g-h*). Another ideograph is known from a bilingual tablet, the Assyrian translating the Accadian  *χan zabar*, by  (*nūn*) *śipari* = "a fish of bronze," that is to say, probably a fish of the colour of bronze.  *zabar* is only a name of a single metal in the Accadian language, and is there only a specialized meaning of a perfectly national word meaning "shining," "bright" ( *namru*, W.A.I. II, 24, 48 *a-b*. This general signification is shown by the constituent elements used to write the word *zabar*, for it comprises the primitive signs = the "sun," "light," and "brilliance";  , meaning "face," "surface," &c., and , meaning generally "force" or "power." The Assyrian  is sometimes translated by the Accadian  *kie*, but this is only when the metal is melting. In the excavations at Khorsabad by M. Victor Place, under one of the angular stones of the palace of Sargon, a small coffer was found containing seven tablets, with inscriptions commemorating the foundation of the edifice, in gold, silver, copper, tin or antimony (two metals which were then confounded), lead, marble, and Eastern alabaster. These tablets are mentioned as being made of:—

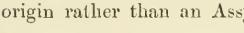
1. *ḫurasu*, "gold."
2.  *kaśpu*, "silver."
3.  *eru* = "bronze," "copper."
4.  (Accad.) *ana*, "tin," and in W.A.I. IV, 14, 2, rev. line 16, 17, it is said to be the metal mixed with copper, *urudu* = *eru*, "to make bronze."[1] In a gloss is given (W.A.I. II, 7, line 17) the name

[1]  *eru*, with gold and silver, was the third element of the metallic currency of Assyria. In W.A.I. III, 47, 5, we have a contract of a loan of three talents of *eru*, at three per cent. interest, no doubt monthly. Another metal is mentioned in Khorsabad Inscription, lines 159 and 160,  *parzil* (Heb. ברזל).

 *id-kasduru*, as a synonym for = Sanscrit "kastira," Greek κασσιτερος, which had probably a Caucassian origin rather than an Assyrian.

5. *abar*, this is "lead"; Aram. אבר.

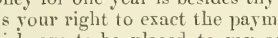
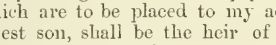
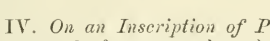
6.  *sipruv*, "marble."[1]

7.  *dahṭu*, "alabaster." This is the דהטה of the Samaritan version of the Hebrew text of פטדה of Exodus xxix, 10. There were celebrated quarries for the stone at Mouli, near Jabah. It was considered sufficiently valuable to be received as tribute, and appears to have been a stone capable of receiving an oily polish.

The chief country for the production of copper was *Mâkan*, or *Makkan*, which has been generally identified with Egypt, since Assurbanipal once marched there. But from other evidence it is clearly shown that Makan is quite another country from that of Egypt, a country owing its name to its capital city, and was situated more than fifty leagues from Raphia. It is remarkable that the word used in speaking of the march beyond Mâkan implies the idea of descent, ארד, that is, in the Assyrian language, the direction from north to south. It was near the sea (perhaps the Persian Gulf), for the vessels of Makkan are pointed out (*elippu Makkanituv*). It also possessed a king.

III. *Translation of an Egyptian Contract of Marriage.* (Printed pp. 284-286 of the present volume.) By Eugène Revillout.—This interesting contract of marriage is written in the demotic character upon a small sheet of papyrus, No. 2432, Cat. Egyptien, Musée du Louvre. It is dated in the month of Χοιαχ, year 33 of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and the contracting parties are Patma, son of Pchelkhons, and the lady, Ta-outem, the daughter of Rehu. The terms of the deed are extremely singular as to the amount of dowry required on both sides, together with the clauses providing for repudiation. After the actual dowry is recited, the sums being specified in shekels and argenteus, the rights of the children which may hereafter come from the marriage, as well as the payment of the mother's pin-money, are secured by the following clause: "Thy pocket money for one year is besides thy toilet money which I give thee each year, and it is your right to exact the payment of thy toilet money, and thy pocket money, which are to be placed to my account, which I give thee. Thy eldest son, my eldest son, shall be the heir of all my property, present and future. I will establish thee as wife."

IV. *On an Inscription of Psametik I in the Museum at Palermo.* (Printed pp. 287–288 of present volume.) By Miss Gertrude Austin.—This inscription, which is unfortunately only a fragment, is engraved on the upper part of a sitting statue of Psametik II, and the characters are of extremely fine workmanship.

[1]  = Aram. טפר; Heb. צפרן; corresponding to  *uqnu*. *Uqnu* is a gem of which the vesture (*zibu*, זהב) of Istar is made (W.A.I. IV, 31, rev. line 58). The rarest *uqnu* came from Bikni (), the most remote part from Media. There may be a relation between the stone *uqnu* and the names of two large canals, *Ukne*, which ran parallel to the Euphrates, toward the west.

The purport of the inscription is to record a proscynema to the four divine rams of Mendes, who are invoked to bestow prosperity to "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Uah-ab-ra, like the blessing of the gods."

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion which ensued :—R. Cull, Rev. A. Löwy, Rev. A. Taylor, and Dr. Birch.

Tuesday, May 7th, 1878.

S. Birch, LL.D., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—Rev. Chas. J. Ball, M.A. (Merchant Taylors' School) ; Rev. James T. Lang, M.A. (C. C. C., Camb.) ; Rev. Dr. Nicholas, M.A. ; Geo. Wm. Porter.

Honorary—M. J. Halévy (Paris).

The following paper was then read, and accompanied by illustrations on the black board by the author :—

On Kurdish Folk Lore in the Kurdo-Jewish Dialect. By The Rev. A. Löwy.

The author, in submitting the following specimens of Folk Lore, placed at the disposal of this Society the Kurdo-Jewish originals, which he had written out both in Hebrew characters and in a systematic transliteration, together with a literal rendering of the stories. Two of the stories afford an insight into the traditions current amongst the Kurds concerning the object of the cuneiform inscriptions. Mr. Löwy stated that he had set himself the task of gratifying the interest both of those who desired to obtain information about some of the popular traditions of the Kurds, and those who pursued the study of languages which were developed in the days when the books of Holy Scripture were committed to writing, and when on stone monuments records were incised, which engage the arduous labours of ingenious scholars. The work now undertaken by Mr. Löwy was in continuation of that which he had commenced in 1875, when he published the first specimen of the Kurdo-Jewish language, which he had made known by the name of the "Lishanet Imrani," or the "Imrani language." This specimen appeared in the Transactions of the Society, Vol. IV. Part 1.

In 1877, Mr. Löwy came into communication with two natives of Bash-Kala, a place in Kurdistan, concerning which Mr. Layard has remarked that near it was the haunt of wandering Jewish shepherds. Those two men had supplied Mr. Löwy with numerous details, of which he had treated in the Sixth Annual Report of the Anglo-Jewish Association. They further made for him various translations of Scriptural passages, which will, in the course of time, be made accessible to Semitic scholars.

The Lishanet Imrani is also termed "Lishanet Djabâli," or "Highland language," and is, like the kindred idiom of the Nestorians, strongly impregnated with the vocables received from the Kurds, the Arabs, the Persians, and the Turks.

The two Kurdish Jews had in their native country seen many stones inscribed with the arrow-headed writing, and they termed such stones, *kêpé ît elü nishan*, "stones which have a sign." The stories they had to relate about such stones, and also about the immigration of the Jews into Kurdistan, are given in the following narratives :—

[*Literal Translation.*]

I. The Castle of Kalianu.—"I heard from my father, he said to me, My son, see! this castle is called Kalianu. Once upon a time came a man of the Frankish people, and he said to a shepherd : O shepherd, show me Kalianu, and what thou desirest I will give thee. The shepherd led him to Kalianu (and) said to him, This is Kalianu. This Frankish man sat at the entrance, and the door of the castle was of stone. That man sat near the door. There came out (he drew forth) a paper, (and) he read, Door get open. This man went into the castle and the shepherd went with him. He saw there many vessels, all full of money.

That Frankish man said to the shepherd, What thou desirest I will give to thee. The shepherd said, This cradle of gold I desire. That man replied: O shepherd, all what thou desirest I will give to thee; but I a journey of six months came for the sake of this cradle; however much money thou desirest I will give thee: what use is the cradle to thee? The shepherd would accept nothing (else). He said: I demand the cradle. This man said to the shepherd: Give to me thy bag, and I will give the cradle to thee. He took his bag and he filled it with money. Both of them went out of doors. That man brought out a drug and blew it into his eyes. (Then) both his eyes became blind. The shepherd remained there; the man thereupon closed the door and went off. When the people of the town saw the shepherd did not come (home) at night, they went out in the morning. They saw him (with) both his eyes blind, and he had fallen asleep under Kalianu. They said to him, How has it thus come to pass? Then the shepherd related to them, and told them those things. Thus has the story come back to my head. But my father said: I heard it from an hundred of Kurds. For in this way they used to tell the story."

II. Visit to Koladar.—A European manservant was sent by his master with a paper to Koladar, *i.e.*, "blind passage," to put it on a certain stone marked with the (cuneiform) sign. The stone would then open, and he would find much money, which he should carry away with him. The servant then met a shepherd who, having given him some satirical and evasive answer, he grew impatient and threw the paper away. The shepherd picked it up, struck a fire to light his pipe, and as the paper fell on the top of a stone, the top opened, and the shepherd took the money away with him.

III. The Grave of Rabbi Abraham.—Prior to the settlement of the Jews in Oormiah, Salmas, and Bash-Kala Jews resided in Bardug, which was densely inhabited by them, but they fell into sins, and were warned by a celebrated man whose name was Rabbi Abraham, but they heeded not his warnings. One day a fiery halo, or lustre of the Shechinah (Divine effulgence), radiated over his head whilst he was engaged in midnight prayers, and his daughter called out to her father that he was on fire. He, however, pacified her, and soon passed away from this world. Great commotion took place at the burial-ground that night, when all the stones were upset. From that time the Jews were scattered, and the tomb of Rabbi Abraham became the resort of many pilgrims. Flocks driven to that burial ground, when milked by their Kurdish shepherds, yielded blood instead of milk; hence those shepherds desisted from driving their flocks thither, and the grave of Rabbi Abraham became known to the Kurds as the one of the *Malme tshav'rash*, *i.e.*, "the black-eyed sage." Kurds, also, perform pilgrim journeys to the resting-place of that sainted Jew.

The first story, as given in the Imrani dialect (in Hebrew characters) has been transliterated in the subjoined text. The vowels are to be pronounced as in Italian; the "ü" as in German, or as the French "u"; the "aw" is equal to the "a" in "all"; the "q" represents the Hebrew "kuph," or guttural "k." The "ch" is sounded as "lo*ch*" in the Scotch dialect. With few exceptions the dissyllabic and polysyllabic words have the accent on the penultimate.

Ana shĕméli mèn bâbi oi mèrí ĕ'-li beroini chĕzí ya qâ-la kè-mè-rí-la Kal-ïa-nu chá za-ah èd-ié'-lé chá goira mìn ná-shat fĕ-rènq mèré bâ-át chá tshóban yà tshóban Kal-ïa-nu mèch'-vi-la ĕ'-lí a-na mâd gè-bét kè-rènüch oi tshóban embèllé'-le gè-bét Kal-ïa-nu mèré èlév a-yé'-la Kal-ïa-nu oi goira fĕ-rènq yé-tev'-lé èlat târa târat qâla mìn kêpa vélè oi goira yé-tev'-lé gè-bét tara palat-le cha kachtì-a qa-rè-lé târa patach zèlé yà goira gâ-vèt qala tshóban zèlé galev chè-zéle loi'-ka kĕma a-mani külü mal'-iè fës-é oi goira fĕ-rènq mère ba-at tshóban màh gè-bét ana havén ba-oich oi tshoban mèré ana ya dargüshta deh-wa ana gébèna oi goira mèré ya tshoban har mát 'ad gè-bét ana havén ba-oich bâ-lé ana varchat ishta yar-ché èd-ién ba-at a-ià dargüshta ka-mah fës-é ad gè-bét ana havén ba-oich ma goidéta dargüshta tshoban la qa-bèl-é mèré ana dargüshta gĕ-bèna ya goira mèré ba-at tshoban hoila é-lí djan-toich ana dargüshta kévèna ba-oich

shìq-lá-lé djan-tév mal-iá-le fĕs-é turnu palat-lu târa oi goira cha darmana palatlé pach'lé bè-énév turnù énév kór ché-dèr-u tshóban pèsh'lé loi-ka oi goira de-vèq'lé alet tara zèlé bara nashet mala chezèlu tshóban la èdié-lé lélé ba-qat-ïóim zelü chèzé-lülè turnu é-nèv kór nè-nĕ-pil d'mich ché-lèt Kal-ïa-nu mêru ĕ'-lév ba-mah ha-cha ha-qé-le elü tshobán alet anìa chab're mèré hacha ed-ié-lè al'-réshè bali bábi mèré ana shè-mìè-lèn mèn ema kartvé ki hacha kèm'ri.

The philological portion of the essay, which will be printed in the Transactions, treated of the position which the Kurdo-Jewish dialect holds amongst other Aramaic dialects. Mr. Löwy drew attention to the characteristics of the permanent portion of the language, viz., that portion which is represented by names of action; and then again to those additions to the stock of language which are represented by appellations of persons and things. He pointed out that in these instances the dialect is indebted to the influences of the Kurdish, the Persian, the Arabic, and the Turkish; and here the history of the people runs in the same channel in which the influx of various idioms is received.

At the conclusion of the paper, the President and Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen made a few remarks.

Tuesday, June 4th, 1878.

C. T. Newton, C.B., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—Walter Besant, M.A., Sec. Palestine Exploration Fund; Rev. Henry J. Hotham, M.A., Vice-Master Trin. Coll., Camb.; Rev. Frank Newton, M.A.; Mrs. Paulet; E. W. Rashleigh.

The following paper was then read:—

On the Hieroglyphic or Picture Origin of the Characters of the Assyrian Syllabary. By Rev. William Houghton, M.A., F.L.S. (See pp. 454–83 of present volume.)—After adducing some evidence to show that in all probability written language originated in all cases in pictures representing objects or ideas, the author gave a few instances from ancient Chinese characters, which exhibited a faint resemblance to their pictorial types. At first the characters would be rude figures of animals or other objects; in process of time this resemblance would become fainter—a process which Mr. Houghton described by the expression, "pictorial evanescence"—till at length all similarity between the object itself and the character representing the object disappeared. Of the 522 characters of the Assyrian syllabary as given in Sayce's Grammar, a very few indeed of the simple characters exhibit their primitive form; the composite characters on the other hand often distinctly reveal themselves; instances of these were given. But when we go back to the older forms of the simple characters, we are often able to trace out their primitive form and meaning. Certain archaic forms exhibit unmistakable resemblance to the objects which the characters are known to denote, thus, *kha*, "a fish," was traced back through the hieratic Assyrian, and the hieratic Babylonian, to the archaic and linear Babylonian, which showed an undoubted picture of a fish, with head, body, fins, and tail. The ideograph for "a month" is, in its ancient form, a figure of a square with 3 × 10 inside it, *i.e.*, 30 days within the sun's circle. The ordinary character , for "a man," has nothing human about it, but the ancient forms are clearly rude figures of a man, with head, neck, shoulders, body, and legs; just such a picture as a modern school-child would draw on his slate, or as the North American Indians do, as was shown by a drawing from Sir John Lubbock's "Origin of Civilization." The ordinary form , meaning "a deity," "a star," "heaven," &c., was originally , which, like the Egyptian determinative , is a picture of "a star." The ideograph , denoting "king," originally

denoted "a great man"; the character , for "a domestic ox," was originally a picture of that animal's head, ; while the sign , for "a wild bull," is in the archaic Babylonian, thus represented— , which, placed upright, denotes "the horned head of an ox," with , the D.P. of "country" on it, *i.e.*, "the bull of the country," or "wild bull," which Mr. Houghton identifies with the *Bos primigenius* of palæontologists. In these instances (and many more could be given) it has been possible to trace back the characters to their undoubted original form and meaning, and they are sufficient to show that the various signs of the Accadian Syllabary were originally pictures of objects or of ideas. But we cannot in all cases, or indeed in many, be certain that we are correct in our explanations of the signs; some will commend themselves as probable, others may appear doubtful; whilst some, which come to us in such questionable shapes that we cannot but speak to them over and over again, persistently refuse to give any account of themselves whatever, keeping most obstinate silence, like Horace Smith's "incommunicative" mummy. Any ancient hieroglyphic representing fire is of great ethnological interest. In the character , which has many variant forms, no explanation is possible till we come to the oldest form of all, the linear Babylonian—a form which Mr. Houghton thought he could satisfactorily interpret; the centre figure[1] is a circular bit of wood with a hole in the middle; the sign to the right is the ordinary Assyrian sign meaning "wood," the cross-lines over it denote "two bits of dried stick placed cross-wise"; the horizontal lines facing the perforated disc signify "lines or sparks of fire" issuing from the disc, and caused by the rapid rotation of a piece of dry wood within the hole of the disc; the cross-sticks are dried pieces to serve to keep the fire in when once kindled, precisely similar to what every housemaid in the land does when she "lays the fire," and as may be seen in the Indian picture where "fire" is represented by "flames and cross-sticks." Mr. Houghton considered that we had here an interesting illustration of the use of the fire-drill among the early Accadians, and alluded to the confirmation of his explanation by Mr. Boscawen's discovery of the use of the fire-stick among that people. The sign , whose usual meanings are "a foot" and "a yoke," exhibits very decided pictorial evanescence; for the original picture appears to have been "a human foot, with sandals round the instep"; on a tablet in the British Museum, what appears to be a rude figure of a man's great toe, stands for the whole foot. But is also represented on the same tablet by a curious spectacles-shaped object, which the author explained to be intended for a figure of a portion of iron fetters, often well represented on the monuments; hence naturally the idea of "a yoke." The sign is known to denote some kind of animal; it was explained to mean, in its archaic form, "foot" + "water" + "eye," or "tear." The idea of swiftness is implied in the character for "foot," and the "water of the eye," or "tears," refer to the lachrymal or sub-orbital sinus or *tear-pit* characteristic of certain deer and antelopes; so that the composite ideograph represents some deer or antelope which possessed a sub-orbital tear-pit. The character for "darkness," , was originally a picture of the vault of heaven darkly shrouded; that implying "rest," , is shown by its form in the hieratic Babylonian to be a picture of "the sun setting behind the mountains," . No. 408, , "the heart," "that which is interior," is represented in the older forms by a square, with a cross in the centre, *i.e.*, "something placed in the middle," corresponding to our centre of a circle, and thus the original picture explains itself,

[1] The figure actually is a square; but the cuneiform engravers did not write in curved, but only in straight lines.

while the ordinary Assyrian character in this, as in many other instances, has very far gone from original representation. Several other characters were considered, and a specimen-page of a comparative list of characters, having a column in which their original hieroglyphics were explained, printed by Messrs. Bagster, was circulated among the members.

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion which ensued:—Dr. Birch, Revds. E. N. Stott and W. Houghton, Messrs. Boscawen, Cull, Hyde Clark, H. H. Howorth, and the Chairman.

Tuesday, July 2nd, 1878.

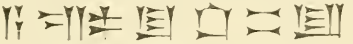
S. Birch, D.C.L., LL.D., President, in the Chair.

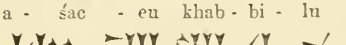
The following were elected members of the Society:—James Bonwick, F.R.G.S.; The Rev. E. T. Gibson, Deptford; The Rev. William Gibson, B.A., Brixton Rise; William Lethaby, Frome; William Rowbottom, Alfreton; Gordon Evelyn Tombe, Greystones, co. Wicklow.

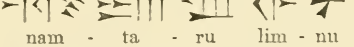
The following Candidates were nominated, and by special vote of the Council, elected members:—Mrs. Carter (Bayswater); J. G. Gibbs (Rickmansworth); John Mullings (Cirencester), The Owens College (Library of), Manchester; J. E. Hunter Peyton, F.R.A.S. (St. Leonards); Rev. William Urwick, M.A.; James Young (Wemyss Bay).

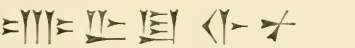
The following papers were then read:—

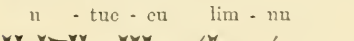
I. *Assyrian Incantations to Fire and Water.* By Ernest A. Budge. (Printed pp. 420–35 of present volume.)—The following translations are made from a lithograph copy of a bilingual tablet in W.A.I. IV, 14. It appears to be a magical incantation. Incantations were used by the ancient Accadians to drive away demons, to invoke the protection of certain good spirits, and to pray to be defended from the action of certain evil spirits which attacked particular parts of the body. The Accadian mind saw spirits in everything in nature, and they supposed that a good and evil spirit presided over the same object, each seeking the mastery. In a large fragment lithographed in W.A.I. II, 17 and 18, incantations are enumerated against spirits which were supposed to dwell in the mountains, the sea, the desert, the evil wind, and all parts of the body. The habitation of the evil spirits was the desert. This belief was also held by the Jewish prophets and the Eastern nations inhabiting Mesopotamia. In W.A.I. IV, 29, 2, there are six species of evil spirits mentioned:—

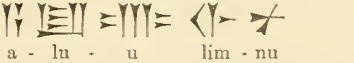
the  *The Spirit destructive.*
a - śac - eu khab - bi - lu

 *The evil Namtar.*
nam - ta - ru lim - nu

 *The evil Utuc.*
u - tuc - cu lim - nu

 *The evil Alû.* Accad.
a - lu - u lim - nu a - lal

 *The evil Ecimu* (*spirit, demon*).
e - cim - mu lim - nu

 *The evil Gallu.*
gal - lu - u lim - nu

The Asakku (Accad.) and the Namtar appear to have been demons which were considered very powerful. In W.A.I. IV, 31, 67, the "namtar" is considered as a god, and is called the "servant of Nin-ci-gal" (the goddess of the great earth). The Utue is said to inhabit the desert, W.A.I. IV, 16, 22; the Gallu (Accad. *telal*) stays in the town, W.A.I. IV, 6, 8. Each of these spirits attacked a certain part of the body. It is curious to note the number "seven" being frequently used in this class of incantation. They were wicked, and were supposed to inhabit the earth, abyss (ocean), and a long Accadian poem in W.A.I. IV, 15, speaks of them thus:—

They are seven; in the mountains of the setting sun were they born.
They are seven; in the mountains of the rising sun was their growth.

Incantation to Water.

1. An Incantation to the waters pure .....
2. the waters of the Euphrates which in the place .....
3. the water which in the abyss firmly is established
4. the noble mouth of Hea shines on them
5. the sons of the abyss (there are) seven of them
6. the waters they are shining (clear) waters they are bright, waters they are bright
7. In the presence of your father Hea
8. in the presence of your mother Damcina
9. may it shine, may (it) be brilliant, may it (be) bright
10. conclusion (three) times a prayer
11. the god of the river like a charioteer put him to flight
12. (this) enchantment before him its onset like a demon
13. all the world blackens like the zenith lofty
14. the sun god in his going forth his darkness he removed and in the house of Ai he devours.

Incantation to Fire.

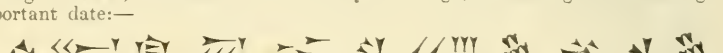
1. An incantation to the desert places holy may it go forth
2. (this) enchantment O spirit heaven mayest thou remember, O spirit of earth mayest thou remember
3. Fresh paragraph. The fire god the prince who is in the lofty country
4. the warrior, son of the abyss which is in the lofty country
5. the god of fire with thy fires holy
6. in the house of darkness, light thou art establishing
7. all that is his also proclaimed, his destiny thou art establishing
8. of bronze and lead the mixer of them thou (art)
9. of silver (and) gold the blesser of them thou (art)
10. of the goddess Ninea'i her offspring thou (art)
11. of the wicked (man) in the night changing his breast thou (art)
12. of the man the son of his god his limbs mayest thou make brilliant
13. like the heaven may it shine
14. like the earth may it be bright
15. like the interior of heaven may it shine.

II. *Notes upon Babylonian Contract Tablets and the Canon of Ptolemy.* By Theophilus G. Pinches. (*Vide* pp. 484–93 of present volume.)—This paper contained a short account of certain dated tablets of the last collection obtained by the late Mr. George Smith, for the British Museum, throwing great light on chronology between 605 B.C. and 517 B.C. There are four of these documents, the principal of which is dated as follows:—

E-ki ..... yumu śabitu,

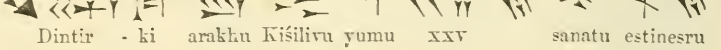
sanatu estinesru, [D.P. Ka]mbuziya śar Din-tir-ki, "*Babylon ..... day seventh, year eleventh, Kambyses king of Babylon.*" Contracting party: Itti-Marduk-baladhu son of Nabu-akhi-iddin son of Egibi. This date, overthrowing the perfect agreement of Mr. Boscawen's list with the Canon of Ptolemy (though the witnesses given by no means contradict its being the eleventh year), the author was at first reluctant to accept, on account of the number being, as may be seen from the cuneiform text above, so badly written.[1] Soon after the discovery of this tablet, however, another was discovered, bearing the date "11th Tebet, 8th year of Cambyses," making him to reign eight years and three months, instead of seven years and seven months.[2] This induced the author to test the whole list, as given by Mr. Boscawen, and he found that it made a period of eighty-five years, reckoning from the 1st Nisan, 1st year of Nebuchadnezzar III (the Biblical Nebuchadnezzar), to the 1st Nisan, 1st year of Darius (omitting the reigns of the pseudo Bardes and Nebuchadnezzar)[3] instead of eighty-three years, as indicated by the Canon of Ptolemy. This is caused by there being a period of nine months, unrepresented by the tablets, between the reigns of Evil-Merodach and Neriglissar, making the former to reign three years instead of two; and by the fact that Cambyses reigned more than eight years before the revolt of the pseudo Bardes occurred, instead of seven. It is evident, therefore, that the Canon of Ptolemy, in the face of these unimpeachable witnesses, cannot stand. The question how long Cambyses really reigned is answered by Africanus, who says that he reigned eleven years, and this must henceforth be the admitted length of his reign, agreeing as it does with the tablets. The succession of events is, therefore, as follows: In the 4th month of the 8th year of Cambyses the false Bardes came forward, and, representing himself to be the elder brother of Cambyses, and legitimate monarch, ascended the throne. After a reign of about eight months, he was overthrown, and the pseudo Nebuchadnezzar, leading a new band of revolters, took possession of the throne. The tablets give ten months twenty-eight days to the reign of the pseudo Nebuchadnezzar, which with the eight months of Bardes, bring us to the end of the ninth year of Cambyses. At the end of the period of anarchy which followed the overthrow of the usurpers, Cambyses was again recognized as king. During the latter part of the next year, his eleventh year, Cambyses died, and Darius ascended the throne.

Two documents, of less importance, were then referred to; one being a table dated in the accession year of Nebuchadnezzar III, interesting as being the earliest tablet (with the exception of that dated in the reign of Esarhaddon), of the Egibi series; the other a tablet of Cyrus's reign, containing the following important date:—



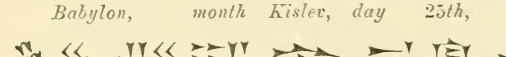
Dintir - ki arakhu Kiśilivu yumu XXV sanatu estinesru

Babylon, month Kislev, day 25th, year eleventh



D.P. Kambuziya śar E - ki ina yumu - su - va

Kambyses king of Babylon at this time also



D.P. Kuras abi - su śar matāti

Kyrus his father king of Countries.

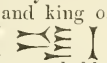
[1] As is, indeed, the rest of the tablet.

[2] These reckonings are from the month of Cambyses' accession.

[3] Because the general belief is, that Darius disregarded altogether the reigns of the two usurpers, dating his own as if they had not reigned, and the absence of tablets dated in his accession year and the early part of his first year seemed to favour this idea, but since this paper was read, a tablet has been found dated month Nisan, first year of Darius. This would be, according to the above-mentioned idea, the beginning of Bardes' first year!

Was this the eleventh year of Cyrus as king of Countries, or the first year of Cambyses as king of Babylon? The author inclined to the latter, regarding the stroke across the as an accidental mark. The following is a summation of events, as indicated by the new dates:—

B.C. 538. Cyrus king of Babylon and Countries.

„ 529. Cyrus abdicates the throne of Babylon in favour of Cambyses. It is uncertain when Cyrus dies, for in one of these tablets, dated in the seventh year of Cambyses, the latter has the titles, king of Babylon and king of the Countries which are his conquests ( sa ridtuv-su, lit. "which are his slaves"). It is therefore probable that Cyrus reigned as king of Countries till the seventh year of Cambyses, and that when, anterior to that date, Cambyses is called king of Countries, the countries "which were his conquests" were meant.

„ 521. Bardes takes possession of the throne.

„ 520. Overthrow of Bardes, and accession of the pseudo Nebuchadnezzar.

„ 519. Cambyses again rules, or is regarded as ruling, till 518 B.C.

„ 518. Darius.

III. *Egyptian Funeral Tablet in the Soane Museum.* Translated by Eugene L. Roy. (Pp. 418–19 of present volume.)—On this tablet of hard limestone is carefully cut the usual inscription of offerings and petitions on behalf of the deceased.

The following gentlemen joined in the discussion:—1st Paper, the President, Mr. Boscawen, and Mr. R. Cull. 2nd Paper: Messrs. Boscawen, R. Cull, and Rev. A. Löwy.

INDEX TO VOL. VI.

A.

PAGE

Abakaina 342
Aboo-Simbel, on some recent discoveries at. By Miss Amelia B. Edwards 576
Absakaba, the Well of, mentioned in inscriptions of Seti I 511
Abukarib 200
Abu-Karib 313
Abyanites, Houses of the 313
Accadian Inscriptions, some early. By W. St. C. Boscawen 275–283 589
Accession Year of Assyrian kings.... 25
„ definition of. By Dr. Oppert 261
Accouchement, le mot assyrien 170
Acmetha 81*n*
Adam, Lilith the demon wife of.... 421
Adar, Hymn to the god 347
Aden, Himyaritic Inscriptions from 305
Adirtuv, Tablets registered at 59
Ahaz, Shadow on the steps of 87
Ahasuerus 91, 95
Ahi-ittapsi 27
L'Airain et du Cuivre, les Noms de, dans le deux langues des inscriptions cunéiformes de la Chaldée et de l'Assyrie. Par F. Lenormant 334–417
Alabaster, Assyrian word for 336–338
Al Bit Hahru, Tablets registered at 73
Alonia-tou-Episcopou, rock inscriptions at 205
Alyattes 96
Amar, land of, conquered by Seti I 520
Amida, Governor of 12
Amon, reign of 38, 88–89
Amos, Eclipse of.... ....104*n*
Amu, conquest of the, by Seti I 521
Anachamen 449
Animal, picture origin of Assyrian word for 483
Animals, Assyrian names for 404
Anmut, or Anmutf, meaning of title 526
Antelope, Assyrian word for 408–9
Antimony, Assyrian word for 337
Apiri 31
Aprokodinus (Assur-nadin-sum).... 20

PAGE

Araeus, Arahu, Arakhu 31, 44, 71, 271
Aramæan Seal, on an. By Lieut.-Colonel Prideaux 576
Ararat, defeat of.... 13
Arbaha, Governor of 13
„ Revolt in 12, 34
Arbela, Governor of 12
Argent, le mot assyrien 337, 372
Ark Shrines of Japan 579
Arkinus 11, 15, 36
Armavir or Erivan, Siege of 96
Arpad, city of 13
„ Expedition to 12–34
Artaphernes 89, 125
Artaxerxes, name of 29
„ ? the same as Darius 104, 106
Artemis, Temple of, at Ephesus 332
„ Worship of, at Ephesus 328
Asaridinus (Esarhaddon).... 20
Ashdod, Sargon's expedition against 36
„ Yaman, king of 400
Assur-ahi-idin, *see* Essarhaddon.
Assurbanipal, ... 21, 39, 40 107
„ Death of 21
Assur-dain 34
Assur-nadin-sum, son of Sennacherib (Aprokadinus) 20, 36, 37
Assur-nirari (Eponym) 12, 14–34
Assur-ritsūā 222, 223
„ Despatch from 214
Assursaru-ilikain 22
Assuru-zira-ibna 493
Assyria, Chronology of 34–39
„ Kings of B.C. 722–701 19
„ Conquered by the Medes 89
„ Revolt in 12–34
„ Conquered by Cyrus I 88
Assyrian Despatch and Report Tablets. By Theo. G. Pinches 209, 590
Assyrian Religion and Mythology. By W. St. C. Boscawen 535
Assyrian Incantations 420, 604
„ Litanies and Prayers 539–541
„ Language, some further desired Aids to the study of. By Rev. W. Houghton 249, 584

PAGE
Assyrian Syllabary, picture origin of 454, 602
Assyrian Sculptures, Mammalia of. By Rev. W. Houghton 578
Assyrio-Babylonian Chronology, Tables of .... 34 *et seq.*
Astronomical Symbolism of the East, as transmitted by Hebrews and Christians. By Ernst de Bunsen 585
Astyages, reign of 91–92
„ Death of 83
ʿAthtor, Offerings to 313
ʿAtossa = Hadassah 123
Austin, Miss Gertrude, translation of the Inscription of Psametik I 287, 599
Avil-Marduk, *see* Evil-Merodach.
Ayas-alouk, remains of a Church, &c., at 332, 333
Aztecs, Picture Writing of the 456
Azulu-uk-ka-nu, tablets registered at 61

B.

Babylonia, Chronology of.... 34–39
„ Revised Chronology of the later Kings of. By Dr. Oppert 260, 593
Babylonia, Kings of, B.C. 726–701 19
„ Empire of, late, Chronology of 40
Babylon, capture of, by Cyrus, 27, 43, 99, 122
Babylon, taken by Darius 120-121
„ Pyramid of 336
„ Tablets registered at 47–77, 78, 111
Babylonian early Inscriptions. By W. St. Chad Boscawen 275, 589
„ Cylinders, discovered by Gen. di Cesnola at Cyprus 576
„ Dated Tablets and the Canon of Ptolemy.... .... 1–133, 582
„ Tablets, dates of 10
„ Dated Tablets, discussion on 79–133
„ Contract Tablets and the Canon of Ptolemy, remarks on. By Theo. G. Pinches 484, 605
„ Plans 111
Badger, Assyrian word for 412, 415
Bakil-Alsi 17
Baladhu 47, 490
Baltazar, *see* Belshazzar.
Bardes, forms of name (*plate*) ....
Bardes, the pseudo-Smerdis 10, 30, 44, 67, 110, 123, 192, 270, 488

PAGE
Bar-sip, *see* Borsippa.
Bar-zi-ya, *see* Bardes.
Basa 27, 40–42, 44–64, 78, 91, 93, 95, 98, 489
Bâsil 200
Basil^{im} 313
Batanta 527
Bear, Assyrian word for 403–6, 410–16
Behistun Sculpture (*plate*) 6
„ Inscription 30, 84, 123
Bel, not the same as Marduk 80
Belus, great Temple of, at Babylon 28
Bel-ahi-idin 62
Bel-Basa 216, 217, 229, 233, 234
Bel-daan (Eponym) 12, 13
Bel-damik 62
Bel-dinid.... .... 42, 53
Bele (Eponym) 16
Bel-ēdhĕru 489, 492
Bel-edir 52
Bel-hail 17
Bel-ibni or Belibus 17, 19, 36
Bel-iddina 7
Bel-nisi-su 235
Bel-sadua (Eponym) 12
Bel-sar-uzur, Belshazzar, or Baltazzar 27–29, 43, 80, 94, 122
„ identification of 81, 108, 121
Bel-pahir, *see* Nabu-zir-uki.
Bel-pal-iddin 8
Bel-sar-uzur, *see* Belshazzar.
Belu-suma-iskun, 26, 42, 50–52, 493
Bel-sunu 52
Bel-taggil (Eponym) 12
Belum-iskun 93
Belzikiriskun 22
Benu Riyâm^{in} 309
Benû Tazih 311
Bertin Geo., letter from, on study of Assyrian Language 255
Berûa 400
Bethsaida, site of.... .... 257, 580
Biblical Sites. By Rev. Canon Ridgway 257, 580
Bikni 342
Birazate.... .... 215, 224
Bird, picture origin of Assyrian word for 464–466
Birduk 71
Birsu 45, 95
Bit-Anna... .... 217, 228, 233
Bit-Erech, or Bit-Lab 236
Bitriduti 21
Bit-sar-Babil, Palace of the King of Babylon, Tablets registered at 59–60

PAGE
Bit-tabi-Bel, Tablets registered at 54
Blaireau, en assyrien 412, 415
Blood, Assyrian and Accadian words for 147, 164, 166, 192
Boar, wild, Assyrian word for 413
Bonomi, Joseph, F.R.A.S., F.R.S.L., Memoir of. By Wm. Simpson 560
,, Notice of decease 596
Borsippa, (Bar-sip) 49*n*, 54, 63, 70, 71
Bosanquet, J.W., Remarks on Babylonian Dated Tablets, 79, 124, 127, 128
Bosanquet, J.W., Notice of decease 592
Boscawen, W. St. Chad, on Babylonian Dated Tablets and the Canon of Ptolemy 1-78, 582
,, Remarks on same 127
,, Early Babylonian or Akkadian Inscriptions 275, 589
,, Notes on Assyrian Religion Mythology.... 535
,, Memoir of, Geo. Smith 574
Brass, name of, in Assyrian 334, 417, 598
Breast, Assyrian word for.... 184
Brick, Assyrian word for.... 375
,, Picture origin of Assyrian word for 477
Brilliancy, picture origin of Assyrian word for 462–83
Brique, le mot assyrien 375
Bronze, word for, in Assyrian 334, 335, 344, 361
Bronze, picture origin of Assyrian word for 475
Budge, E. A., Assyrian Incantatations to Fire and Water 420–604
Budrum, on a Greek Inscription found at Caria, in the castle of. By C. T. Newton 575
Bull, picture origin of Assyrian word for 463, 467
Bunsen, Ernst de, remarks on Babylonian Tablets, 100, 122, 123
,, on the Astronomical Symbolism of the East 585
,, the Chaldeans, Pelasgians, Hycsos, and Celts.... 596
Bursu 71

C.

Calah, (Nimrud) revolt in 13, 15, 34, 91
,, governor of 13
Calcul au rein, le mot Assyrien 149
Calculus, Assyrian word for 149
Calneh 277
PAGE
Cambyses, ancient authorities about 84
,, forms of name (*plate*).
,, 10, 30, 31, 44, 83, 92, 268, 486–88
,, Tablets of 64
,, ,, dated 8th and 11th year 485
Camel, Assyrian word for 407
Campbell, Rev. J. The Ethnic relations of the Zimri 579
Canaan given amongst conquests of Seti 1 510
Capernaum, site of 257, 258, 580
Cappadocia 339
Captive, picture origin of Assyrian word for 461
Carchemish, battle of 26
Caria, on a Greek inscription found at, in the castle of Budrum. By C. T. Newton 575
Carmania 121
Castariti, Ka-as-ta-ri-ti 108
Cat, the, Pasht, the Moon, relations between in Egypt 316–22, 590
,, Words for in India, Africa, &c. 316, 321
,, Creation of the 318
,, Talmudic legend about 317
,, Symbolism of the 317, 318
Chabas, François, sur une stèle égyptienne du Musée de Turin 580
Chacal, en assyrien 404
Chaldeans, Pelasgians, Hycsos, and Celts. By Ernst de Bunsen 596
Chameau, en assyrien 407
Chamnas 527
Charu, *see* Kharu.
Cheta, the, conquered by Seti 1 515–16
Cheval, en assyrien 403
Chief, Assyrian word for.... 355
Chien, en assyrien 404, 415
Chinese, ancient picture forms of Characters.... 457
Chinzirus, Kinziru, or Ukin-zira 14, 15
Chorazin, site of 258, 580
Chronology, Revised, of later Babylonian kings. By Dr. Oppert 260
Clarke, Hyde. Relations between Pasht, the Moon, and the Cat, in Egypt 316–22, 590
Cœur, le mot assyrien 147, 148
,, Contraction du, le mot assyrien 149
,, used in Assyrian for body 172
Col, en assyrien 184
Colonne vertébrale, le mot assyrien 185
Colours, Assyrian words for 416–417

PAGE
Conceive, to, Assyrian word for 170
Concubine, word for, in Assyrian 175
Consomption, en assyrien 148
Constantinople, Cypriote inscription at 134
Contract Tablets, Remarks on Babylonian. By Theo. G. Pinches 484
Council of Society, Session 1876–77 577
„ 1877–78 591
Cooper, W. R., letter from, on study of Assyrian 254
Copper, name of, in Assyrian 334–417, 598
Corn, picture origin of Assyrian word for 475
Crœsus 98
Cuivre, nom du, dans les inscriptions cunéiformes 334–417
Cull, Richard, F.S.A. Biographical sketch of the late William Henry Fox Talbot 543–597
Curium, Babylonian cylinders discovered in the Treasury of.... 576
Cyaxares of Xenophon = Darius 118*n*
Cyaxeres.... 22*n*, 89, 91, 96, 118*n*
Cylinders, Babylonian, discovered by Gen. di Cesnola in Cyprus 576
Cypriote Inscriptions, Notes on. By Isaac H. Hall 203–208, 589
Cypriote Inscription at Constantinople. By Dr. Paul Schrœder 134, 589
Cypriote Inscriptions. By W. H. Fox Talbot.... 578
Cyprus, Kings of.... .... 137 *et seq.*
Cyrus, forms of name (*plate*) ....
„ reign of, 10, 26, 43, 83, 91, 97, 118*n*, 120, 267, 486, 487
„ Tablets of 61
„ conquers Astyages 88
„ a second, ? 84, 139
„ ? the same as Darius the Mede 29

D.

Dabibel, Tablets registered at 65
Dabi-Mi-Mi 54
Dagil-ili 41, 48, 91
Daie or Dahe 214
Dakkuri, the 216
Daltu 351
Dam-ka 27–28
Dananu 218
Daniel the prophet, the same as Daniel the priest 123
PAGE
Dapara 342
Daphnæ or Tahpanhes 91, 97
Dar 200
Darius, forms of name (*plate*).
„ Tablets of 69
„ son of Hystaspes, history of, compared with history of kings of Media (*plate* 6).
„ represented on Behistun rock (*plate* 6) 84, 123
„ the word only a title 29, 82, 104
Darius the Mede, mentioned in the Book of Daniel 27
„ the Mede, a phantom 82
„ „ existence of 112
„ „ a satrap of Cyrus 273
„ „ ? Cyrus 29
„ „ ? the same as Cyaxares of Xenophon 118
„ the Mede, (?) the same as Darius Hystaspis 79, 84, 109, 273*n*
„ ? the Mede, the same as Artaxerxes 104–106
„ Hystaspis 3, 10, 23, 30, 44, 82, 94, 120, 272, 486–488
„ II, (Nothus).... 82
„ III, (Codomannus) 82
Darkness, picture origin of Assyrian word for 476
Dartre vive, en Assyrien.... 154
Dáru-sárru 218, 235, 238
Dates from Exodus to first Temple 101–106
Dayan-Marduk 27, 28, 78
Daybreak, light, picture origin of Assyrian word 481
Death, Assyrian word for 169, 193
Defence of a Magistrate (Assyrian) falsely accused. By H. Fox Talbot 289
Deioces, reign of.... 88
Delphi, Oracle of, answer to Crœsus 99
Despatch Tablets, Assyrian 209, 590
Destiny, picture origin of Assyrian word for 464
Diamant, le, le mot assyrien 335
Dihnun, governor of 12
Djème 441
Dog, Lion, picture origin of Assyrian word for 483
„ Assyrian word for 40, 415
Douleur, en assyrien 181
Drach, S. M., Viceroy Joseph's Official Despatches, &c. 244
„ Is Biblical Poetry Acrostic? 592
Dropsy, Assyrian word for 146

PAGE
Du-gadan 199
Du-Gund.... ....201*n*

E.

Eboda 351
Eclipse of Amos 104
„ „ Thales.... .... 89, 96
„ lunar 16, 23, 25, 35, 40, 45, 46, 84
„ solar 12, 34, 84*n*, 87, 91, 96, 97
Edwards, Miss Amelia B. On some recent discoveries at Aboc-Simbel 576
Egibi Family, Genealogical Table of (*plate*) ....
„ 7, 41–5, 47–8, 91, 93, 485, 490
„ Family, chronological arrangement of 40
„ Family, ? Treasurers 126, 127
„ Tablets, analysis of 47, 85
Egypt, relations between Pasht, the Moon, and the Cat, in 316–22
Elam 36, 229, 234–36
„ Urtaki, king of 216
Eleazus (Il-izz) 313
Elephant, Assyrian word for 407, 409, 413
Elusa 351
Enceinte, le mot assyrien 148, 170
Eneru 7
Enfantement, le mot assyrien 170
Epaules, le mot assyrien 184
Epes-ili 485
Ephesus, the Antiquities of, having relation to Christianity. By J. T. Wood, F.S.A. 327–33
„ Churches at 331
„ supposed Tomb of St. Luke at, *see* St. Luke.
„ St. Luke, said to have died there 330
Ephraem Syrus, on the writings of. By Rev. J. M. Rodwell 575
Epiphanes 441
Eponym Canon 12
Erechi, or Uruki, now Warka, Tablets registered at 62
Erech 237, 277
Erivan or Armavir, siege of 96
Eruption, le mot assyrien 163
E-Sagili-zira-epus 488, 490, 493
Esarhaddon 3, 9, 20, 37, 78, 86, 107
„ Letter to 213
„ Death of 21
Esdu (Eponym) 12
Etham 513
PAGE
Etain, le mot assyrien 337
Evagoras I .... 136, 138, *et seq.*
Evil-Merodach, forms of name (*plate*)
„ Tablets of 52
„ 10, 25, 42, 52, 81, 92, 265, 486
Evil Spirits, Assyrian belief in 421, 422
Excorié, en assyrien 160
Exodus, from, to date of first Temple, not 480 years 101–6
Eye, Akkad words for 319
„ disease of the, in Assyrian 190

F.

Face, disease of the, in Assyrian 190
Fasten, to, Assyrian word for 379
Father, picture origin of Assyrian word for 483
Fenchu, the land of, conquered by Seti I 518
Fer, le mot assyrien 344, 354
Fetters, picture origin of Assyrian word for 471–2
Fever, raging, Assyrian word for 163
Fièvre ardent, le mot assyrien 163
Fire-god (Akkadian) 280
„ Worship 466
„ Hymn to 346
„ Assyrian Incantation to 420, 604
„ kindled by friction of two pieces of wood, amongst the Akkadians.... 280
„ picture origin of Assyrian word for 462, 466
Fish, picture origin of Assyrian word for 460
„ Assyrian word for 359
Flanc, le mot assyrien 185
Folk-lore, Kurdish, in Kurdo-Jewish Dialect. By Rev. A. Löwy 600
Fondement, en assyrien 185
Font, discovered at Ephesus 332
Food, picture origin of Assyrian word for 459
Foot, picture origin of Assyrian word for 463, 471, 483
Fox, Assyrian word for 405
Frog, emblem of man 318
Funeral Tablet, Egyptian 418, 607

G.

Gambulu.... .... 216, 228, 230
Gangréne, la, en assyrien 150

PAGE
Gates, four of the Sun 161
„ with bands of copper 344
Gau-mata, *see* Bardes.
Gazelle, Assyrian word for 411
Gimillu 48, 489
Gimireans or Kimerioi 22
Giraffe, Assyrian word for 411
Gisdhubar, sickness of 146
Gods (Assyrian) moved to a new shrine from city of Assur 219
Gold, Assyrian word for 337, 365
„ beaten, in Assyrian 412
Gomates, *see* Bardes.
Gozan, Governor of 12
Grossesse, le mot assyrien 170, 172
Gudea 278
Gula, the priest of 489
Guzami 76
Gus-ana, or Guz-anu 12, 34, 76

H.

Hadassah, ? Atossa 123, 130
Hadrah, expedition to 12
Hahhuru, or Zahhuru, Tablets registered at 70
Halak-ämir 314
Halalat 17
Hall, Isaac H. Notes on Cypriote Inscriptions 203, 589
„ on a Himyaritic Seal found in the Hauran 578
Hand, Assyrian word for.... 379
„ of power 470
Harris-Kalava, Tablet registered at 52, 65
Hauran, Himyaritic Seal found in the.... 578
Hawaf'atht 309
Hazina, the Well of, represented in Sculptures of Seti I 513
Head, diseases of the, Assyrian words for 153, 177, 188, 189
Heart, middle, interior, picture origin of Assyrian word 476
„ used in Assyrian for body 172
„ Assyrian word for 147, 148
„ palpitation of the, Assyrian word for 149
Hero, chain, &c., picture origin of Assyrian word for.... 480
Herusha, conquered by Seti I 519
Hesinefert, the Queen 527
Hezekiah, King of Judah 19, 35–7, 84, 88, 89, 96
Hezeziah threatened by Sennacherib 86
„ sickness of 87, 131
„ Sennacherib's expedition against 18
Hieroglyphic or Picture Origin of the Assyrian Syllabary. By Rev. W. Houghton 454–83, 602
Hillah, Tablets discovered there 4
Himyaritic Inscriptions at Bombay, notes on. By Lieut.-Colonel W. F. Prideaux ... 305–15, 575
„ Notes on the same. By Dr. D. H. Muller 198–202, 575
„ Seal, found in the Hauran. By Isaac H. Hall 578
Hippopotamus, Assyrian word for 407, 410–11
Hirrân 313
Hog, legend of creation of the 318
Hor-Anmutf, *see* Anmutf.
Horemheb 419
Horpneter 285
Horse, Assyrian word for 406
Horus, Sun and Moon, the Eyes of 319
Houghton, Rev. W., on some further desired aids to the study of Assyrian ... 249, 584
„ Hieroglyphic or Picture Origin of the Assyrian Syllabary 454–83, 602
„ Mammalia of Assyrian Sculptures. Part II 578
House, picture origin of Assyrian word for 480
Humba-nigas 16
Hydropisie, en assyrien 146
Hyena, Assyrian word for 404

I.

Ibna-pal 7
Iddina 42
Iddin-Marduku, or Idini-Marduk 27, 28, 42–4, 49–64, 78, 91, 93, 95, 98, 485, 489, 491
Idina-Nabu 27, 28
Idûa 237
Ikisu 485
Ilazz 200
Il-izz (Eleazus) 313
Il-Makah, offering to 310
Ilrâm Yahm 199
Ilulœus 35
Ina-Bit-saggal-zikir 27, 28
Incantations, Assyrian, to Fire and Water. By E. A. Budge.... 420

PAGE
Indian Bark Drawing 461
Inundate, to, picture origin of Assyrian word 476
Inscription, Bilingual, Latin, and Aramaic, discovered at South Shields. By Prof. William Wright, LL.D. 436
Ipri, Tablets registered at 59
Irâni 7, 488, 490
Iron, Assyrian word for 344, 354
Iregibilus.... .... 20, 37
Iritisen, on the Stèle of 581
Irvine, Mr. Remarks on word *matati* 125, 126
Isana, Governor of 12
Isinladanus, or Kinlidinus, ? Sinid-dinapel 21
„ ? Assurbanipal or Esarhaddon 107
Istar, descent into Hades 384
Itti-Baladhi-Marduku 489, 491
Itti-Marduk, ? same as Itti-Nabu-Baladu 109
Itti-Marduki-Baladhu, or Itti-Marduk-Balatu, 10, 24, 31, 32, 43–5, 56–7, 93, 95, 98, 108, 485, 480, 491
Itti-Nabu-Balladu, ? same as Itti-Marduk-Balatu 109
Itti-Nabu-Balatu 8, 42, 52, 93, 489
Itulœus 15
Izdhubar, sickness of 146

J.

Jackal, Assyrian word for 404
Jacob, son of Paham 442
Japan, Ark-shrines of 579
Jasper, Assyrian word for 342
Jehoiachim, king of Judah 25, 26, 88, 89
„ captivity of 41
Jerusalem, siege threatened by Sennacherib 86, 88
„ fall of 90
„ Temple of 101, 102, 105
Joppa, ? U-pi-ya.... .... 50*n*
Joseph, Viceroy, Official Despatches of. By S. M. Drach 244
Josiah 38, 39, 88, 89
„ death of 23
Judah, Hezekiah king of (*see* Hezekiah).
„ Jehoiachim king of 25, 26, 41, 88–9
„ Manasseh king of 20, 37–9
Judea, first Assyrian expedition to 103
„ expedition of Sennacherib against 131, 132
PAGE
Judea, captives carried off by Sennacherib from 88

K.

Ka, true sense of the Egyptian word. By P. le Page Renouf 495
Ka-as-sa-ri-ti 22, 108
Kadasu 43
Kalah, or Calah (Nimroud) 13, 15, 34, 91
Kalba 70*n*
Kalzi, Governor of 12
Kanana, Canaan 510
Karib-'atht 311
Kariba-îl Bayyân, king 314
Karnak, victories of Seti I recorded in the great Temple at 509
Katesh, Fortress of, taken by Seti I 520
Khaltsu, Letter from the Governor of 215
Kharu (Syrians) defeated by Seti I 511, 513
Khihlanu, the 217, 228
Khosru, *see* Cyrus.
Khupu 215
Khupuskai, the 226
Kibarmumu 53
Killigug 47
Kimereioi, or Gimireans 22
Kin... tablets registered there.... 47
King, picture origin of Assyrian word for 462
Kinlidinus or Isinladanus 21, 107
Kin-ziru (Chinzirus) 14, 15
Kisu (Eponym) 12
Kudasu 54
Kudu 40
Kudur 41, 47–9, 91
Kuna 7
Kurban, governor of 12
Kurdish Folk-lore. By Rev. A. Löwy 600
Kurir 215, 224
Kûsi 348, 400
Kusimalku 76
Kutha, river of 74*n*

L.

La-a-ba-si-kudur.... 11
Labki = Erech 237
Laborosoarchod, ? Belshazzar 81
„ reign of 92

PAGE

Labynetus, of Herod, *see* Nabu-chodrosser 94
Lachish, siege of (*plate*) 7, 85, 86
Laiton, en assyrien 347
La-khab-ba-si-kudur 78
Lakipu (Eponym) 12
Lana 47
Langueur, la, en assyrien 150
Laocrites, procès plaidé devant 449
Lapau-Bel 52
Lapis lazuli, Assyrian word for 341
Larissa, Solar Eclipse at 91
Latten, Assyrian word for 347
Law suit, heard before the Laocrites in the time of Ptolemy Soter. By E. Revillout 449
Lead, Assyrian word for 337–38
Lenormant, François, les Noms de l'Airain et du Cuivre dans les deux langues des inscriptions cunéiformes de la Chaldée et de l'Assyrie 334–417, 598
„ „ sur la lecture de l'ideogramme Sâ, et à cette occasion sur quelques noms de Maladies en accadien et en assyrien.... ....144–97, 586
Leontopolis 513
Lèpre, en Assyrien 153
Leprosy, Assyrian word for 153
Lier, le mot Assyrien 379
Life, Assyrian ideograph for 474*n*
Light, daybreak, picture origin of Assyrian word 481
„ Assyrian word for 373
Lilith, or night demon 421
Lion, picture origin of Assyrian 483
„ word for in Assyrian.... 404, 406
Litanies, Assyrian 539
Lord, Assyrian word for.... 355
Loup, en assyrien 404
Löwy, Rev. A., remarks on the word *Gabbï*, etc. 126
„ Kurdish Folk-lore 600
Lumière, le mot assyrien 373
Lunar Eclipse, *see* Eclipse.
Lushington, E. L. Victories of Seti I, recorded in the Great Temple at Karnak 509
Lysa 351

M.

Macna 353
Madai (Medes) 22, 125
Magistrate, defence of (Assyrian) falsely accused. By H. Fox Talbot 289, 584
Mahdar 201, 513
Main, le mot assyrien 379
Mâkan 347, 410
Maktar 513, 201
Maladies, noms de quelques, en accadien et assyrien 144–97, 586
Man, picture origin of Assyrian word for 460, 468
Manasseh, king of Judah 20, 37, 38, 88–9
Maniyae 214
Mannai or Mineans 22
Manna-riḥ 17
Mannu-tam-mat 17
Marble, Assyrian word for 336
Marbre, le mot assyrien 336
Marduka 76
Marduk, not the same as Bel 80
Marduk 47
Marduk-aḥa-uzur 7
Marduk-Baladan, Evil-Merodach, or Marduk-bal-Idina, claims to be king of Babylon 86
„ the same as Marduk-Empadus11, 15
„ reign of 11, 15, 35, 36, 131
Marduk-Baladan II, reign of 15
Marduk-bani-suma 489
Marduk-Edhir 47, 485
Marduk-Empadus (Marduk-Baladan) 15, 11, 12
Marduk-duk-igur 73
Marduk-iqur 45
Marduk-irba 489
Marduk-nazir 62
Marduk-nazir-pal or Marduk-nazir-ablu 10, 31, 45, 68, 77, 95
Marduk-Pakir ? same az Bel-Pakir 109
Marduk-Riminu 43, 62, 491
Marduk-Sabui-anni (Eponym) 12
Marduk-sar-uzur ? Bel-sar-uzur, or Belshazzar 28, 29, 43
„ ? Variant of Nergal, Sar-uzur 111
Marduk-sar, usur 11, 27, 78, 80, 92, 110, 118
Maruduk-zakir-ibni 216
Marduk-ziribni 52
Marga 9, 78
Margasi, Governor of 22
Mariage, un Contrat de (Egyptien), traduit par E. Revillout 284
Mârib, Himyaritic Inscriptions from 305
Marnarih 17

PAGE
Martes, or Meraphis 95. 125
Martre, en assyrien 414–15
Mashar 313
Maṣaihim 313
Maspero. G., on the Stèle of Iritisen 581
Mathison, Mr. 5
Mattati, meaning of, ? Medes 125, 129
Maza'unsū 223
Mede, the title 115, 124
Medes (Madai) 22
Medes, conquer Assyria 89
Megiddo, Battle of 23
Mèlant, le mot assyrien 375
Meluhha 348, 399
Meloukh 400
Members, Assyrian word for 379
Mena, the, conquered by Seti I 518
Meraphis, or Martes 95, 125
Merodach, *see* Marduk.
Meroe 348, 399
Mesesmordakus 20, 37
Middle, interior, heart, picture origin of Assyrian word 476
Migdol 513
Mikoshi, or Ark Shrines of Japan 579
Mineans (Mannai) 22
Mixing, Assyrian word for 375
Moca 353
Monkey, Assyrian word for 408–9
Month, picture origin of Assyrian word for 460
Moon, the, Pasht, and the Cat, relations between, in Egypt. By Hyde Clarke 316–22, 590
,, words for, in India, &c. 316, 321
,, ,, Africa 316, 321
,, Eclipse of, *see* Eclipse.
Mordecai, taken to Babylon 90
Mort. en assyrien 169, 193
Mother, picture origin of Assyrian word for 474
Mougnah 353
Mouli 339
Mouth, picture origin of Assyrian word for 459
Mu-du 27, 28
Mukin 48
Müller, Dr. D. H. Notes and Observations upon the Sabæan Inscriptions at Bombay 198 575
Multitude, picture origin of the Assyrian word for a 473
Musezib 27, 28, 47, 48
Musezib-Marduk 47
Mutagil-nabu 48
PAGE
Muzaśir 215, 225
Mythology, Assyrian, Notes on 535

N.

Naawân 200, 202
Nabai 53
Napius, *see* Nabu-usabi.
Naboandelus, Nadintabelus, the Labynetus of Herod, *see* Nabuchodrosser 94
Nabonassar, or Nabu-nazir 3, 12, 14, 15, 25, 34, 35
Nabonedochus 121
Nabonidus, forms of name (*plate*)
,, 10, 26, 29, 42, 49, 81,92, 120, 266
,, Tablets of 54
Nabopolassar, or Nabu-abal-uzur, or Nabu-pal-uzur 22, 39, 40, 108
Nabopolassar, death of 89
Nabu-ahi-bullut 45, 46, 72, 73, 75, 76
Nabu-ahi-eris (Eponym) 20
Nabuahi-gamiluv 47
Nabu-ahi-iddin 6, 10, 24, 26, 31, 41–3, 48, 49–69, 91, 93, 108, 485, 490
Nabu-balatzu-ikbi 289, 292
Nabu-bel-uzur (Eponym) 13
Nabuchadrosser, or Naboandelus, or Nadintabelus 94, 121, 122*n*
Nabu-gamil 42, 47, 53
Nabu-ibassi 217, 223, 233
Nabu-iddina 489
Nabu-iskun 27, 28
Nabu-malik 27
Nabu-mudu 224, 225, 226
,, letter from 215
Nabu-mu-sitic-atsu 27, 28
Nabu-musetiq-udda 489, 491
Nabu-nahid, *see* Nabonidus.
Nabu-nazir, *see* Nabonassar.
Nabu-nazir-pal 54
Nabu-pahir, *see* Nabu-zir-ukin.
Nabu-pal-uzur, *see* Nabopolassar.
Nabu-rabi-abla 488, 490
Nabu-sar-usur (Eponym) 22, 107
Nabu-suma-iskun 491, 463
Nabusum-iddin 50
Nabu-upahir 91
Nabu-usabi, or Nabius 14, 15, 35
Nabu-zakir-eres 216
Nabu-zir-basa, the city of, Tablets registered there 74
Nabu-zir-ba-sa .... 8, 74 *n*
Nabu-zir-lanu 219, 239
Nabu-zir-uzur (Eponym) 12

PAGE
Nabu-zir-ukina, or Bel-Pahir, or Nabu-pahir 9, 23, 28, 41, 47, 48, 49, 50, 91, 109
Nadan 48
Nadina 43–5, 48, 61–3, 70, 71,73–6
Nadina-Nabu 485
Nadin-ta-Belus, *see* Nabuchodrosser.
Naharin 518
Nah-kinzir 62
Nahr Essu, tablets registered at 57,61,69
Nahr-Kuti .... 74*n*.
Nahr-Samasi, tablets registered at 58
Nail, finger, Assyrian word for disease of the 154
Nakabân 200, 202, 313, 314
Na'wân 313, 314
Namtar, the (the plague) 174
Nana 217, 228, 233
Nannu-igabu 42, 49
Napata 400
Napilunilku 48
Naram-Sin 351
Nashä-Karib 308, 311
Nashk^{am} 314
Nebo, city of, or Sah-ri-h-in-ni 58, 59
Nebuchadnezzar I 9
„ II, forms of name (*plate*).
„ II, accession of 23
„ II 4, 10, 25, 41, 85, 89, 96, 486
„ II, Tablets of 47–51
„ III (forms of name, *plate*) 485
„ III, Tablets of 68
Necho 23
Neck, Assyrian word for.... 184
Nergal-damid 41, 49, 91
Nergal-iddina 48
Nergal-nazir (Eponym) 13
Nergal-sar-uzur, *see* Neriglissar 42, 43
Nergal-uballid (Eponym) 14
Nergal-ukin 7
Nergal-usezib 45, 73, 74
Neriglissar, or Nergal-'sarra-utsur, forms of name (*plate*).
Neriglissar 10, 26, 42, 50–53, 92, 93, 101, 108, 110, 266, 486
„ = Belshazzar (Syncellus) 81
„ Tablets of 53
Nesmin 285
Newton, C. T., on a Greek Inscription found at Caria, in the Castle of Budrum 575
Nicocles .... 136, 138, *et seq.*
Nidiu-tav-bel, or Nidintu-Bel (Pseudo Nebuchadnezzar I), revolt of 31, 44, 73
Nidritu-Bel 45
PAGE
Nikokles .... 136, 138, *et seq.*
Nimrud 91
Nin-abi-sa 215, 227
Nineveh, picture origin of Assyrian name of 475
Nineveh, Nabu-zir-uzur, governor of 12
„ fall of, B.C. 584 89
Ninip-iddin (Eponym) 12
Ninip-sezib-ani (Eponym) 12
Nisibni, governor of 13
No'mân 313
Nubtakh.... 490
Nu-ha-su.... .... 27, 28
Numerals, Assyrian characters for 459
Nunki, Tablets registered at 56
Nur-sin 27, 42, 44, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53–60, 61–64, 78, 91–93, 489, 491
Nabunazir, death of 15

O.

Œil malade, en assyrien 190
Ongles, l'ulcère des, en assyrien 154
Onyx, Assyrian word for.... 342
Ophis (Upiya) 50*n*, 92
Oppert, Dr. J. Revised Chronology of the later Babylonian Kings 260, 593
„ Prof. J. Remarks concerning the date of the illness of Hezekiah in his 14th year 131
Ours, en assyrien 403–6, 410–16
Or, le mot assyrien 337, 365
Ox, picture origin of Assyrian word for 463

P.

Pa-ar or Pa-si-ri, tablets registered at 65
Paham, le Testament du Moine. Traduit par Eugène Revillout 441
Pahirtuv, tablets registered there 47
Palace, Chief of the 12
„ of the king of Babylon, tablets registered at 59, 60
Palaio Castro, rock inscriptions at 206
Palermo, inscription of Psametik I in Museum at 287
Palpitation of the heart, Assyrian word for 149
Pan-assur-ramur (Eponym) 12
Panther, word for in Assyrian 404, 406

PAGE
Paphnuti, son of Paham 442
Pasht, the Moon, and the Cat, relations between, in Egypt. By Hyde Clarke 316–22, 590
Pa-si-ri or Pa-ar, tablets registered at 65
Patma 284
Patras, St. Luke said to have been hanged there 330
Pehelchons (Choachyte) 284, 449
Pedestal, Assyrian word for 377
"Persian," the title 115, 124
Persian Empire, chronology of 40
Peste, en assyrien 174
Petra 351
Petti, the, conquered by Seti I 518, 519
Pharaoh-Hophra slain at Daphnæ 90
Philtre, in Assyrian 194
Phthisie, en assyrien 155, 193
Pinches, Theo. G. Remarks on Babylonian Contract Tablets and the Canon of Ptolemy 484, 605
„ Notes on Assyrian Report Tablets 209
Place, M., metal tablets found by 337, 345
Plans, Babylonian 111
Plomb, le mot assyrien 337, 338
Poison, en assyrien 168, 191, 193
Poisson, en assyrien 359
Poitrine, en assyrien 184
Porus, or Pul 35
Pourriture, en assyrien 150
Powerful, Assyrian word for 375
Prayers, Assyrian 539, 541
Pregnant, Assyrian word for 148
Prince, picture origin of Assyrian word 479
Prideaux, Lieut.-Col. W. F. Notes on Himyaritic inscriptions at Bombay 305–15, 575
„ On an Aramæan Seal 576
Procès plaidé devant les Laocrites sous la règne de Ptolémée Soter. Par Eugène Revillout 449
Projectile, en assyrien 378
Psametik I, fragmentary inscription of. By Miss Gertrude Austin 287, 599
Psenantonius 442
Ptolemy, Canon of 1–133, 484, 582, 605
Puissant, le mot assyrien.... 375
Pul or Porus 35
Pus, en assyrien et akkadien 165, 166, 192
Putrefaction, Assyrian word for 150
Pyramid of Babylon 336

Q.

PAGE
Quene, en assyrien 185

R.

Rabbâb^{im} Halil^{im} 308
Rameses II 513
„ III and Seti I, parallelism of inscriptions of 534
Raphia 350
Rasa 351
Reed, Assyrian word for 369
Regina, Monument, discovered at South Shields 436
Religion, Assyrian, notes on 535
Relou 284
Renard, en assyrien 404
Renouf, P. le Page. On the true sense of an important Egyptian word (Ka) 495
Report Tablets, Assyrian, notes on. By Theo. G. Pinches 209–43, 590
Resib, governor of 13
Revillout, Eugène. Un Contrat de Mariage égyptien 284
„ Le testament du moine Paham 441
„ Un procès plaidé devant les Laocrites sous la règne de Ptolémée Soter 449
Rhinoceros, Assyrian word for 406, 408–9
Ridgway, Rev. Canon. On the sites of Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum 257–59, 580–81
Rihetu 47
Rimusi, governor of 12
Ringworm, Assyrian word for 154
Risanu 223
Roads, two, picture origin of Assyrian word for 465
Rodwell, Rev. J. M. On the writings of Ephraem Syrus 575
Roseaux, le mot assyrien.... 369
Roy, E. L. Egyptian funeral tablet in the Soane Museum 418–19, 607
Rutennu, the, conquered by Seti I 512, 513
„ do homage to Seti I 516, 517, 519, 521

S.

Sa, on the reading, &c., of the Akkadian ideogram, 144–197, 586
Sa'ad-Tälab 310
Saadil or Saadlálab 199

PAGE
Saba 199
Sabæan inscriptions at Bombay, Notes on. By Dr. D. H. Müller 198
See also Himyaritic.
Sadusā 237
Saharinni or Sahrinu, tablets registered at 53, 54, 57, 58, 62–4, 66, 70, 72, 73
Sahiyan 35
St. Colluthe, Monastery of 441, 445
St. Luke, supposed Tomb of, at Ephesus. By William Simpson.... .... 323–26, 593
„ Tomb of, at Ephesus. J. T. Wood 329, 594
„ said to have been hanged at Patras 330
„ died at Ephesus 330
Salamis, Kings of .... 137 *et seq.*
Sale, form of, according to Egyptian law 450
Samaria 350
„ siege of 16
„ captured by Sargon 35
Samas-mukin-duruk (Eponym) 13
Samgunu 218
Samsi-il (Eponym) 12
Sang, mot assyrien 147, 164, 192
Sanglier, en assyrien 413
Saosduchinus (Saul-mugina) 21, 38
Sapî-Bel 216, 217
Sapiya 14
Sarcophagi discovered at Ephesus 332
Sargon, Palace of, metal tablets found in. By M. Place 337, 345
„ (Arkinus) 15, 16, 36
„ 11, 17–19, 35, 48, 86, 131
Sa-ris, tablets dated there 75
Sarludaru 291, 298
Sati, the, defeated by Seti I 511
Saturda 48*n*
Sa-ukin-Merodach, tablets registered at 47
Saul-mugina (Saosduchinus) 21, 38
Sayce, Rev. A. H. Remarks on Babylonian Dated Tablets, &c. 120, 121, 124–26
„ on the Babylonian Cylinders discovered by Gen. di Cesnola in the Treasury of Curium 576
„ Letter from, on study of Assyrian 255
Schérif-Khan, inscriptions of 399
Schrœder, Dr. Paul, paper on Cypriote inscriptions at Constantinople.... .... 134, 589
Scager, Professor Charles, Remarks on Babylonian Dated Tablets 124–26
Seals, clay, attached by string to Assyrian documents 210
Seed, picture origin of Assyrian word for 464, 475
Seigneur, mot assyrien pour 355
Seljuk Saroukhan, coin of 333
Senāāab 419
Senbetfi 419
Sennacherib 9, 17, 19, 36, 37, 213, 220
„ expedition against Hezekiah 18
„ carries off captives from Judea 88
„ Siege of Lachish (*plate* 7) 85
Sepharvarin, Sippara 44*n*
Serpent, Assyrian word for 412
Servant, picture origin of Assyrian word for 460
Seti I, the victories of, recorded at the Great Temple at Karnak. By E. L. Lushington, D.C.L., LL.D. 509
„ length of his reign 521
„ and Rameses III, parallelism of inscriptions of 534
Seven, the number, regarded as mystical by the Assyrians and Babylonians 423
„ Sleepers of Ephesus, Church of 331
Shaharâlî.... 199
Shalmanesar II 35
Shalmaneser II, sculpture of (*plate* 8).
Shalmanesar III 15
„ III, overthrow of 16
„ IV 14
Shamas, city of the mouth of the river of 58*n*
„ offerings to 313
Shasu, the, conquered by Seti I, 511, 512, 517
Shat-el-Hie, river, antiquities discovered there 276
Shoulders, Assyrian word for 184
Shusan, or Su-sa-an, tablets registered at 74, 81*n*
Silver, Assyrian word for 337, 372
Singe, en assyrien 408–9
Simpson, William. The supposed tomb of St. Luke at Ephesus 323–26, 593
„ the Ark-shrines of Japan 579
„ William. Memoir of Joseph Bonomi 560
Sin-akhi-irba, *see* Sennacherib.
Sindabi 50

PAGE
Siniddinapal (Isinladinus or Kinlidinus) 21, 38, 39
Sin-nazir 47
Sin-salim-anni (Eponym) 13
Sinu-niqi-magir 489, 492
Siphinis, governor of 12
Sippra, tablets registered at 56*n*, 67
Sippara, Darius called King of 44*n*
Sirik 74
Siriki 76
Sirikti 76
Sirku 45, 46, 71, 74, 75, 95
Sirwâh 319
Sisku 44–6, 70, 72–74, 76, 95
"Sitting on the Throne," the year of kings of Assyria so called 262
Slaves, Assyrian deed of sale of 17
Smerdis, *see* Bardes.
Smith, Geo., Memoir of. By W. St. C. Boscawen 574
Solar Eclipse, *see* Eclipse.
Sorrow, &c., Assyrian word for 181
South Shields, bilingual inscription discovered there 436
Spirits, belief in, by the Assyrians 537, 421-22
Star, bright, picture origin of Assyrian word for 462
Stèle of Iritsen 480
Stèle Egyptienne, à Turin 580
Stone, picture origin of Assyrian word 477
Su-an-na (Babylon), captured 16
Subutu 48
Suku 45
Sula, city of, tablet registered at 55
Sula 9, 23, 24, 26, 41–3, 47–58, 91, 93, 108
Sula-ahi-iddin 91
Sun, picture origin of Assyrian word for 469
Sun and Moon, called the eyes of Horus 319
Sun, eclipse of the, *see* Eclipse.
„ Words for, in languages of India, and of Western and Central Africa 321–22
„ Assyrian Hymn to the 363
Su-sa-an (Shusan), tablets registered at 74
Suz-dub, revolt of 18, 36
Swallow, picture origin of Assyrian word for 464
Syllabary, Hieroglyphic or picture origin of the Assyrian. By Rev. W. Houghton, M.A.... 454
PAGE
Symbolism, Astronomical, of the East 585
Syncellus, Canon of 81
Syrians, the, defeated by Seti I 511, 513

T.

T'ar, fortress of, in Canaan, taken by Seti I 511, 513
Tar'at 311
Tabal 227, 339
Tabaristan 342
Tablet, Egyptian Funeral, in the Soane Museum. By Eugene L. Roy 418–19, 607
Tabu-bel (Eponym) 12
Tahet 284
Tahpanhes, or Daphnæ 91, 97
Tahutama, tablets registered at 63
Tail, Assyrian word for 185
Tâlab, Rayyâm, temple of 311
Talbot, H. Fox. Defence of a Magistrate (Assyrian) falsely accused 289, 584
„ W. H. Fox, discoveries in photography 545
„ list of Assyrian translations 556
„ on the Cypriote Inscriptions 578
„ notice of decease 589
„ Biographical Sketch of the late William Henry Fox. By R. Cull, F.S.A. 543, 597
Tanetem 284
Ta-outem.... 284
Tapyres 342
Tathuré 446
Tatil 201
Tear, picture origin of Assyrian word for 473
Tehaphnehes, *see* Tahpanhes.
Tehennu, the, conquered by Seti I 519, 521
Tehi, the land of, conquered by Seti I 516
Tenno-Samma, or Ark-shrines of Japan. By W. Simpson 579
Teos 285
Tesher, the land of, conquered by Seti I 519
Testament du Moine Paham 441
Tête, en assyrien.... 184
Tête, douleur de, en assyrien 153, 177, 188, 189
Thales, Eclipse of 89, 96
Thatré, daughter of Paham 444
Thot 449

PAGE
Tiger, word for in Assyrian 404–5
Tig-gab-a-ki, city of the river of Kutha, tablets registered at 74
Tiglath-Pileser (Eponym) 13
„ „ II, Accession of 15
„ „ „ 12, 14, 34, 35
„ „ „ inscription of.... 15
Timarchos .... 137 *et seq.*
Tin, Assyrian word for 337
Tirhakah, defeated by Esarhaddon 20
Tobba-Karib 314
Tombs, form of ancient Egyptian 506
Tomyris 91*n*
Tséchons 449
Tumour, Assyrian word for 144, 154
Tumulus, Assyrian word for 377
Turin, une stèle Egyptienne du Musée de. Par F. Chabas.... 580
Tyler, Rev. Thos. Remarks on Darius 123
Tyre blockaded by Esarhaddon 350

U.

Udahgub 217, 233
Ukin-zira (Chinzirus) 14, 35
Ukkai, the 220, 222
Ukku 214
Ulcers, the Assyrian name for 144–151, 153, 154, 156, 158, 159
Upiya (Opis) ? Joppa 50*n*, 92
Ur 235, 277
Urtaki 216
Uruki, Erechi, Warka, tablets registered at 62

V.

Van, Lake 22
Venin, en assyrien 168, 193
Venom, Assyrian word for 168, 193
Vente légale en Egypte, forme de 450
Viceroy Joseph's Official Despatches. By S. M. Drach 244
Vul-bel-ukin (Eponym) 13

W.

PAGE
Warka 62
Water, Assyrian Incantation to 420, 604
Wild boar, Assyrian word for 413
Will, Coptic, of the Monk Paham 441
Wolf, Assyrian word for.... 404
Wood, J. T., the Antiquities of Ephesus having relation to Christianity 327–33, 594
Worm, picture origin of Assyrian word for 480
Wright, Professor William, LL.D. Note on a Bilingual Inscription, Latin and Aramaic, discovered at South Shields 436

X.

Xerxes 95

Y.

Yak, Assyrian word for 408–9
Yakina, father of Merodach Baladan 15, 18*n*
Yaman, King of Ashdod.... 400
Yetha', house of 313
Yoke, picture origin of Assyrian word for 471, 482

Z.

Zabe-pal 7
Zaḫḫuru, or Haḫḫuru, tablets registered at.... 70
Zambubu 41, 48, 91
Z'ergul, or Zir-gul-la 277
Zimri, expedition to 13, 15, 34
„ ethnic relations of the. By Rev. J. Campbell 579
Zir-gul-la.... 277
Ziriya 47, 53, 489
Zir-ukin 47, 91
Zir-ukina (Nabu-zir-ukina) 23

LIST OF BIBLICAL TEXTS.

		PAGE
Genesis x,	2	535
„ x,	14	402
Exodus xiii,	20	513
„ xxxix,	10	338
Numb. xiii,	7	70
1 Sam. xiii,	1	101*n*
„ xxix,	1	350
1 Kings vi,	1	102
2 Kings xviii,	9, &c.	18
„ xviii,	13	132
„ xviii,	13–17	85
xix,	29	87
„ xx,	6	132
„ xx,	12	11, 18
„ xxv,	8	41
„ xxv,	27	25
1 Chron. i,	12	402
2 Chron. xxxii,	7	86
„ xxxvi,	20	90
Ezra i,	8	127
„ iv,	13–20	127
Ezra vi,	14	104
„ vi and vii,	....	29
Isaiah xxxiv,	14	421
„ xxxvii,	30	87
„ xxxviii,	6	132
„ xxxix,	1–15	18*n*
Jerem. xxv,	1	88, 89
„ xliii,	8–10	97
Ezekiel xxx,	18	97
„ xxxii,	7, 8	97
Daniel v,	31	27
„ viii,	2	74, 81*n*
„ ix,	1, 2	79
Jonah i,	3	50*n*
Acts ix,	....	327
„ xiii,	19	20, 21, 101*n*
„ xvi,	....	330
„ xvii,	24–26	87
„ xviii,	....	327
„ xix,	....	327
„ xx,	5	330

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SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

Secretary's Report

FOR THE YEAR 1878.

Presented at the Anniversary Meeting, January 7th, 1879.

LAST year, notice of the deaths of esteemed and valued Members of the Society formed a prominent feature of the Report, and on this occasion it will not be less so.

First among those whose loss we have to regret must be named :—

1. JOSEPH BONOMI, *Vice-President*, who for his general merits and learning had the respect and esteem of all; while, as regards this Society, he may be regarded as one of its founders. As an active member of those societies which preceded it, he, with others, arranged the basis on which this was established, and with satisfaction found it attain a vigorous existence. An interesting memoir of him, which has been prepared by Mr. W. Simpson, will be read before the Society, and be printed in the Transactions.

2. WILLIAM R. COOPER, *Secretary*. Associated from the first period with the organization and conduct of the Society, Mr. Cooper, until the complete failure of his health about two years since, devoted his energies and his time to its interests; and even during his illness and enforced absence from London, he continued to bestow on the promotion of its success hardly less labour and pains than when in the enjoyment of health :—his first and only thought was how to advance its prosperity, and leave in a foremost position in the literary world the Society whose existence owed so much to his unfailing exertions :—his loss will be deeply felt, and his devotion to

the work of his office will make the duties of his successor even more difficult than they would otherwise have been. At the Meeting following his death, Dr. Birch summed up in feeling terms the services Mr. Cooper had rendered to the Society, and the estimation in which they were held by the Council and Members.

3. Professor Charles Seager, *Member of Council*, attended the Oriental Congress held at Florence in the autumn, and there attacked by sudden illness,—to the great regret of a large number of his friends, who appreciated his great learning, and esteemed his gentle modesty,—in a few hours succumbed to the disorder. Many students in those branches for which he was distinguished have to deplore the loss of a kind and courteous friend, and of a generous assistant in their studies; while the Council regret that so valuable a member of their body should have been taken from them so suddenly in a foreign land, when, to some extent, representing the Society at the Congress.

The Hon. C. W. Goodwin, highly distinguished as an Egyptologist, the Rev. C. G. Geldart, Mr. John Henderson, and Mr. Charles Fox may also be mentioned as among the many lost to the Society during the past year.

The papers read at the ordinary Meetings have not been of less interest than has been the case in previous years:—Eighteen communications in all have thus been brought before the Members, and of these may be specially mentioned: On the names of Brass and Copper in the Cuneiform Language of Chaldea and Assyria, by François Lenormant. The Rev. William Houghton contributed a long and interesting paper upon The Hieroglyphic, or Picture origin of the characters of the Assyrian Syllabary; the Rev. A. Löwy, one on Kurdish Folk Lore, in the Kurdo-Jewish dialect, and Mr. Theophilus G. Pinches the first portion of a description of the Bronze Gates of Shalmaneser II., discovered by Mr. Rassam at Balawat. M.M. Revillout and Oppert have also sent valuable communications to the Society.

There have been printed in Vol. VI, Part 1, Babylonian dated Tablets, and the Canon of Ptolemy, by Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen, with the adjourned discussion thereon. On a Cypriote Inscription, now in the Museum at Constantinople, by Dr. Paul Schroeder. Sur quelques noms de Maladies en Accadien et Assyrien, par François

Lenormant. Notes and observations upon the Sabæan Inscriptions at Bombay, by Dr. D. H. Müller. Notes on certain Cypriote Inscriptions, by Isaac H. Hall. Notes upon the Assyrian Report Tablets, with Translations, by Theophilus G. Pinches. Viceroy Joseph's Official Despatches, &c., by S. M. Drach. Revised Chronology of some Assyrian Kings, by Dr. Julius Oppert. On some early Babylonian and Akkadian Inscriptions, by Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen. Un Contrat de Mariage, par E. Revillout. On a Fragmentary Inscription of Psametek I., by Miss Gertrude Austin. The Defence of a Magistrate Falsely Accused, translated by H. F. Talbot, F.R.S., &c., &c.

And in the second part of the volume, now in the press, there will be included M. Lenormant's Paper on the Names of Brass and Copper in the Assyrian Language. The Rev. W. Houghton's communication mentioned above, with numerous illustrations. Some remarks on the Supposed Tomb of St. Luke at Ephesus, by Mr. Wm. Simpson; and on the Antiquities of Ephesus, by Mr. J. T. Wood. Notes on the Himyaritic Inscriptions in the Museum at Bombay, by Lieut.-Col. Prideaux, some remarks on which, by Dr. Müller, were printed in Vol. VI, Part 1. Translations of a Coptic Lawsuit, and the Will of a Coptic Monk, by M. Eugène Revillout. Translations of Assyrian Incantations to Fire and Water, by Mr. Ernest A. Budge, and Some Notes of the Assyrian Religion and Mythology, by Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen. The paper by Mr. Pinches on the Bronze Gates of Shalmaneser II. will appear in a subsequent part, and will be fully illustrated.

In the Report for 1877, allusion was made to the difficulty which had been encountered, in the endeavour to find one whose means and qualifications, would render him a competent successor to Mr. Cooper, in the office of Secretary. This difficulty has now been happily removed, and in Mr. W. Harry Rylands the Council have found a gentleman whose earnest interest in the aims and objects of the Society; no less than his unsparing labour in carrying out the executive details of its working, lead them to hope that his acceptance of the office of Secretary, may be a fresh starting-point for the Society, and be in the future looked back to as the period at which its real development commenced.

The first duty which fell on Mr. Rylands was the revision of the roll of Members, with a view to eliminate therefrom the names of all

deceased, withdrawn, or disqualified. This has necessarily been a work of much time and patience; and although the roll has by his exertions assumed a more satisfactory shape than formerly, it will require further revision.

During the year 90 new Members have been added to the roll, and its constitution is now :—

Ordinary Members	445
Lady Members	55
Public Libraries	7
	507
Foreign Honorary Members	32
Total	539

the flow of candidates for election continues in a most satisfactory manner, it is anticipated that as the Society continues to develop it will further increase. A considerable number of Public Libraries in Europe and America have become subscribers, since the roll was made up.

Members will have observed the recent alteration in the form of the monthly notices, which have now assumed the shape of "Proceedings," in which Mr. Rylands anticipates that he will be enabled not only to place in the hands of the Members, a fuller account of the proceedings at the ordinary meetings than has hitherto been possible, but also by the co-operation of the Members, to establish a medium of communication on subjects interesting to the Society.

By the aid of Messrs. Ainsworth, Camps and Sharpe, trustees of the fund, and the assistance of the Treasurer, a sum of £49 17*s.* 2*d.*, formerly belonging to the Syro-Egyptian Society, and dividends accrued thereto, £14 18*s.* 4*d.*, have been transferred to this Society, and with one of the life compositions (hereafter to be invested in place of being, as heretofore dealt with as ordinary income) has been invested as £76 4*s.* 9*d.* New Three per Cent. Annuities, in the names of Dr. Birch, B. T. Bosanquet, and Arthur Cates as trustees, thus forming the basis of a Reserve Fund.

The Balance Sheet, which is appended hereto, has been prepared by the official accountant and duly audited. It shows clearly the very satisfactory progress made by the Society; and that the total receipts

during the year having been £725 13*s.* 5*d.*, and the expenditure, including the above-mentioned sums invested, £572 1*s.* 9*d.*, there is an available cash balance of £153 11*s.* 8*d.* to be carried forward, which will be appropriated towards the expense of producing Vol. VI, Part 2, the printing of which is far advanced. It is with satisfaction that the Council can state that beyond this and the current ordinary expenses there is not any outstanding liability owing by the Society.

The resumption and continuance of the Archaic Classes is a matter of great importance for the encouragement of students in Assyrian and Egyptian learning: the measures to be adopted have the earnest consideration of the Council, and Mr. Rylands would be glad to receive any communications from Members desirous to assist in this object.

So soon as he has succeeded in bringing into order the more routine portions of his secretarial duties, the attention of Mr. Rylands will be turned to the Library, which is now assuming some importance. Among the most interesting donations of the year may be mentioned Dr. August Eisenlohr's "Ein Mathematisches Handbuch der Alten Aegypter übersetzt und erklärt," being a facsimile and translation of the large Mathematical Papyrus Rhind in the British Museum, with much valuable information by the editor. From M. Eugène Revillout, his "Nouvelle Chrestomathie Démotique," "Le Concile de Nicée," "Vie et Sentences de Secundus," "Roman de Setna," "Etude Egyptologiques," "Papyrus Coptes," &c., &c.; from M.M. Guieysse and Lefébure, "Le Papyrus Funeraire de Soutimès," and, from the Treasurer, the last work of the late George Smith, left unfinished at his death, and edited by Prof. Sayce, "History of Sennacherib," &c., &c. The Zeitschrift für Ägyptische sprache, and other journals, now lie upon the library table.

The arrangements made with Mr. Rylands will enable the Council to realize the intention formed when the offices in Bloomsbury Street were taken, that they should form the centre of communication of those interested in Archaic studies, and a library of reference be there established, which should be readily accessible to the Members. With a view to realize this object, Mr. Rylands attends at No. 33, Bloomsbury Street, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday in each week, from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m., and will be happy to receive all desirous of information respecting the Society.

ARTHUR CATES, *Hon. Sec.*

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31ST, 1878.

Dr.

		£	s.	d.
1877. Jan. 1st.—Balance in hand		53	7	7
Subscriptions for 1878		412	0	6
Arrears from former years		29	8	0
Life Contributions		42	0	0
Sale of Transactions		122	19	0
Fund transferred from the Syro-Egyptian Society	£ s. d. 49 17 2			
Over-due dividends on same ...	14 18 4			
		64	15	6
One half-year's dividend on £76 4s. 9d. New Three per Cents.		1	2	10
		£725	13	5

Audited and found correct, January 3rd, 1879,

G. MACLARAN.
WILLIAM H. WHITE.

Cr.

		£	s.	d.
Rent to date		86	2	0
Printing Vol. V, Part 2, Vol. VI, Part 1, Stationery, Bookbinding, &c.		284	16	3
Secretaries' Expenses		56	0	0
Official Auditor's Fee		1	11	6
Postages of Transactions, &c.		24	13	2
Carriage, Housekeeper, Travelling, &c.		38	5	10
Commission, Sale of Transactions		5	7	6
	£ s. d.	496	16	3
Syro-Egyptian Society Fund	49 17 2			
Over-due dividends on the same, £14 18s. 4d., with one Life Composition, £10 10s., invested as £26 7s. 7d. Stock	25 8 4			
		75	5	6
		572	1	9
Balance carried to 1879		153	11	8
		£725	13	5

ASSETS.

Subscriptions still outstanding for 1878.
The Library Furniture and Effects at 33, Bloomsbury Street.
The Transactions in Stock :—

Reserve Fund invested in New Three per Cent Annuities, £76 4s. 9d.

33, BLOOMSBURY STREET, W.C.,
January 3rd, 1879.

LIABILITIES.

Printing, Rent, and Current Expenses, accruing for 1879.

W. HARRY RYLANDS, *Sec.*

Helmuth Halbach
Buchbindermeister
Königstein i. Ts.

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